



Late Hokusai: Society, Thought, Technique, Legacy

Edited by Timothy Clark

Late Hokusai: Society, Thought, Technique, Legacy

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The British
Museum

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Dr Roger S. Keyes (1942–2020)

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Late Hokusai: Society, Thought, Technique, Legacy

Edited by Timothy Clark

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Front cover: Detail of Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850), *Augury Appears to an Old Man (Rōō kizui no zu)* (?Portrait of Hokusai), 1821. Votive painting (ema), ink and colour on wood, height 120cm, width 196cm. Myōhōji temple, Tokyo. Photo: 2003

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Director's Foreword

The essays contained in this volume about the last thirty years of the artist's life and work widen our understanding of Hokusai considerably. Some are written by acknowledged Hokusai specialists, some by experts in other fields of the study of early modern Japan. All have enthusiastically engaged with the AHRC-funded 'Late Hokusai' research project (2016–19), led by the British Museum and SOAS University of London. We thank the authors most warmly for their enthusiasm and for generously applying their expertise. We also thank the various project partners in the UK, Japan and the USA who have joined this 'Hokusai consortium' and whose representatives have graced the volume with their prefaces.

The academic study of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) has grown internationally – and exponentially – over some 130 years now, since Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901) published the first scholarly biography in 1893. What new perspectives has our Late Hokusai project been able to offer? Without anticipating the myriad discoveries this volume presents, we can flag one big theme. Hokusai was patently an artist of genius, yes, and increasingly eccentric in old age, but he did not live and work in isolation from society. He could not. He relied on Edo's advanced printing and publishing industries to spread his vision within that society, and even beyond Japan. He also relied, on a daily basis, on the support and assistance of his artist-daughter Ei (art-name Ōi), who was born around 1800 and died sometime after 1857.

The essays have been organised to show how Hokusai engaged with society; how his thought and beliefs are manifested in his works; the amazing painting and woodblock techniques he exploited and progressed; and, not least, the extraordinary legacy he has left to the world.

*Hartwig Fischer
Director, British Museum, London*

Preface

SOAS has two ambitions: to study the planetary questions of our time and to do so through the philosophical lens and vantage point of the majoritarian world: Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Luckily, their pasts and presents are rich with lessons for all of us. Sometimes, it is hard to get them a hearing; sometimes they are impossible to ignore.

Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) is one artist whose impact has been global. During his lifetime, he was able to escape the social hierarchies and cultural norms of his time and place, troubling and thereby enriching the culture of late Edo-period Japan. Soon after his death, his works did the same in Europe and America, persuading artists that there were different, more compelling ways of seeing the world. His importance has only increased in the century and a half since. ‘The Great Wave’, of about 1831, is nowadays the most reproduced image in the world, but it was only the prelude to an extraordinary last 20 years of creativity, in which Hokusai provided us with the wherewithal to navigate worlds both seen and unseen – as demonstrated by this volume, the research project from which it derives and the exhibition with which it kicked off.

Exploring the life and work of someone of the stature of Hokusai – of times and places as complex as early modern Japan – requires both imagination and collaboration. We are fortunate at SOAS to have the British Museum as our trusty neighbour, and to have been able to work together on a series of path-breaking projects over the years, at the centre of a community spanning the world. We look forward to many more such collaborations in the years to come.

*Adam Habib
Director, SOAS University of London*

Preface

Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) lived to 90 (by traditional Japanese reckoning), but from the age of 75 onwards it seems that he suffered from a divergence between his own personal artistic goals and the expectations of the people around him. So high were his ambitions that he sought to decide all aspects of the works he designed. The many unrealised block-ready drawings that survive for colour prints, picture books and illustrated adventure stories bear sad testament to his inability to work collaboratively with publishers. Be this as it may, Hokusai continued to seek out contacts with society. This is apparent from the trips he took to Obuse in his eighties, to paint ceiling panels for festival carts, and also from the publication of *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848), intended as a teach-yourself guide for would-be painters.

Hokusai in old age is thus multifaceted and hard to grasp. The Late Hokusai project has sought to shed light on this particular dimension of the artist and one major outcome was the exhibitions held at the British Museum and Abeno Harukas Art Museum in 2017. Many scholars from around the world collaborated to support the exhibitions at both institutions and we are confident that they have made a considerable impact. Shortly after the opening of the Osaka exhibition, a Hokusai symposium was held at the Abeno Harukas Art Museum, organised together with the International Ukiyo-e Society. From the British Museum there were presentations by Timothy Clark and Alfred Haft, and on the Japanese side from Ōkubo Jun’ichi, Akita Tatsuya and myself. There was so much to discuss and the presentations were so varied: I recall that they did not really gel well together. Late Hokusai is immensely diverse, overflowing with such tremendous appeal.

And now the research volume *Late Hokusai: Society, Thought, Technique, Legacy* has finally been published. This is a major achievement of recent scholarship, one that salvages these particular aspects of Hokusai from the depths of history. We cannot claim that a complete and true portrait of Hokusai in old age has been revealed, but without doubt this is a major step forward. Finally, I would like to congratulate Timothy Clark, who has progressed this project to fruition with considerable tenacity.

Asano Shūgō
Director, Abeno Harukas Art Museum, Osaka
Director, The Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara

Preface

I would like to begin by offering congratulations on the completion of this substantial collection of research essays about Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849). In addition to successful exhibitions held in the UK and Japan, the achievement of bringing together this collection will surely be appreciated for many years to come.

One important impetus for this project was the donation by the late Dr Roger Keyes to the British Museum of the 90-odd volumes of the unpublished catalogue raisonné of Hokusai's prints, which he had created together with the late Peter Morse. I recall how excited I was when I first saw this gigantic catalogue and realised what a passionate labour of love it represented. At a time when international surveys were not so easy to carry out as today, Keyes and Morse travelled the world to visit museums and private collections. What was it that drove them? A major motivation was, surely, the intellectual satisfaction of elucidating the artistic achievement of a genius artist who constantly poured out drawings as if possessed. And yet, what is written in the catalogue reveals other ambitions.

The primary satisfaction must have been to add to the artist's known oeuvre, one by one, as the surveys progressed. Yet, the works in question are woodblock prints, which were printed in multiple impressions. By surveying many collections, the same work was studied two or three times. Through this process, different versions, with small variations, appeared. Do these variations result from the process of hand-printing? Or do they stem from the inherent pliability of the wood of the printing block? Alternatively, did they derive from other factors, relating to the publisher who commissioned the printing or to the sponsor of the design? Because of what could be called the 'digital' nature of the colour woodblock process, which employs a number of different printing blocks, much information may be hidden within a single work. The more examples, statistically, that are studied, the more complicated the work of understanding these printing differences becomes. The pleasures of discovery multiply enormously. The Keyes and Morse catalogue raisonné is the record of these joys.

The main contribution of Ritsumeikan University to the project has been to make it possible to consult the Keyes and Morse catalogue digitally. Nevertheless, further procedures need to be established so that even more people can experience the 'record of these joys' and put the catalogue to good use. I would like to help solve these issues and add further to the brilliance of this project, always with fond memories of Dr Keyes in our hearts.

*Akama Ryō
Director, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto*

Preface

Ubiquity achieved over nearly two centuries is the cost and reward of prodigious talent. Ubiquity begs explanation. The goal of this volume is to engage with the complexity of the late work of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) – 30 years is a long ‘late work’ – and the 170 years of homage, hagiography, influence, copying, forgery, collecting and apotheosis as a world-recognised imagist.

This collection of essays emerges from ‘Late Hokusai’, an AHRC-funded project (2016–19) that brought together the British Museum, NHK, Japan’s national broadcast corporation, and this writer’s erstwhile workplace, the National Museum of Asian Art (Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery) and other partners. The three have collaborated in numerous projects, including focused research and several Hokusai exhibitions over recent decades. This project’s intentions are mirrored in the content of the essays in the present volume, seeking an ever-more accurate understanding of what constitutes an authentic Hokusai work and, importantly, what can be learned about the artist – both during his lifetime and posthumously – through devising a cross-referential body of information, and breaking out of disciplinary silos to give an enriching context.

Not immediately apparent from the distinguished volume in hand is the fact that most of the contributors are colleagues and friends who, in many instances, have spent weeks, months and years together looking at ‘real things’. A community.

These astute and deeply researched essays are dedicated to the late Roger Keyes, a central figure in the Hokusai community. I first met Roger in the autumn of 1982 at the Cleveland Museum of Art. He was conducting research and using the multipurposed Board Room to hang paintings for inspection. I entered the room and was greeted with a joyous hello, a warm clasp of hands and deep-pooled, totally engaged eyes. I did not immediately notice that Roger was in stocking feet, standing on a pair of chalkboard erasers, tied to him like skates. He invited me to look at a few paintings with him, made wonderfully observant comments and glided ahead on the polished wood floor. The ‘skates’ were never mentioned. He was wildly open to the world and demanding to the scintilla in accuracy: a good match for Hokusai.

*James Ulak, PhD
Curator Emeritus, National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC*

Preface

It was just five years after Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) left this earth at the age of 90 (according to traditional Japanese reckoning), following a long and auspicious life, that Japan reopened to contact with the wider world, ending its policy of national seclusion. Even though he never once left Japan, the artist was knowledgeable about Chinese and European painting techniques, in addition to his mastery of the artistic traditions of Japan. Hokusai amazed his public with paintings, brush drawings, woodblock prints, illustrated books and images for novels, even on one occasion going so far as to create a spontaneous giant painting in ink of a seated Bodhidharma (Daruma) that measured some 18m high by 10m wide. In addition to figure subjects, he designed landscapes featuring Mt Fuji and other Japanese scenes and depicted every plant and creature under the sun, as well as imagined deities and all the spirits of mountains and rivers. There was nothing that this vigorous, accomplished artist could not draw.

It is challenging to grasp all aspects of the accomplishments of this giant of an artist; this can only be achieved by collaborative research among many scholars. Coordinated skilfully by Timothy Clark of the British Museum, the Late Hokusai international research project, conducted over a number of years, has now come to fruition. Hokusai's gigantic presence is 'dissected' from many different angles by a group of 22 scholars: 11 based in the UK, 7 in USA, 3 in Japan and 1 in Switzerland. The results of their research open new vistas not just for the next generation of Hokusai scholars, but also for an appreciation of the characteristics of Japanese art and culture more broadly.

In recent times, there has been tremendous progress in the digitisation and publication of artworks and other historical materials in museums, art museums, libraries, universities and other research institutions around the world. I am confident that, based on these firm art-historical foundations and with the pooling of information, Hokusai studies will continue to progress from strength to strength. I offer respectful congratulations on the completion of the international research project led by the British Museum, which will surely guide our way forward.

*Kobayashi Tadashi
Professor Emeritus, Gakushūin University, Tokyo*

Preface

I am delighted to express congratulations on the publication of the research volume *Late Hokusai: Society, Thought, Technique, Legacy*. This project has been followed with particular interest in that, unusually for the study of Japanese art, it has adopted a comprehensive approach. In addition to the exhibitions in the UK and Japan that reaffirmed to people the amazing appeal of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), it has brought together basic data about the artist to form the basis for collaborative research into multiple aspects of his activities.

Gakushūin University was one of several research partners for the project. In November 2016 a workshop was hosted here to discuss the potential use of the structures of the semantic web to enable the sharing of data and knowledge about Hokusai. Subsequently, a total of 27 online student workshops were held until 2019, which linked the British Museum, alternately, with Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto (15 times), and Gakushūin University, Tokyo (12 times). The focus of these workshops was to try to create modern Japanese and English translations of some of Hokusai's letters and also of important printed texts, such as *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848). While we were reading *Ehon saishiki tsū*, there were fascinating presentations about the various traditional pigments to which it referred. This opportunity to conduct online workshops with international partners has been unusual in the study of Japanese art history, a precious experience for us all. I recall getting up before dawn while I was on a trip to the USA, in order to participate from Philadelphia in one of the workshops. I am delighted to hear that some of the outputs will soon be published (Hokusai 2023).

In these various ways, the Late Hokusai project can be described as a new 'Hokusai phenomenon', with dimensions of international collaboration and education radiating from London. We are honoured to have been able to participate and would like to express grateful thanks to the British Museum, Timothy Clark and the other staff involved for making this possible. We hope that further such collaborations will continue to develop in the future.

Shimao Arata
Professor, Gakushūin University, Tokyo

Preface

In anticipation of a new millennium, the American magazine *Life* published a volume in 1998: *The 100 Most Important Events and People of the Past 1,000 Years*. The only Japanese person to be included was Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849). Hokusai brought to the world of popular ukiyo-e a unique artistic vision. Ever brimming with creativity and unfettered by commitments to any school or tradition, he developed new modes of expression and inventive methods to every conceivable subject. His works have exerted a strong influence not only on Japanese artists, but also on Western artists like Vincent van Gogh and Claude Monet.

The culmination of many years of detailed research, in 2005 the Tokyo National Museum (TNM) held a major Hokusai exhibition. This was followed by a related exhibition at the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, in 2006. For the Tokyo exhibition, we selected 500 of the finest examples of Hokusai's paintings, prints and illustrated books from museums and galleries all around the world. The Washington exhibition added many precious paintings from the National Museum of Asian Art's collection that are not loaned out as a rule, thereby displaying the full range of Hokusai's astoundingly multifaceted art.

Building on these undertakings, Timothy Clark of the British Museum subsequently assembled a team of Hokusai scholars from around the world to carry out further research. This effort focused in particular on Hokusai in his twilight years from the perspectives of society, thought, technique and legacy. The TNM participated in this project by contributing loans to the Hokusai exhibitions held at the British Museum and Abeno Harukas Art Museum in 2017. In addition, the TNM hosted a workshop in 2019 centered on Hokusai's famous print 'Under the Wave off Kanagawa' (*Kanagawa oki namiura*; 'The Great Wave'), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*).

The results of these three years of research into Hokusai's later years are now published in this important volume. The scholars involved have taken various exciting approaches to explore the life and work of this singular genius. Hokusai not only transformed ukiyo-e, but his influence has made a lasting and transcultural impact that remains ubiquitous in the present day. I believe the research gathered here will make a major contribution in future scholarship of Hokusai and to the study of Japanese art as a whole.

Inoue Yoichi
Executive Director, Nara National Museum
(Former Deputy Director, Tokyo National Museum)





The exhibition *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave*, British Museum, Room 35, 25 May–13 August 2017

Introduction: The Hokusai Legacy

Timothy Clark

When we talk of ‘the Hokusai legacy’, what do we mean? We will of course always be considering and reconsidering the artist’s oeuvre. Many details have also been retrieved about parts of the life of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), which has much enhanced our appreciation of his amazing art. Not only has there been extensive posthumous study of both of these aspects since his death, which needs to inform any new account, but interest in his work and the (sometimes imaginative) reconstruction of his life also continues to grow exponentially around the world. This has created what we could call a Hokusai phenomenon, which has assumed more and more significance to more and more people. How as researchers can we successfully track and represent that depth and complexity?

For the AHRC-funded research project ‘Late Hokusai: Thought, Technique, Society’ (2016–19) we explored these three broad categories as a way of approaching Hokusai that drew us from his works out into a richer matrix of the currents of thought and belief of his day; into both the complex, changing world of painting and the huge woodblock-printing industry, in which he was both innovator and exploiter; and into the rich societal and cultural context of the late Edo period, which sustained the artist through collaboration and patronage. There is always a temptation, with an artist like Hokusai, to detach the work from its surroundings and to attribute its power simply to his individual genius. Situating it and him in time and place, we believe, allows us to learn more.

The oeuvre

The core of the Hokusai phenomenon, as with any artist, is the oeuvre, which numbers in many thousands when book illustrations are included, and which continues to expand as more works are rediscovered. Hokusai was long-lived and prolific. To date, the most comprehensive exhibition was the chronologically organised display of some 500 works in all media presented at the Tokyo National Museum in 2005, curated by Nagata Seiji (1951–2018).¹ A related exhibition was staged the following year at the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, this time consisting of 167 works presented more thematically and including many great paintings from the collection of Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919), which cannot be loaned elsewhere.² The 2017 exhibition *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave*, co-organised by the British Museum, London, and the Abeno Harukas Art Museum, Osaka (Osaka title: *Hokusai – Fuji o koete, Hokusai: beyond Fuji*), included 225 works, almost all dating from the last 30 years of Hokusai’s career: ‘late Hokusai’ was defined as the period 1820–49, when he was between the ages of 61 and 90 (according to traditional Japanese reckoning).³

Paintings and brush drawings

Within the oeuvre, nowadays we give priority to examining the surviving 1,000 or so autograph brush paintings, which since the 1980s have come to be re-recognised as the medium into which Hokusai directly poured so much of his artistry and imagination. Principally hanging scrolls on silk or paper, these were primarily commissioned works – although we know surprisingly little about the circumstances



Plate 0.1 Hokusai, 'Print and book shop' (*Ezōshiya*) of publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō, Edo, from *Azuma asobi* (*Amusements of the Eastern Capital*), 46 verso, 1799. Woodblock, height 26cm, width 18cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.437 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

of those commissions – and were considered commodities of a superior order to the artist's printed works. The most 'trifling' paintings were those done on folding fans, ready to be used as a summer accessory and shown off as a stylish autograph from the great man. Hundreds of fan paintings survive and Hokusai must have brushed literally thousands of these at the public 'calligraphy and painting parties' (*shogakai*) that we believe he attended.⁴ In 2000 Nagata Seiji published his seminal *Hokusai nikuhitsuga taisei*, up until now still the most comprehensive attempt to present chronologically a sizeable percentage of the painted oeuvre (a total of 435 works), with detailed commentaries and close examination of each of the succession of painting seals used by the artist.⁵ Not much was written, however, about the burning issue of forged Hokusai paintings, nor 'school works', issues now addressed by many authors in this volume (Clark, Carpenter, Asano, Korenberg, Keyes, Matsuba, Hare). Sometimes legitimate copies were made of Hokusai's works, but the temptation to fake grew quickly. The originals were already highly valued as art market commodities by the 1880s and 1890s. One key Hokusai dealer, collector and scholar who seems to have crossed the line from commissioning copies to ordering forgeries was Kobayashi Bunshichi (1862–1923), whose activities feature in several of the essays in this publication (Clark, Carpenter, Sadamura, Matsuba, Hare).⁶

More recently, and particularly since 2016, Hokusai's working brush drawings for woodblock prints and books, and his daily 'limbering-up' drawings such as the lively *Daily*

Exorcisms series, have received renewed scholarly attention and public viewing (more on this below).⁷

A major proposal of the 2017 London-Osaka exhibition was that as an exceptionally gifted painter Hokusai reached his zenith in the last three years of his life, by which point he was striving urgently to complete his legacy to the world, even taking the radical step of revealing publicly the secrets of his technique. This was done in an unprecedented, but only half-completed, two-volume painting manual, *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*), published in 1848, just a year or so before the artist's death.⁸

Colour woodblock prints and woodblock-printed books
 Most of his contemporaries would have been familiar with Hokusai's visual language from his colour woodblock-printed sheet prints, or his name from the titles of woodblock-printed illustrated books. The teeming contents of multi-volume books such as *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai's Sketches*, 15 parts, 1814–78) and the abandoned *Banmotsu ehon daizen* (*The Great Picture Book of Everything*, 1840s?) truly manifest his encyclopedic ambition. Then, as now, 'standing reading' (*tachiyomi*) in book-and-print shops was an admirable and wholly acceptable cultural pastime (PI. 0.1). Hokusai became a brand, with surely the widest name recognition of any artist of his day (Tinios essay, pp. 71–88). What did people respond to? Then, as now, surely, the force and idiosyncrasy of his style, the humanity and humour of his treatment. Imagine the moment, probably in 1831, when the print now known popularly as 'The Great Wave' (*Kanagawa oki namiura*) / 'Under the Wave off



Plate 0.2 Hokusai, 'Under the Wave off Kanagawa' (*Kanagawa oki namiura*, 'The Great Wave'), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), c. 1831. Colour woodblock, height 25.8cm, width 37.9cm. British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA, acquired with contributions from the Brook Sewell Bequest and Art Fund

'Kanagawa', **Pl. 0.2**) first went on display and (inexpensive) sale in outlets all over Edo. Who could have realised just how far the impact of that single image would eventually spread? A few of Hokusai's works were already known in Europe during his lifetime. For Dutch patrons, merchants employed by the United East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie; VOC), in the mid-1820s he even painted in a

revolutionary new style, which incorporated elements of European-style perspective, three-dimensional modelling and light and shade (**Pl. 0.3**).⁹ These experiments had a profound impact on the look of his masterpiece print series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (c. 1831–3). Had Hokusai works also already travelled to China and other Asian lands by this point? This is a fruitful topic for further research.



Plate 0.3 Attrib. Hokusai, *Sudden Rain in the Countryside*, c. 1824–6. Ink and colour on old Dutch paper ('J.C. Honig'), height 27.2cm, width 39.8cm. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden, Coll.nr RV-1-4482-a, with thanks to the Collection of Ph.F.B. von Siebold



Plate 0.4 Hokusai, *Self-Portrait in a Letter, Aged Eighty-Three*, 1842. Ink on paper, height 26.9cm, width 16.9cm. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden, Coll.nr RV-3513-1496, with thanks to the Vereniging Rembrandt

Beginning in the 1970s, Peter Morse (1935–1993) began a listing of Hokusai's some 3,000 sheet prints that would later be taken up by his friend Roger Keyes (1942–2020), and heroically be completed in 2005 as the 91-volume illustrated typescript *Catalogue Raisonné of the Single-Sheet Colour Woodblock Prints of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849)* (Keyes essay, pp. 220–7). The original is permanently housed at the British Museum and a complete digital copy was created by the Art Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, beginning in 2015. This is now publicly available online.¹⁰ Importantly, Keyes and Morse also recorded the 'copies' (facsimile reproductions) of Hokusai's prints that they found in collections worldwide (Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35).

For the woodblock-printed illustrated books, Jack Hillier (1912–1995) established the general parameters of Hokusai's art in this medium in a landmark monograph of 1980, which included a checklist of titles.¹¹ His total then for the number of Hokusai books was 267, plus five posthumous works.¹² Hillier flagged around that time the complexities of trying to sort out the bibliographic issues of different printings and editions of *Hokusai manga*, warning: '... it would be the work of a lifetime, and ... one would have to say a life misspent.'¹³ In recent years Ellis Tinios has valiantly set out to tackle some of these challenges. In addition to his essay in this volume about how the Nagoya publisher Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekidō) manoeuvred to monopolise the Hokusai 'brand' for the 'art books' of the artist's later career (Tinios essay, pp. 71–88), Tinios has also compiled a groundbreaking listing of

these late books, with bibliographic notes on their various printings, both legitimate and pirated (Appendix 1, pp. 258–71). Outside Japan, it was the illustrated books that first brought Hokusai to the attention of artists and critics. Many late, inferior printings of Hokusai's books have found their way into collections worldwide. But, as Tinios writes, if you have not seen a better impression, then these can already be impressive.

Accounts of Hokusai's life

The key source for information about Hokusai's life is *Katsushika Hokusai den (Biography of Katsushika Hokusai, 1893)*, by Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901) (Sadamura essay, pp. 212–19).¹⁴ Iijima based his carefully researched account on interviews with people who had known Hokusai, on travels to places the artist had visited, and on documentary sources, such as transcriptions of some of Hokusai's surviving letters (the originals he quotes are generally now lost). Not incidentally, we urgently need a critical edition of all of Hokusai's 36 or so surviving letters. Typically not dated to a specific year and frequently elliptical in expression, they present many challenges of dating and interpretation. But as Frank Feltens' essay (pp. 32–42) in this volume demonstrates, in addition to the many precious nuggets of fact they contain, the letters are also fascinating to read as expressions of Hokusai's playful character, mixed with canny business negotiation (Pl. 0.4).

So, it is wonderful that we have the Iijima biography, on which many later accounts about the artist are founded. The 1999 paperback edition of Iijima, introduced and annotated by Suzuki Jūzō (1919–2010), is the handiest and most reliable to use.¹⁵ An English translation by Yasuhara Akio of the original text, with his notes, is currently in preparation.¹⁶ As Julie Nelson Davis warns in her essay (pp. 58–70), however, the evidence given in the 1893 biography does need to be assessed critically as evidence. How close are individual pieces of evidence to the artist himself? What were the strategies of 1890s Meiji Japan for creating the image of a great male artist, supported by his helper-artist-daughter Ei (art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857)?¹⁷ Might these have been quite at variance with the actual division of labour between Hokusai and Ōi needed to maintain the considerable output of their family studio? Iijima's biography, based as it was primarily on eyewitness accounts, inevitably focuses in most detail on the later part of Hokusai's life. This needs to be kept in mind by the modern reader. The image presented – of an eccentric old man living in (self-imposed?) isolation with his artist-daughter, insouciant about his financial affairs and single-mindedly devoting himself to his art – surely needs to be modified in the light of other evidence. The famous brush drawing by Tsuyuki Kōshō (Iitsu III, d. after 1893) purporting to record from memory – as much as 50 years later – a scene of Hokusai working watched by Ōi in their untidy rented house in Kamezawa-chō in about 1842 or 1843 exerts a powerful, almost uncanny, influence over our constructed image of father and daughter (see Pl. 4.1; Tazawa essay, pp. 17–31; Davis essay, pp. 58–70).

The most complete chronology by far of the events of Hokusai's life, including references to many of his works, is *Katsushika Hokusai nenpu (Chronology of Katsushika Hokusai)*, first

compiled by Nagata Seiji in 1985 and expanded and revised by him in 1997.¹⁸ As with the Iijima biography of some hundred years before, crucially, sources are cited for many of the items of information presented. These sources extend to the observations of others, such as those occasionally found in the letters and diaries of Hokusai's famous contemporary and sometime collaborator, the author Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848). Nagata's chronology is the first place to consult for quick information about the artist's life and works. For our project, we had hoped to exploit the power and reach of the semantic web – using metadata to make material, visual and textual artefacts machine-readable – in order to link a detailed chronology of Hokusai's life and works with significant political, social and cultural events, such as the ones catalogued in the 'Edo nenpyō' (Edo Chronology) section of the magisterial *Edogaku jiten* (*Dictionary of Edo Studies*, 1984).¹⁹ A certain amount of preparatory work was done to clean and align data for hosting on the British Museum's online platform ResearchSpace.²⁰ Regrettably, time and resources ran out for the full realisation of our project, but the ambition remains! It would be fantastic to have a 'live' online resource about Hokusai and his works, one that could be updated and used as a forum to debate new research. The achievements to date of Late Hokusai on ResearchSpace are discussed further below.

Authorship – the Hokusai school

How has Hokusai's legacy been shaped by ongoing debates about authorship – particularly of paintings and drawings – and the nature of the 'Hokusai school'? (The most complete listing by Nagata of artists who either studied directly with Hokusai, claimed affiliation or were otherwise influenced by his style – sometimes as grand-pupils – numbers 207.²¹) Several authors in the current volume reference a key essay by Tsuji Nobuo of 1994, in which he envisaged the painted oeuvre of the 'Hokusai school' as a series of five concentric rings, ranging from indisputably genuine works by the master himself at the centre to 'out and out forgeries' in the outermost ring.²² Asano Shūgō has in his essay (pp. 180–91) suggested a similar model for ranking the unsigned brush drawings of Hokusai and his school, the important difference being that unless a drawing is signed with a false signature, it cannot be said to be a 'fake'.

Claims have been made, by Tsuji and others, that there was a Hokusai 'studio', that is, pupils (some, perhaps, resident?) who anonymously assisted the master. In fact, there is little definite evidence for this and we do not really know exactly how Hokusai taught. A cluster of illustrated books, 18 titles published between 1814 and 1824, credits certain named pupils on the colophon page as 'collating pupils' (*kyōgō monjin*).²³ What exactly did this mean? Ellis Timios has argued that this did *not* mean that the pupils were copyists: the specific aim of the woodblock-printing technique in Japan was to enable the blockcutter to capture as faithfully as possible the character and energy of the *actual brushstrokes* of an artist.²⁴ The genesis of the drawing manual *Hokusai manga*, as the reader is told in the preface to Part I, was a party at the house of Hokusai's Nagoya patron-pupil Maki Bokusen (1775–1824), at which more than 300 brush sketches of miscellaneous subjects ('immortals, Buddhas,

scholars, and women ... birds, beasts, grasses, and trees') were spontaneously created.²⁵ Exactly how did Hokusai and the collating pupils then prepare these as block-ready drawings (*hanshita-e*), which the blockcutters could paste onto the cherrywood printing blocks as the blueprint for their cutting? An alternative explanation for the designation 'collating pupil' might be that at this particular stage in his career, during his late fifties and early sixties, Hokusai was seeking to foster the independent careers of his pupils by announcing them individually by name.²⁶

Ukiyo-e scholar Kubota Kazuhiro's scrupulously researched and documented 2015 study of Hokusai's artist-daughter Ei/Ōi has been an invigorating contribution to the debates about the authorship of 'Hokusai' works.²⁷ Various accounts suggest that Ōi lived and worked with her father for the last 20 years or more of his life. She was demonstrably a talented artist. And yet the very small number of works that can be credited exclusively to her hand would seem to imply that Ōi was otherwise busily helping Hokusai to create the co-products of their family studio. And it would surely have been in their joint interest that these products were, as uniformly as possible, in the high-recognition 'Hokusai' style eagerly sought by the public. Julie Nelson Davis (pp. 58–70) debates these issues in the thought-provoking context of how the activities of women artists in general have, historically, been downplayed and under-reported. Asano Shūgō has begun to articulate the idea that Hokusai and Ōi are likely to have collaborated closely on the uncompleted print series *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse* (*Hyakunin isshu uba ga etoki*, c. 1835–8), for which a large number (63) of line-perfect block-ready drawings have survived.²⁸ He has suggested that perhaps the two artists even sometimes collaborated within a single drawing. Asano tentatively identifies a busy, highly inflected style of brush drawing that he proposes was practised by the ageing Hokusai, and contrasts this with the long, sustained lines that he conjectures might be more characteristic of Ōi's hand.

Another wave of authorship debate has been generated by the sudden rediscovery in 2019 of 103 small block-ready drawings for a never-published picture encyclopedia, *Banmotsu ehon daizen* (*The Great Picture Book of Everything*) (see **Pls 0.5, 9.4**).²⁹ Although the drawings themselves are unsigned – more precisely, the accompanying title sheet bearing Hokusai's name and seals is probably a later fabrication – the present author and others are convinced that they form part of a major project of Hokusai's later years, hitherto unrecognised.³⁰ A handful of the 103 drawings, all now acquired by the British Museum, are worked up from 'rough sketches' (*sōkō*) contained in the so-called 'Curtis Album' at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.³¹ They are also demonstrably part of the same overall project as 178 block-ready drawings contained in three untitled publisher's mock-up volumes preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, first brought to scholarly attention by Nagata Seiji in 2013.³²

Influenced by theories first proposed by dealer-scholar Bernard Rousseau (1941–2020), the 103 drawings were initially attributed in the art trade to Hokusai's late pupil Katsushika Isai (1821–1880).³³ To the present author,

however, they have the inimitable ‘ecstatic’ quality that became increasingly pronounced in Hokusai’s art in his last years. Two letters written by Hokusai to the publisher Kobayashi Shinbei (Sūzanbō), datable to the mid-1840s, indicate that he was working on pages of drawings for *The Great Picture Book* at that time. By serendipity, two separate, hitherto unrecorded albums of drawings by Isai have recently come to light that evidence a distinctly different drawing style from Hokusai’s, and which, concomitantly, teach us much about the working method for creating woodblock-printed illustrated books.³⁴ Curator Sarah Thompson has embarked on a major project to study the large number of Hokusai-school drawings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston – some hitherto unregistered – and we await her forthcoming exhibition and publication of 2023 with anticipation.³⁵

Knowledge representation

As mentioned above, a key research strand for our project has been to collaborate with the British Museum’s ResearchSpace to find innovative ways to represent online the new knowledge we are generating. After much joint effort with research partners to overcome – actually to overlay – the very different ways in which individual institutional databases are structured, ResearchSpace has created an online resource that permits users to search jointly across all of the Hokusai-related works in the collections of the British Museum, the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (as of summer 2022, a total of 14,469 works, or parts of works).³⁶

The sudden rediscovery of the 103 block-ready drawings for *The Great Picture Book of Everything* provided an unexpected new priority for online research. Each of the drawings carries an inscription, which needed to be deciphered, and the heterodox content of the drawings (broadly covering India, China and the natural world) needed identifying and linking to the existing Hokusai oeuvre. The key word here is *link*. Within the ResearchSpace platform, open-source tools have been adapted to enable researchers to annotate digital images in sophisticated ways. (The high-resolution digital images were created, to uniform specifications, by research partners the Art Research Center [ARC], Ritsumeikan University.) For the inscriptions, this means transcribing the Chinese/Japanese characters, transliterating their readings into Romanised script and translating the meaning into modern English, all recorded in handy digital ‘cards’ attached, yet flexibly movable, alongside the digital representation of the drawing concerned. For the content, discrete areas of the drawing can be linked with any number of discrete areas in other Hokusai works (paintings, prints, illustrated books), or indeed with any other works. The *nature* of that relationship is then defined by the researcher according to certain agreed criteria: visually similar; iconographically similar; technically similar; earlier than; later than; similar in period. Once these relationships have been entered into the system, a ‘knowledge map’ can be generated on-screen that gives them visual representation. A potentially infinite web of connections can be represented, as more links are identified.

Since 2021–2, when the physical 103 drawings were displayed at the British Museum and a conventional paper-printed catalogue was published, ResearchSpace has been used to host an online version of the exhibition.³⁷ In addition to publishing online images of the drawings as arranged and displayed in each of the gallery cases, we also link them to the panel and label texts, which were painstakingly interpreted by curator and project member Alfred Haft so as to be easily understood by the general public. Not only that, but the extraordinary new dimension to this ‘exhibition online’ is that each of the drawings is linked and tagged to all of the ‘external’ works (images, details and metadata) that researchers have identified as being relevant. Finally, we are managing to capture in digital form the many sophisticated acts of curation that researchers carry out in order to ‘make an exhibition’, including the bits of knowledge and the newly discovered links that researchers normally just carry around in their heads.

Society, thought, technique, legacy

The initial framing structure for the AHRC-funded ‘Late Hokusai’ research project – ‘thought, technique, society’ – was devised by project co-investigator Angus Lockyer, following discussion among potential participants.³⁸ As Lockyer has demonstrated to good effect elsewhere – in the themes of the displays about modern Japan at the British Museum he helped to devise in 2006 – adopting ‘baggy categories’ (his phrase) that overlap and complement one another can be a great way also to capture the rich granularity of history. Much amazing research has accumulated concerning Hokusai’s life, works and social context during the 130 years since the publication of Iijima’s biography in 1893. The majority of this is in the Japanese language and not easily accessible to non-Japanese speakers. For example, of particularly high value is the journal *Hokusai kenkyū* (*Hokusai Research*) in 57 issues edited between 1972 and 2016 by Nagata Seiji.³⁹ Hokusai-kan in Obuse, Nagano prefecture, also publishes a Japanese-language research journal.⁴⁰ Our project has been grateful to be able to draw on this important secondary research and make some of the key points available to audiences outside Japan.

Our strategy has been to encourage specialists of early modern Japan to research a particular aspect of the ‘greater Hokusai’ phenomenon, and then for them to introduce their results back to other specialists and non-specialists alike. Audience research shows that there is a huge appetite for anything to do with Hokusai among the general public, who have been initially hooked, no doubt, by the worldwide recognition of ‘The Great Wave’. Looking at Hokusai from the perspective of various disciplines, what can the specialists tell us that we might not otherwise think to ask about? Art historians will always be most keen to work on Hokusai’s life and works. A much richer and deeper understanding is surely nurtured when this is complemented by more extrinsic (but related) perspectives. Some look from the inside out, while others look from the outside in.

With this in mind, early modern Japan specialists were invited to the British Museum to view the 2017 exhibition *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave* and to present short, preliminary ideas that were then debated as a group and

with a public audience at an international symposium. Specific research topics and essays were then commissioned and further developed one-to-one with Timothy Clark for this publication. Additional workshops were held as resources permitted in London, Tokyo, Kyoto, Washington, DC and New York City.

In organising this research volume, it has been decided to switch the order of the baggy categories to ‘society, thought, technique’ – first placing Hokusai within the widest context – and also to add a fourth category, ‘legacy’, to reflect on the point that so much of Hokusai’s global impact has been steadily accumulating since his death.

Society

What was Hokusai’s society? Who did he know, and in what contexts? Much work remains to be done to explore further the artist’s myriad engagements with artists, calligraphers, authors and poets, actors, scholars, priests, doctors, sculptors, craftspeople, publishers, blockcutters and printers, patrons and clients, not to mention pupils, friends and family members. A painting performance for the shogun is recorded, as are commissions from samurai lords.⁴¹ In the ‘Society’ section we present an essay that analyses a selection of the artist’s letters to highlight playful yet steely business negotiations with publishers. A second gives a skilful overview of an important late patronage relationship with the regional town of Obuse (in today’s Nagano prefecture), with its own splendid repository of Hokusai-related material culture. A third essay speculates, crucially, on the likely nature and significance of Hokusai’s close relationship with his artist-daughter Ei/Oi. Finally, we are guided systematically through the strategies of an acquisitive publishing house to monopolise Hokusai art books in the artist’s later decades and well beyond his death.

However, it is the initial keynote essay by **Tazawa Hiroyoshi** that really opens up new vistas in situating Hokusai within his society. In recent years we have learnt a lot more about Hokusai’s family: for example, how, as in other early modern societies, marriage and adoption were used to try to better the lot of children and promote family livelihood. In 2010 Takemura Makoto presented extensive documentation to show how Hokusai arranged, sometime before 1819, for the adoption of his second son Sakijūrō (d. 1861) into the Kase family of low-ranking samurai vassals of the shogunate (*gokenin*).⁴² Published listings of government officials chart Sakijūrō’s steady advancement to become, by the 1850s, a ranking official of the shogunate’s finance department (*kanjōsho*), living at an official residence at Hongō Maruyama. (In one late letter, Hokusai even ponders moving in with this son and daughter-in-law, because he is so busy.)⁴³

Tazawa deftly summarises key research by Kishi Fumikazu, first published in 2014 and 2016, into Hokusai’s own quite complex ancestry within a lineage of mirror-makers to the shogunate with the hereditary name of Nakajima Ise.⁴⁴ Crucially, therefore, his social position was managed within the same system as samurai. As with other ukiyo-e artists of samurai status (Tōshūsai Sharaku, Utagawa Hiroshige), Hokusai thus had to negotiate a tricky balance between, on the one side, feudal duties and

responsibilities to perpetuate the household and, on the other, his ambition to be an independent artist within the marketplace. Until at least 1831, when there was an extraordinary burst of his creativity in popular colour woodblock prints such as the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*, Hokusai apparently continued to be concerned with succession matters relating to the Nakajima Ise name. (Nakajima Ise IX is thought to have taken the name in that year.) Tazawa thus carefully charts the twists and turns in Hokusai’s artistic career against pressing wider societal concerns.

To give another example of how style can reflect life choices, during the period when he used the art-name ‘Sōri’, roughly 1794–8, Hokusai was aspiring to the more elevated social status associated with the Edo lineage of the Rinpa school of painters, originally founded by Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716). This had a significant impact on his work. In place of commercial colour prints and illustrated comic novels (*kibyōshi*), the artist now concentrated on privately commissioned *surimono* prints and brush paintings with light colour that were often inscribed by contemporary men of letters. It is no accident that this corresponded to a period of government crackdown on popular culture, the so-called reforms of the Kansei era (1789–1801), when it was not prudent for a samurai artist to be seen to be too closely associated with the world of commercial publishing. Tazawa also speculates that it was Hokusai’s samurai-affiliated status that gave him enhanced access to new currents of Chinese painting such as the school of Shen Nanpin (Shen Quan, 1682–1760) and the Yuan school of Qing court painters.

Frank Feltens translates and interrogates a chronological selection of seven of the 36 or so letters by Hokusai that survive, and one of the three by his artist daughter Ei/Oi. Four of the seven Hokusai letters were written to the Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekido) firm of Nagoya, publishers of *Hokusai manga* and many other famous art books. A letter dated to c. 1823 goes into some detail about block-ready drawings for the illustrated book *Ehon onna Imagawa* (*Illustrated Imagawa Precepts for Women*) and relations with other publishers (see also Tinios essay, pp. 71–88). Oi’s letter is addressed to a patron-pupil in Obuse. A Hokusai letter from the mid-1840s updates the recipient on his collaboration with a sculptor to create a winged dragon for one of the town’s festival floats, as well as two other painted works (for more on Obuse, see also Haft essay, pp. 43–57).

In fact, most of the surviving Hokusai letters – and he surely wrote hundreds, if not thousands, more – deal with business and money, only occasionally touching on health and other personal matters. The artist, who for recreation enjoyed composing comic poetry, employs staccato, idiosyncratic messaging and adopts strange guises to appeal with considerable humour for loans and advances. Thumbnail sketches regularly enliven the hurriedly written text. On the evidence of this selection of letters, Feltens warns us that while they might seem to be taking us closer to the ‘real’ Hokusai, we must also remain alert to the possibility that he was spinning further myths about himself.

‘[A] case study of “cultural mobility” – referring to the movement of artists, artworks and artistic influence – during the late Edo period’ is how **Alfred Haft** characterises his

essay that gives a comprehensive overview of Hokusai's links with Obuse, a wealthy and cultivated regional town in Shinano province (today's Nagano prefecture). Judiciously sifting the evidence (including inscriptions, letters and poems) – which has sometimes been contested – Haft concludes that Hokusai visited his wealthy patron Takai Kōzan (1806–1883) in Obuse at least twice: possibly in 1844 and certainly in 1845, the second stay perhaps lasting six months. Unlike metropolitan Edo (Tokyo), which has been destroyed by major disasters at least three times since the artist's day, Obuse provides some highly significant Hokusai-related material culture and accompanying documentation, most impressively the two festival carts for which Hokusai painted mesmerising ceiling panels and supervised a sculptural scheme of a Chinese warrior and winged dragon (as referenced in one of the letters translated by Feltens, pp. 39–40).

Haft fleshes out considerably the local cultural context, introducing us to the wealthy brewers, landowners and merchants who sent their sons to study with artist and scholar luminaries in Kyoto and Edo, organised local cultural societies and collected art. Kōzan's greatest coup was surely to host Hokusai (also perhaps Ōi?). A key conduit for the Hokusai-Obuse/Kōzan relationship seems to have been the Jūhachiya, an Obuse firm that traded with Edo and is likely to have assisted Hokusai with introductions and travel arrangements. It also connected Shinano collectors of the artist's works with groups of his supporters in the metropolis during his final years and continued to do so after his death. Haft's model study serves as a crucial complement to the information given in Iijima Kyoshin's 1893 biography. Iijima apparently did not visit Obuse, and only briefly mentions the key relationship with Hokusai's patron-pupil Kōzan.

Writing in 1848, just before Hokusai died, historian Saitō Gesshin (1804–1878) let slip some startling gossip, credited to a certain Naruse Kichiemon: 'This daughter [Ōi] draws many of the block-ready drawings that appear under the name of Iitsu'.⁴⁵ Julie Nelson Davis invites us to think differently, radically differently, about the kind of relationship, professional and personal, that Hokusai and his artist daughter are likely to have enjoyed after she moved back to live with him in about 1827. Inspired by the thinking of feminist art historian Linda Nochlin (1931–2017) and African-American literature scholar Saidiya Hartman, Davis foregrounds the structural prejudices against women artists that prevailed both during the latter part of Hokusai's life and also almost half a century later, when his biography (published in 1893) came to be written by Iijima Kyoshin, and which have continued indeed up to the present. The image of their relationship – she watching, him painting – suggested by the famous sketch of Hokusai and Ōi by Tsuyuki Kōshō (see **Pl. 4.1**) and the accompanying text by Iijima has become canonical. But both picture and text were constructed decades after Hokusai's death. First, Davis argues persuasively for a scrupulous reconsideration of its quality *as evidence* of all of the information currently known about Ōi's life and works. (Much of this has been marshalled systematically by Kubota Kazuhiro in recent years.⁴⁶) Then, she goes on to propose a scenario, whereby Ōi and Hokusai

were close collaborators in the family atelier, financial success relying on a melding of their brush skills to produce the famous 'Hokusai' product. The implications of such a scenario are, needless to say, profound. There now seems to be the will, particularly in regard to paintings and brush drawings assigned to 'Ōi' or 'Hokusai', to try to re-characterise the nature of their artistic relationship. Were they actually 'partners in the studio', collaborating on the same works?⁴⁷

Hokusai's illustrated books – and his illustrations for books authored by others – were a key medium for spreading his art and ideas: arguably, *the* key medium. This was always true within Japan, and already during the artist's lifetime odd volumes had found their way to Europe. During the second half of the 19th century, it was primarily the illustrated books that carried his reputation around the world. But the books were never neglected within Japan itself and many stayed in print. This is one of many key points emphasised by **Ellis Tinios** in his essay, which catalogues the very active marketing from the 1810s through to the 1890s of 'the Hokusai brand' (Tinios's phrase) by three generations of the Nagoya-based publisher Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekido), each generation following a different business strategy. Hokusai's relationship with his publishers, as fragmentarily revealed in many of his letters, was clearly a key aspect of his day-to-day engagement with contemporary society.

Founding publisher of the phenomenally popular *Hokusai manga*, the Tōhekido firm went on, after 1836, aggressively to acquire from various Edo publishers the printing blocks for many other of the art books (*ehon*, *e-dehon*, *gafū*) and illustrated textbooks of Hokusai's later career. Tōhekido blithely excised the original publication information and inserted its own current adverts. The firm even engaged in the nefarious practice of taking titles by some of Hokusai's close pupils and passing these off as works by the master! Debate continues over why some Hokusai book projects were left incomplete during his lifetime: external factors (economic dislocation) and internal factors (Hokusai's exacting demands) are both given weight. Whatever the reasons, Tōhekido reissued and/or completed key titles just after Hokusai's death in 1849, the most notable example being the third and final volume of *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*), hailed as the artist's greatest illustrated book. Tinios steadily builds his painstaking research into the different printings of Hokusai's books, drawing on both his own collection and library holdings worldwide, which have been made available to us thanks to the digitalisation efforts of the Art Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University. Tinios's major contributions to this volume are presented in three parts. First, a discursive essay sets the crucial business activities of Tōhekido within the wider context of the publication of late Hokusai books. Second, his translation of stock lists (*zōhan mokuroku*) of both Tōhekido and the Kyoto-based Unsōdō that later acquired some of the Tōhekido titles, lists issued at key junctures in the late Edo period and Meiji era. And third, 'A Chronological List of Late Hokusai Books, with Short Bibliographic Notes' (Appendix 1, pp. 258–71) gamely endeavours to sort out some of the complex issues of the different printings/editions/retitlings/repackagings of Hokusai's later books. This is work in progress, offered as a reference for librarians and curators.



Plate 0.5 Hokusai, *India (Seijū, right) and China (Chūka, left)*, ?early to mid-1840s. Ink on paper, height 10.5cm, width 15.2cm. British Museum, London, 2020,3015.2, purchase funded by the Theresia Gerda Buch Bequest, in memory of her parents Rudolf and Julie Buch, with support from Art Fund

The list will also serve to bring some consistency to translations of Hokusai book titles.

Thought

Hokusai was not formally a philosopher and he only occasionally articulated his ideas using the written word. But every time he drew something, he was of course expressing ideas in ways the world has found extremely compelling. How do we engage with those ideas? Almost everything the artist created was in some way commissioned. So, what agency should we credit him in the expression of ideas? Surely Hokusai's particular genius resides in *the ways he gives form to ideas*? The newly rediscovered block-ready drawings for *The Great Picture Book of Everything* are a fascinating case study in this respect.

The Great Picture Book was evidently the commission of a publisher (or publishers), perhaps in the 1840s, for Hokusai to update a multi-volume popular picture encyclopedia that was first published in Japan in 1666 as *Kinnō zui* (*Collection of Images to Enlighten the Young*). His depictions of animals, birds, plants and peoples of foreign lands take the objective, specimen-like illustrations of individual motifs from older editions of the encyclopedia and combine them into dynamic, interactive mini-masterpieces of graphic art. In addition to updating the encyclopedia, the decision was apparently made to expand the scope of its reference to cover the history of ancient India and China (Pl. 0.5). Thus,

we encounter a wide-ranging succession of lively enactments of scenes apparently conjured from Hokusai's creative imagination. Six of the drawings reference specific historical Chinese texts in their inscriptions. Did Hokusai have access to such historical texts in his personal reference library? Or did the publisher, or a hired scholar, suggest to the artist the textual – or even pictorial – framing for each of these historical episodes? How did ideas so remote in space and time become translated into such immediately compelling vignettes? Our apologies to the reader that at present we can only ask, and not yet answer, these questions.

In the 'Thought' section, five essays treat different aspects of Hokusai's thought. Two examine the nature of his personal beliefs: in Nichiren (Hokke) Buddhism, and in relation to the popular cults of Mt Fuji. The canonical presence of China in late Hokusai works is then explored through the microcosm of one of his important illustrated books of Chinese and Japanese subjects. Finally, two essays assess from different perspectives the particular theme of dragons, a primordial beast talismanic to the artist.

'Religious frenzy' is the arresting phrase with which **Lucia Dolce** characterises the central place of spiritual observance in the lives of Edo townspeople in Hokusai's period. We read in Iijima's 1893 biography of Hokusai's personal belief in the Nichiren (Hokke) school of Buddhism; of the sites of worship in and around the city where he practised his devotions; and of his habitual personal

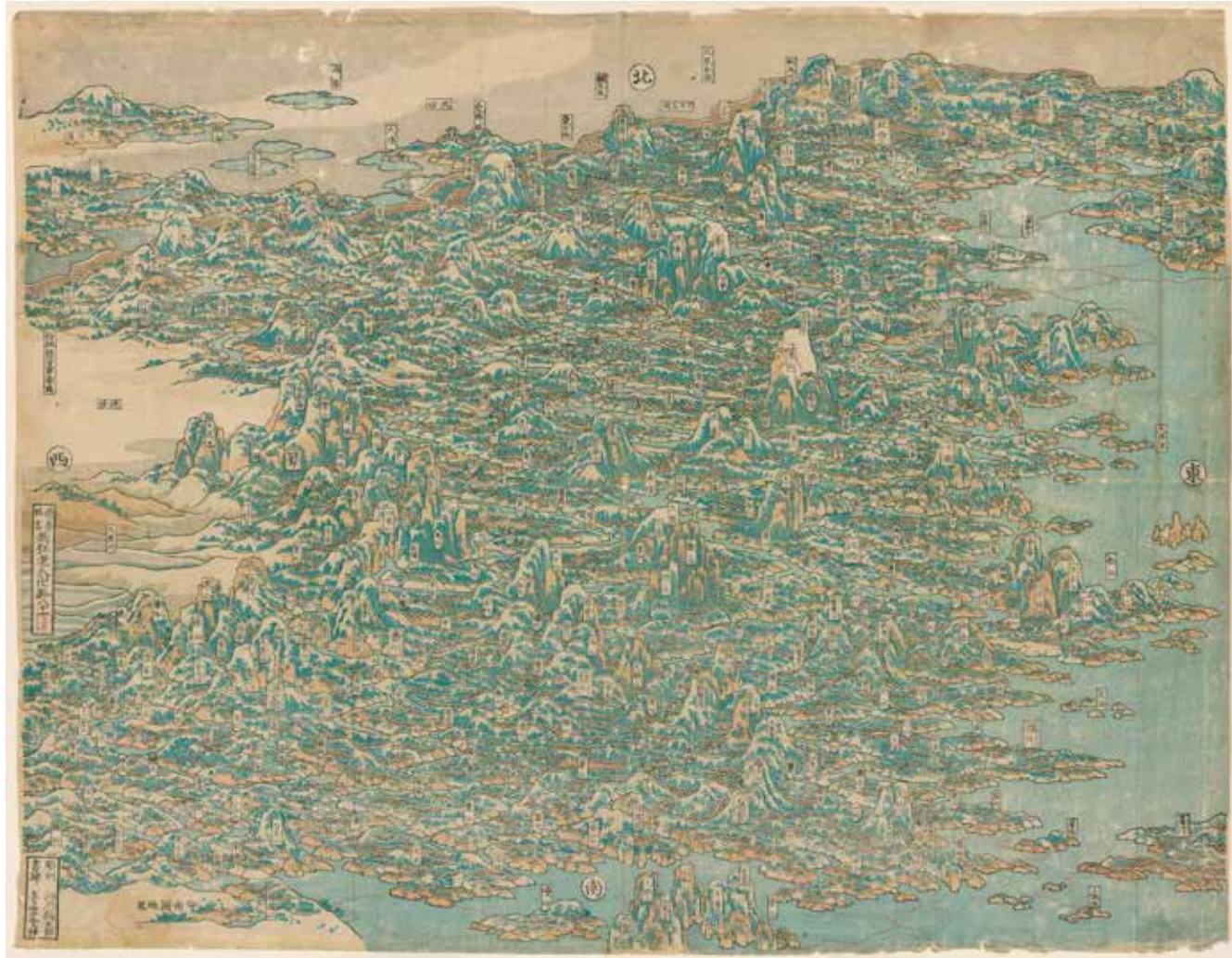


Plate 0.6 Hokusai, *Picture of Famous Places in China*, 1840. Colour woodblock, height 41.9cm, width 54.2cm. The British Library, London, maps 188.v.3. © The British Library Board

observances and the sacred image of Nichiren he kept in his home. Dolce fleshes out evocatively what these brief references in the biography probably meant in practice, in the daily life of an Edo person, born and bred. She also interrogates the modest number of works by Hokusai that incorporate Nichiren Buddhist themes, teasing out ritual meanings of specific subjects, and pondering who might have been the patron or commissioner of a particular work. Excitingly, she speculates on the nature of the *Lotus Sutra*-related ritual that is apparently being conducted in a major votive painting of 1821 by Hokusai's pupil Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850). Does this painting in fact include in the centre a portrait of the 61-year-old Hokusai (see **Pl. 6.9; cover**)? Was Hokusai perhaps a member of a Hokke confraternity?

Roger Keyes proposed that it was in the late 1790s, around the time Hokusai took the name 'Hokusai', referencing the North Star/Big Dipper and his reverence for the bodhisattva Myōken, that the artist also drew his first image of Mt Fuji.⁴⁸ Certainly, the North Star in the heavens and Mt Fuji on earth were both supremely powerful fixed points with which Hokusai sought to associate. Some scholars have speculated that later in his life, when imagery of Mt Fuji became such a key subject in his oeuvre, Hokusai and/or the publisher of *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*, Nishimuraya Yohachi, were in fact themselves members of

one of the Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*) that flourished among the merchant and artisan population in Edo. **Janine Sawada** carefully sifts the evidence. After skilfully summarising the history and characteristics of the several popular Fuji devotional cults of the Edo period leading up to Hokusai's day, Sawada analyses particular images by the artist that reference pilgrimages to the sacred mountain. Her conclusion is that Hokusai's depiction of Mt Fuji 'as a devotional site is evocative and imaginative rather than realistic'. Fuji devotees surely constituted a key constituency when it came to purchasing popular printed works that featured the mountain, but there is little specific evidence in this imagery for detailed personal knowledge by Hokusai of pilgrimage practices or the various distinctive ideas propagated by the Fujidō and Fujikō movements.

China was pervasive as a subject during the second half of the artist's career, specifically Hokusai's illustrations for adaptations of a wide range of Chinese texts such as *Tales of the Water Margin* (C. *Shuihu zhuan*, J. *Suikoden*) and classical Tang-period poetry. Around 1840, Hokusai even designed a large-format print imagining a bird's-eye view of the whole of China, for the publisher Seiundō (Tachibana Bunzō) (**Pl. 0.6**). An advert of 1843 for this print encourages readers of old Chinese tales and poetry to have it to hand to help them locate the place names appearing in those texts. 'Playful

syncretism' is the working hypothesis of **Yamamoto Yoshitaka** in answer to the question of how Hokusai approached Japanese and Chinese subjects in his late book illustrations. Yamamoto extrapolates from his close reading and pictorial analysis of *Ehon Kōkyō* (*Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety*, preface 1834, published 1850, republished 1864), while emphasising that 'eclecticism ran both ways: Chinese materials were incorporated into illustrations of Japan, while Japanese materials were incorporated into illustrations of China'. He opens up wider contexts of the self-study of the Chinese classics in Japan since the late 18th century, and offers charming vignettes of parents reading illustrated books like this with their children. The text of the *Classic of Filial Piety* – specifically the 'old text' version, which was preserved in Japan but lost in China – was edited for this particular publication, with commentaries, by Takai Ranzan (1762–1839). Ranzan was a regular collaborator with Hokusai for China-related publications. A more detailed analysis of the division of their labours should help to begin to answer the question posed above about the nature of Hokusai's agency in his many book projects.

Hokusai personally associated with dragons. His inscription on one of the last paintings, *Dragon Rising above Mt Fuji* (see **Pl. 9.5**), explains why: 'Brush of Manji, old man of ninety, born in the dragon year of Hōreki 10 [1760], painted on a dragon day [11th or 23rd] of the first month, Ka'ei 2 [1849].' **Angus Lockyer** throws down a challenge. Rather than load dragons with meanings from our own contemporary agendas, he encourages us to engage with Hokusai's painting of dragons on Hokusai's terms. The artist is helping us to see – and maybe also to draw – the beasts in their allotted place within a teeming continuum, both seen and unseen, of pulsating life in the natural world around us. More personally, Hokusai uses each heroic attempt to perfect still further his dragon-drawing as a means to extend his life and deepen even more his praxis. The ways in which dragons have been co-opted by scholars in various disciplines is critiqued; more pertinently, the ways in which other Japanese artists have painted them is contrasted. Issues of connoisseurship must duly be grappled with: did Hokusai actually paint all of the dragons attributed to his hand? Lockyer suggests we may never know for sure, but even fakes have something to teach us: 'probability is a game of chance, never a record of the past'.

Why Hokusai chose and used the unusual art-name Kukushin (九九蜃, 'nine, nine, dragon/mirage') was a question explored by **Yasuhara Akio** in conversation with the late Roger Keyes. This turned out to be an exercise in riddle-solving, both textual and pictorial. As also exemplified by Hokusai's delight in composing witty *senryū* poems, Yasuhara advises us always to be alert to the word and picture games that the artist is constantly spinning in his works. His conclusion is that Kukushin probably means 'eighty-one-scaled dragon'; specifically, a type of dragon that conjures mirages, as depicted in *Hokusai manga, Part III* (1815) (see **Pl. 10.9**). To reach this conclusion we are guided along a rich trail of possible pictorial sources in historical reference works from China. Yasuhara's final exhortation is for us to study harder: 'Much more research is needed to establish the library of reference works available to Hokusai.'

Technique

Six fascicles (*chō*) of text pages, thought to have been cut by the teenage Hokusai when he was apprenticed to a blockcutter, have recently been reassessed.⁴⁹ Several printing blocks for his designs from different periods of the artist's career have resurfaced, literally recycled into a decorative hand-warmer and tobacco tray, respectively.⁵⁰ The reappearance of 103 pages of Hokusai's block-ready drawings for *The Great Picture Book of Everything* has galvanised research into the production processes of late Hokusai illustrated books. Periodically, major paintings continue to be rediscovered and introduced.⁵¹

So, new evidence keeps appearing that encourages us to re-engage with the technical aspects of Hokusai's work. He was a brilliant and innovative technician with the brush, and an exacting client in his demands to blockcutters to cut accurately his idiosyncratically detailed block-ready brush drawings.⁵² Most of the artist's surviving letters discuss business matters with publishers. The Late Hokusai project went back to the artist's own words about the preparation, layering and gradating of pigments required to achieve the complex, often revolutionary, effects seen in his final paintings, as shared with the world in the pages of *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848). Two essays in the 'Technique' section deal with the connoisseurship of Hokusai's paintings; a third applies similar scrutiny to a group of unsigned Hokusai school brush drawings; and a fourth presents an authoritative account of the many different printings encountered of 'The Great Wave', both original and facsimile.

Connoisseurship, and debates about authenticity and school works – in all media, printed as well as painted – remains the foundation of Hokusai art history, no matter what arguments we then go on to build upon that foundation. If we do not know what is really by him, then how can we hope to assess Hokusai's achievements? In their complementary essays, **Timothy Clark** and **John Carpenter** both reaffirm the centrality of the complex connoisseurship method, from their different-but-similar curatorial perspectives at the British Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art ('The Met'). Both authors reference and critique the five concentric categories of Hokusai paintings – from indisputably genuine, through school works, to out-and-out fakes – first proposed by Tsuji Nobuo in 1994 (mentioned above). A fundamental tool of art history has always been close comparison. Now science and digital photography can take this to new levels. For example, 8K image-capture, such as perfected in recent years by NHK, Japan's national broadcaster, permits scrutiny of an artist's fundamental brush mannerisms in ways not at all possible with the naked eye.⁵³ A new appreciation for 'slow looking' at originals is encouraged and the merits of group assessment are debated. At The Met, pigment analysis of Hokusai paintings and microscopic examination have given collaborating curator (Carpenter) and scientist (Marco Leona) a new understanding of what is the typical palette for Hokusai and his period, and what is not. This can be measured against Hokusai's own notes in *Ehon saishiki tsū*. Clark makes a strong plea, as in the past, for scholars in Japan to debate issues of forgery publicly. Curators of public

collections, often assembled over a century ago, have a particularly compelling duty to give frank public assessments of the works they curate. Carpenter follows the trail of various comments about specific paintings left by visiting scholars at The Met over decades.

In 2000 Nagata Seiji warned that some apparently painted 'Hokusai' works are in fact the product of part-woodblock printing, part hand-colouring; they are fake Hokusai works that probably started to be made when colour woodblock printing reached a final apogee of reproductive skill in the 1880s and 1890s.⁵⁴ Carpenter introduces an actual example recently gifted for study purposes to The Met. The discovery of multiple versions of a 'Hokusai' painting should always ring alarm bells, and Clark presents several examples of originals versus copies (forgeries, since the copies are signed with fake Hokusai signatures and seals). The chaff urgently needs to be separated from the wheat. Carpenter reminds us of the importance of an inscription on a painting not only as evidence in matters of authenticity but, further, as a key tool for teasing out the contemporary meaning of the painting's content, and as a record of Hokusai's likely cultural interactions.

Asano Shūgō sets out objectively to assess 29 miscellaneous unsigned brush drawings in Hokusai style in the collection of Hokusaikan, Obuse. He describes the different drawing types: preparatory drawings (*shita-e*); rough sketches (*sobyō*); model drawings to copy (*edehon*); and other forms of sketch composition. (He differentiates these from block-ready drawings [*hanshita-e*], which are not represented in the Obuse collection.) After identifying the subjects and characterising the style of their brushstrokes, Asano ranks the drawings as follows (rather in the same way as Tsuji Nobuo did with paintings):

- A: considered to be by Hokusai;
- B: strong possibility that it is by Hokusai;
- C: possibly by Hokusai;
- D: unlikely to be by Hokusai;
- E: not by Hokusai.

This is a helpful way to begin to classify the literally thousands of brush drawings in Hokusai style that are found in collections worldwide.

Eleven works among the 29 in Obuse relate to the so-called *Nishinjoma* (*Daily Exorcisms*) project, lively brush studies of Chinese lions that Hokusai apparently did each day in 1842–3. Ten of the 11 were formerly owned by Hokusai's pupil Honma Hokuyō (1822–1868) and all 11 are classified 'A': works of the highest quality from Hokusai's own hand. (The largest surviving group of 219 lion drawings was originally given by Hokusai and Ōi in 1847 to the samurai Miyamoto Shinsuke [1822–1878] and has recently been donated to the Kyushu National Museum; **Pls 1.6, 13.3, 15.3**.⁵⁵) Sixteen large-format drawings now in Obuse were formerly in the collection of Ralph Andrew Harari (1893–1969), London.⁵⁶ Asano classifies none of these as definitely by Hokusai himself. A drawing of *General Guan Yu* (see **Pl. 13.5**) has detailed notes written on it about colouring and technique. Asano analyses the orthography and mannerisms of style of the inscription to prove that it was not written by Hokusai. This suggests a fruitful method for

analysing other texts and inscriptions purporting to be from Hokusai's hand.

Roger Keyes pioneered the technique of detailed observation of the progressive damage to printing blocks – especially to the 'key-block', which prints outlines and text – to judge whether a particular impression of a print was relatively early or late within the total run of printing a design (Keyes essay, pp. 220–7). Building on this method and employing the rigour of her scientific training, a large sample set and enhanced observation using digital photographs, **Capucine Korenberg** gives us the definitive account of the likely original printing sequence for 'The Great Wave', as well as the progressive evolution of woodblock damage and the substitution of replacement printing blocks used to keep this popular design in print. She also defines the differences between impressions printed from these 'original' blocks and those that began to be made from new, completely recut blocks in the late 19th century ('facsimile reproductions'; see also Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35).

Keyes classified as 'states' the significant differences in printings that he observed (often working only from small black-and-white photographs) and any other block changes, following the terminology of Western print connoisseurship. In the case of 'The Great Wave', Keyes recorded 21 states. In 1991 Hokusai scholar Matthi Forrer used a similar technique, but came up with a much simplified description of the evolution of block damage, in five stages.⁵⁷ Korenberg has now proposed eight printing steps using seven woodblocks (probably four planks cut on both sides) for the earliest printings of 'The Great Wave'. She has reduced Keyes's sequence of states down to eight key changes and listed public collections in which examples of each of these states can be found. Korenberg's results, profusely illustrated with annotated details taken from digital photographs of the originals, are entirely convincing and provide a model for researching the different printings of other designs by Hokusai, and indeed of all other Japanese woodblock prints.

Legacy

It is now more than 170 years since Hokusai's death in 1849 and his legacy has continued to grow and expand worldwide. As enumerated at the beginning of this essay, more and more exhibitions of his works are being staged internationally and typically attract six-figure audiences. Even if they do not know much about the cultural context of Edo-period Japan, audiences respond extremely positively to the humanity, energy and humorous idiosyncrasy of Hokusai's art. In terms of artistic influence, within Japan the artist had more than 200 pupils and his powerful example endured through to the end of the 19th century and beyond. Outside Japan, the story of the impact of Hokusai and other ukiyo-e artists on the course of development of modern art is told with increasing frequency and sophistication. A model study in this respect is Christine Guth's *Hokusai's Great Wave: Biography of a Global Icon* of 2015.⁵⁸ The decision has been made in this volume to add a 'Legacy' section to the initial three main research topics. In this section we are treated to essays that focus on matters of reconstructing Hokusai's biography, reconstituting his printed oeuvre, and how reproduction

works have served to spread but also to sully his reputation. Finally, two essays reflect on ways in which the innovative technologies of the semantic web can help to generate, organise and represent joined-up Hokusai research. In separating out 'Legacy', we hope to encourage scholars not just to parachute themselves into a selectively recreated late Edo period, but also to think about how Hokusai's image has come to be assembled along the way, to the present.

As noted above, the foundational text for reconstructing Hokusai's biography is Iijima Kyoshin's *Katsushika Hokusai den* (1893). Although we rely heavily on Iijima to tell the Hokusai story, several scholars in this volume argue for a re-evaluation of his pioneering text in light of additional information and to explore revisionist perspectives. Iijima also wrote the first significant biography of the artist Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889), around 1897–9 (although this did not actually appear in print until 1984, revised again in 2012).⁵⁹ Well placed to compare the two biographies is **Sadamura Koto**, a leading Kyōsai scholar.

Iijima used similar innovative and scientific methods for both biographies: creating a single-artist monograph; conducting interviews; using extensive written sources, including letters; and conducting on-site investigations. Sadamura charts many points of intersection between the two artists: both of samurai descent, they occupied somewhat comparable positions within the art worlds of their time, absorbing traditional currents of painting while also innovating in the popular realm and fully exploiting the reproductive potential of the woodblock medium. Kyōsai studied Hokusai's works and was actually quoted by Iijima as an authority on the earlier artist. Entries in Kyōsai's 'Picture Diary' (*e-nikki*) suggest that he was called on to authenticate Hokusai works. At the same time, Western art lovers, now permitted to travel more freely to Meiji Japan, often beat a path to Kyōsai's door and he cultivated these important friendships with foreigners. An obituary even proposed that he was the 'Hokusai of the Meiji era'. In the case of both biographies, Sadamura detects the influence of new currents of the times that made it important for Iijima to elevate 'art' (expressed by the newly coined term *bijutsu*) to be something spiritual, philosophical or contemplative. The genesis of Iijima's biography of Hokusai was complex, linking the author with Kobayashi Bunshichi and Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906) in Japan, and Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896) and Siegfried Bing (1838–1905) in Paris, all major figures in the promotion of Hokusai in the modern world.

This research volume is dedicated to the memory of **Roger Keyes**, the leading scholar of Hokusai and ukiyo-e, and key adviser to the research project. Keyes helped to formulate the 2017 exhibition and constantly gave advice and assistance to the researchers, collectively and individually. Keyes's essay here was originally intended as an introduction and user's guide for the monumental catalogue raisonné of Hokusai prints, which he authored together with Peter Morse (see p. 4 above). It not only serves that purpose very well but also succinctly summarises many of the basic approaches of Keyes's unrivalled connoisseurship of Japanese prints. Imagining the entire Hokusai print oeuvre as an organic whole, the structure of the (originally) analogue catalogue raisonné anticipated a

level of detail and a sense of connectedness that would in fact become possible only in the digital age. To this end, it has been gratifying to work with the Art Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University, to create the digital version, something with which Keyes was able to assist during his final years, when this short essay was written. Although the general public will surely always focus on Hokusai's masterpiece print designs of the 1830s, another major value of the catalogue, however, is the attention it pays to less famous works, particularly those from early in the artist's career, during the period 1790–1810, when he was a prolific designer of privately commissioned and produced *surimono*.

Keyes painstakingly worked to differentiate, according to his evaluation, designs by Hokusai himself, anonymous works in Hokusai style and those of more minor pupils. This already demonstrates, at this relatively early period in the artist's career, the pulling power of his example. It will take less brilliant scholars many years to catch up with this overview. Keyes was also way ahead of his time in paying equally scrupulous attention to 'copies' (facsimile reproductions), which began to be made in the 1880s (see also Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35). It is humbling to realise that even Hokusai himself would not have been able to envisage his entire print oeuvre in such a systematic way: the catalogue raisonné is, inarguably, the key tool for assessing the Hokusai legacy.

In 1900 the dealer-collector Kobayashi Bunshichi famously staged an exhibition in Tokyo of Hokusai paintings. The following year – so, retrospectively – he published a substantial catalogue with text by Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), which included innovative collotype illustrations of some of the works.⁶⁰ But how were Hokusai's works 'reproduced' during the second half century of the 19th century, a crucial period in the formation of his legacy? Groundbreaking detective work by **Matsuba Ryōko** begins to give some answers.

One strategy of publishers was to try to keep popular Hokusai colour woodblock designs in print, using the original blocks for as long as possible. Matsuba describes how substitute colour blocks were added to prolong the commercial life of three celebrated designs from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (see also Korenberg essay, pp. 192–211). Further, 'new' Hokusai illustrated book titles were generated by activating unused earlier drawings, or by adapting earlier books, most obviously to create *Hokusai manga, Part XV* (1878). However, the core of Matsuba's essay charts how publishers in the 1880s and 1890s began to issue facsimile reproductions (*fukusei*) – that is, colour woodblock-printed copies made from recut blocks – of the *Thirty-Six Views* and other well-known landscape designs such as the *Waterfalls* series. Some designs were slightly modified; others were reproduced as faithfully as possible. The intended markets were both domestic and international. In general society, printing technologies were rapidly moving away from traditional woodblock and rules of copyright were becoming more legalistic. The chronology proposed by Matsuba for the creation by various publishers of facsimile reproductions of Hokusai landscape prints is: Ōkura Magobei (1889), Sekiguchi Masajirō (1892), Matsui Eikichi (c. 1892), Ozeki Toyo (1895) and Kobayashi Bunshichi (1890s).

Were any of the facsimile reproductions passed off as original impressions, intended to deceive? The most accurate facsimiles were those commissioned by Kobayashi and they did carry his printed 'ivy leaf and flying plover' seal (see **Pl. 17.5b**) to alert those in the know. But we should further consider Kobayashi's facsimile reproductions of prints in parallel with the contemporary phenomena of part-printed 'Hokusai' paintings (Carpenter essay, pp. 148–79), and hand-executed, forged copies of other painted works (Clark essay, pp. 139–47; Hare essay, pp. 236–44). Happily, we can call upon the expertise of conservators and scientists in these matters.

Like an experienced crime scene investigator, conservator **Andrew Hare** systematically sets out the evidence to demonstrate glaring incongruities between the painting and the mounting of the 'Hokusai' *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide* (F1903.2) in the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC collection. While the painting is in almost mint condition, numerous aspects of the mounting – stains, creases, insect damage, and so on – suggest that it was cut down from an older scroll and deliberately distressed to suggest, by association, that the painting it supports is older than it actually is. In fact, the authenticity of the painting has been questioned for some time and scholars now accept that the National Museum of Asian Art work is a faked, inferior copy of the version in the Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts (Important Cultural Property), considered the genuine original.⁶¹ Hare introduces us to a range of potential techniques in the repertoire of the skilled mounter/restorer/conservator, including dark lining papers, false 'aged' patina and even deliberately trapping insect larvae inside the rolled scroll, so that they eat through a few layers of painting and backing papers to leave holes. Typically, these techniques are used to make an old, damaged painting harmonise better with a replacement mounting. But the same tricks can also be used, as in this case, to make a new copy seem more like an old original. The dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi, who appears elsewhere in this volume as a commissioner of facsimile prints and paintings, is known to have been the source of both the original *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide* now in Osaka and the copy now at the National Museum of Asian Art.

Beyond this illuminating case study in deliberate forgery, Hare reflects more generally on the likely qualities of a typical Hokusai scroll painting, at the same time pointing out that examples of mountings dating indisputably from Hokusai's time cannot at present be identified. He summarises the various factors, often considerations of cost, that would have probably pertained to the artist, client and mounter in deciding on a particular style of mounting and the materials used. He describes how this changed over time as Hokusai's works became more sought after and more expensive, with clients abroad such as Charles Lang Freer coming into the picture, as well as within Japan. Hare eloquently advocates a natural alliance between conservator and curator, in the context of 'slow looking' (together), while also reminding us of the haptic pleasures to be enjoyed in engaging with Hokusai's paintings, and not just the optic ones. What could be a more intimate signifier of the history and legacy of a painting than the mounting with which it is physically melded?

As a historian of Japanese prints who for the purposes of this project has studied digital humanities, **Stephanie Santschi** has been the linchpin between the art-historical and knowledge representation aspects of our endeavours. As mentioned above, a key aspiration has been to create an online platform for collaborative Hokusai research within the British Museum's ResearchSpace, one that links images and data of works in major world collections and facilitates easily audited additions of knowledge on an easy-to-use interface. (No small ambition!) The biggest challenge was that the system was being invented and refined even as we were using it. Santschi reflects clearly and candidly in her essay on the ups and downs of that journey. If researchers had narrowed their research questions earlier in the project, then maybe progress would have been swifter. As it was, the unexpected reappearance of 103 Hokusai drawings for *The Great Picture Book of Everything* did in fact provide a finite sample that tested and demonstrated the great potential of the system. Santschi's principal plea is that 'humanities and digital processes need to complement each other effectively'.

To link the disparate data, the humanities ontology CIDOC CRM (Conceptual Reference Model) was used, which encourages researchers to think of cultural production in terms of a sequence of processes and events: people performing actions on things at particular places and times. As Santschi explains, this proved to be a useful model for breaking down the complex woodblock-printing process into its sequential elements and for better visualising the roles of artefacts that have not generally survived that process (the artist's 'block-ready' brush drawing destroyed in the cutting of printing blocks; the cherrywood printing blocks themselves, which wore out or were recycled). A key point in Roger Keyes's catalogue raisonné was the deductions he made about the sequence of print impressions, based on the relative degree of block wear visible in those impressions. ResearchSpace has the potential to represent those sometimes minute changes in an easy to observe way. Santschi makes a compelling case not just for representing knowledge about Hokusai bilingually, but also for engaging with researchers in Japan further to refine the CIDOC CRM ontology in the language of that country.

Dominic Oldman, Diana Tanase and Cristina Giancristofaro are the enthusiastic team of computer scientists and knowledge representation specialists who have supported the research of the Late Hokusai project within the British Museum's ResearchSpace digital online system. In their co-authored essay that concludes this volume (referred to below using the name of lead author Oldman), they too make an urgent plea for better engagement between humanities researchers and designers of digital information systems. The goal is to create flexible tools that facilitate what the researchers want to do, rather than force them into using conventional database and housekeeping systems designed primarily for business purposes. To assist the audience of Japanese art specialists who are likely to be the prime users of this volume, Oldman provides helpful summary critiques of the histories of dialectical thinking, computer systems theory, cybernetics and other related fields. He argues passionately in favour of developing new digital tools – such as the ResearchSpace platform he and

the team have created – that encourage joined-up, open-ended, collaborative research and which develop sophisticated ways to represent this research meaningfully, adaptably and sustainably (and which are constantly archived to assist future scholarship).

Oldman met with the late Roger Keyes on a number of occasions for fruitful discussion. Inspired by these talks and by the celebrated Keyes' poem 'Hokusai says' (quoted on p. 227), Oldman has woven together his thoughts on Hokusai, Keyes and the Buddhist philosophy that both artist and scholar-poet espoused, to reaffirm what Hokusai has been teaching us all along: to recognise that the world is completely interconnected and in a constant state of flux, and that if we look carefully and engage receptively, then our own lives are affirmed and considerably enriched.

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It has been a privilege to research Hokusai. As the heterodox essays in this volume demonstrate, he is an artist who rewards examination from multiple viewpoints. I would like to thank all of the scholars who have given so generously of their time and expertise to engage with the Late Hokusai project. We hope that our varied perspectives will encourage scholars of the next generation to continue to explore the great Hokusai legacy. We invite you to use the volume in conjunction with the exhibition catalogues of 2017 and 2021–2, the earlier iterations of our thinking.⁶²

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Notes to the reader

- For Japanese names, the family name is given first.
- All translations from Japanese into English are by Timothy Clark unless otherwise indicated.
- Hokusai's age is given according to the traditional system whereby you are one at birth and increase your age by another year at each New Year.

Notes

- 1 Tokyo National Museum 2005; with the assistance of Kobayashi Tadashi and Asano Shūgō.
- 2 Yonemura 2006.
- 3 Clark 2017a; Asano 2017b.
- 4 In his presentation at the international symposium *Late Hokusai: Thought, Technique, Society* held at the British Museum on 26–27 May 2017, Robert Campbell outlined what is known about Hokusai's participation in public 'calligraphy and painting parties' (*shogakai*) and proposed that Hokusai also probably supported – sometimes behind the scenes – the activities of his pupils at such events. See also Clark 2017b, 22, for a text written by Hokusai for a calligraphy and painting event he attended in 1834.
- 5 Nagata 2000.
- 6 The most detailed account concerning Kobayashi Bunshichi is Yamaguchi 1988.
- 7 Thompson 2016; Thompson 2017; Clark 2021; Clark 2022; Kyushu National Museum 2022. See also Matthi Forrer's pioneering essay in Calza and Carpenter 1994 (Forrer 1994).
- 8 Clark 2017a, 316, no. 211; Perrin 2008; Hokusai 2023.
- 9 See Forrer 1998; Forrer 2007.
- 10 <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/booksrske/search.php> (accessed 20 February 2023).
- 11 Hillier 1980.
- 12 I am grateful to Ellis Tinios for his assistance in assembling and assessing figures on Hokusai book totals from various sources (personal correspondence).
- 13 Letter from Jack Hillier to Leigh Renouf, 9 February 1981; kept with *Hokusai manga, Part XII*, Ebi collection, UK (Ebio609).
- 14 Iijima 1893.
- 15 Iijima 1999; Suzuki 1999.
- 16 Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming).
- 17 Alternatively, 'Eijo' ('The woman Ei') or 'O-Ei' (adding the honorific preface 'o-').
- 18 Nagata 1997.
- 19 Nishiyama *et al.* 1984, 765–849.
- 20 <https://researchspace.org/> (accessed 16 January 2023).
- 21 Nagata 1987.
- 22 Tsuji 1994, 38.
- 23 I am grateful to Ellis Tinios for this information (personal communication).
- 24 Tinios 2022a; Tinios 2022b, 4–5.
- 25 Michener 1958, 13.
- 26 For more on the significance of '*kyōgō monjin*', see Matsudaira 1996, 15–17.
- 27 Kubota 2015.
- 28 Asano's comments are included in the YouTube film 'Hokusai's late works: the block-ready drawings', first streamed on 5 November 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUYNVKNKr6o>, particularly the section from 30:09 to 32:16 (accessed 16 January 2023).
- 29 Clark 2021; Clark 2022.
- 30 See Asano 2022, 2–5.
- 31 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503230c.r=hokusai;r=21459;2> (accessed 16 January 2023).
- 32 Nagata 2013; Thompson 2016; Thompson 2017.
- 33 Rousseau 2017; Rousseau 2018–19.
- 34 Tinios 2022a; Tinios 2022b.
- 35 <https://www.mfa.org/exhibition/hokusai-inspiration-and-influence> (accessed 16 January 2023).

36 <https://latehokusai.researchspace.org/resource/rsp:Start> (accessed 16 January 2023).

37 https://hokusai-great-picture-book-everything.researchspace.org/resource/rsp:Exhibition_greatPictureBook (accessed 16 January 2023).

38 <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/projects/late-hokusai-thought-technique-society> (accessed 16 January 2023).

39 Tokyo Hokusai Kai 1972–2016, 1–57.

40 Hokusaiikan 2008–22, 1–13.

41 Iijima 1999, 76–8, 211–15.

42 Takemura 2010.

43 The letter, addressed to Hokusai's pupil Hokuyō and dated 9th day of the first month, [1846?], is transcribed in Isawa 1975.

44 Kishi 2014; Kishi 2016.

45 See Davis essay, p. 69, n. 19.

46 Kubota 2015.

47 See note 28 above.

48 BM 1979,0305,0.406, fragment of an album (or *surimono*) with the attributed title *Furukuni gahai shū*. Hillier 1980, 27, no. 11; Keyes 2020, 100.

49 Hinohara 2022.

50 Kyushu National Museum 2022, 40–1, no. 23, 224–5, no. 127.

51 See, for example, the Hokusai handscroll painting *Scenery on Both Banks of the Sumida River* (1805), featured at the opening of the new Sumida Hokusai Museum in 2016; Sumida Hokusai Bijutsukan 2016.

52 Tinios 2015.

53 As used, for example, in the NHK 8K television documentary 'Hokusai, maboroshi no nikuhitsuga – Amerika ni nemuru Gakyō rōjin no tamashii', first broadcast in Japan on 2 February 2019.

54 Nagata 2000, 221–2.

55 Kyushu National Museum 2022.

56 Hillier 1970, 266–86, no. 146.

57 Forrer 1991, no. 11.

58 Guth 2015.

59 Iijima 1984, 2012.

60 Fenollosa 1901.

61 See, for example, Clark 1992, 36–8.

62 Clark 2017a; Asano 2017b; Clark 2021; Clark 2022.

Part 1: Society

Chapter 1 Hokusai: Life and Works

Tazawa Hiroyoshi

The image of Hokusai as a ‘man crazy to paint’

Our image of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) is surely of a genius artist who constantly changed his name and moved house, who did not seek conventional honours in society, and who spent his whole career until his death at 90 single-mindedly exploring the vocation of painting. His attitude towards art and life emerges from the fact that he named himself ‘Man Crazy to Paint’ (Gakyōjin). In Hokusai’s postscript to volume one of *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*), published in 1834 when he was 75, he deliberately made a public statement of his ambition to improve his pictures of all kinds (Pl. 1.1). Here we find the attitude to life of a ‘man crazy to paint’:

From the age of six I had a penchant for copying the form of things, and from about fifty, my pictures were frequently published; but until the age of seventy, nothing I drew was worthy of notice. At seventy-three years, I was somewhat able to fathom the growth of plants and trees, and the structure of birds, animals, insects and fish. Thus when I reach eighty years, I hope to have made increasing progress, and at ninety to see further into the underlying principles of things, so that at one hundred years I will have achieved a divine state in my art, and at one hundred and ten, every dot and every stroke will be as though alive. Those of you who live long enough, bear witness that these words of mine are not false.¹

In the Meiji era (1868–1912), Hokusai’s pupil Tsuyuki Kōshō (d. after 1893) made a famous drawing from memory, *Hokusai’s Temporary Lodgings* (*Hokusai karitaku no zu*, National Diet Library, Tokyo), which shows the artist in old age living together with his daughter Ei (art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857?) (Pl. 4.1). He is shown painting while wrapped deep in his bed quilt: when he got tired he reached for a pillow and slept; when he woke he reached for his brush. (The drawing includes a text to the effect that Hokusai was susceptible to the cold and would stay in his bed quilt from the end of the ninth month [late autumn] until the beginning of the fourth month [early summer]; no matter who came to visit he would greet them in this way.) In the same Meiji era, Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901), a former vassal of the shogunate who later edited educational texts for the Meiji government, compiled his *Katsushika Hokusai den* (*Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*, 1893), based on the testimonies of people who knew the artist in his later life (see also Sadamura essay, pp. 212–19). Iijima recorded anecdotes, for example, that Hokusai did not drink sake or smoke, that he was careless about his apparel and that he never cleaned his dirty lodgings. The image conveyed is that the artist disliked stiff formality and vanity. Even though he attracted considerable attention as a great artist, he was unconcerned about worldly and financial success. He devoted his whole being to the production of his art, even while habitually suffering from poverty.

We are presented with a persuasive narrative whereby the artist was not bound by the normal rules of society and single-mindedly pursued his art. Hokusai alone had the proudly independent expressive power to produce such world-famous masterpieces as ‘Under the Wave off Kanagawa’ (*Kanagawa oki namiura*, ‘The Great Wave’) and ‘Clear Day with a Southern Breeze’ (*Gaifū kaisei*, ‘Red Fuji’), in the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*); the



Plate 1.1 Hokusai, 'Priceless Fuji' (Senkin Fuji) and the artist's postscript, from *Fugaku hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji), vol. 1, 25 verso, 1 postscript, 1834. Woodblock, height 22.7cm, width 15.7cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.454.1 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

series *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces* (*Shokoku taki-meguri*); and the lively expressive power and uninhibited imagination paraded in the illustrated book *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai's Sketches*).

However, Hokusai was also a member of Edo society, which was constructed so as to maintain a rigid status system. The image of Hokusai recounted in the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* and other sources was indeed based on testimonies of people who knew him directly, but these testimonies are generally limited to the later part of a life that had spanned some 90 years. Under the Edo system, ukiyo-e artists were not recognised as true artists, and yet, strangely, enough information was known about Hokusai to be able to compile his biography. Having said this, many facts about his life, particularly his early life, remain obscure. In the essay that follows, I would like to conduct a re-examination, starting from those early, obscure years, and demonstrate how Hokusai's art was constructed under the formative influence of the Edo social system.

Hokusai's birth

The Edo period (1615–1868) in which Hokusai lived was an era of peace, which continued without major conflict for some 250 years. The country was unified by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) after an era of constant civil war among samurai lords (*daimyō*) and their rival armies, known as the 'period of

warring states'. Following his victory at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 between two great rival armies from all over Japan, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) became shogun and brought this political turmoil under control. From their successful Osaka campaigns of 1615, which destroyed the rival Toyotomi clan, until the Meiji restoration of 1868, successive generations of the Tokugawa family ruled Japan as shoguns. Their authority was asserted in each region by the samurai lords and their warrior retainers. Their power was consolidated on the basis of a rigid status system. Fixing people's social status became the most important tool for political stability and the maintenance of power.

The status system was divided broadly between the ruling samurai (*bushi*) class on the one hand, and townspeople (*chōnin*) in the cities and farmers (*hyakushō*) in the regions, who the samurai governed. It was relatively easy to move between the farmer and townsperson classes. However, samurai were bound to their status from generation to generation and, apart from a few exceptions, there was almost no switching of class. Artists were divided between so-called 'artists by appointment' (*goyō eshi*) – who were incorporated into the samurai system and given an official residence, land and stipend – and 'town artists' (*machi eshi*) who were of the townsperson class.

The ukiyo-e artist Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), for example, was born as the son of Andō Gen'emon, a low-

ranking shogunal fire official (*hikeshi dōjin*), responsible for firefighting in Edo castle and the wider city. Hiroshige's father had the family name Tanaka and inherited the fire official position from his wife's father Andō Jūemon (十右衛門). At the age of 13 his mother and father died in quick succession, and Hiroshige succeeded to the Andō family profession of fire official, taking the name Jūemon (重右衛門) and becoming a shogunal retainer. At 25 he married the daughter of a fire official of the same rank, Okabe Yazaemon. In 1823 he relinquished the status of head of the family to Chūjirō, the son of his maternal grandfather, and took the name Tetsuzō. Chūjirō was only eight years old, however, so Hiroshige remained his guardian and continued to perform the duties of fire official in his stead. In 1832 Chūjirō turned 17 and formally came of an age to succeed to the position of fire official. From around this time Hiroshige took the art-name 'Ichiryūsai' and became a full-time artist, designing such famous print series as *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō Highway* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan-tsugi*). Until he was able to pass on his official position, Hiroshige was a samurai and his activities as an ukiyo-e artist had to take second place to his main job.

Tōshūsai Sharaku (worked 1794–5) is celebrated as an enigmatic artist who produced a group of idiosyncratic works in the brief period between the fifth month, 1794 and the first month, 1795. From research in recent years, however, it has become generally accepted that he was the noh actor Saitō Jūrōbei, in the service of the Hachizuka clan of the Tokushima domain, Awa province. He is said suddenly to have ceased to produce prints because people stopped liking his designs. But it may also have been the case that it was not considered appropriate for a noh actor in the service of a samurai lord to be involved in the production of ukiyo-e prints which, at the time, were the subject of strict publishing controls. It may be for similar reasons that his true identity was not previously known. For both Hiroshige and Sharaku, then, they had to balance their samurai and artist identities when producing ukiyo-e prints, within the overall context of social attitudes to different professions in the Edo period.

According to the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*, the artist was born on the 23rd day of the ninth month, 1760, at Warigesui in Honjo district, Edo. His father was Nakajima Ise, a mirror-maker in the service of the shogunate. However, the writer Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin (1767–1848) made the following note in red ink, attached to a letter from Hokusai (Pl. 1.2):

At first Hokusai learned to cut woodblocks for printing. Abandoning this, he studied painting under Katsukawa Shunshō and used the art-name Shunrō. Later he took the name Tawaraya Sōri and then, ceding this name to a pupil, he changed to Hokusai ... In his youth, he became the adopted son of his uncle Nakajima Ise, a shogunal mirror-maker. But without carrying out the work of mirror-making, he had his own child succeed to the position. The child who inherited the position died before Hokusai.

We should give serious weight to this statement by Bakin – who was a close acquaintance of Hokusai – which implies that Hokusai's father was the elder brother of the shogunal mirror-maker Nakajima Ise.

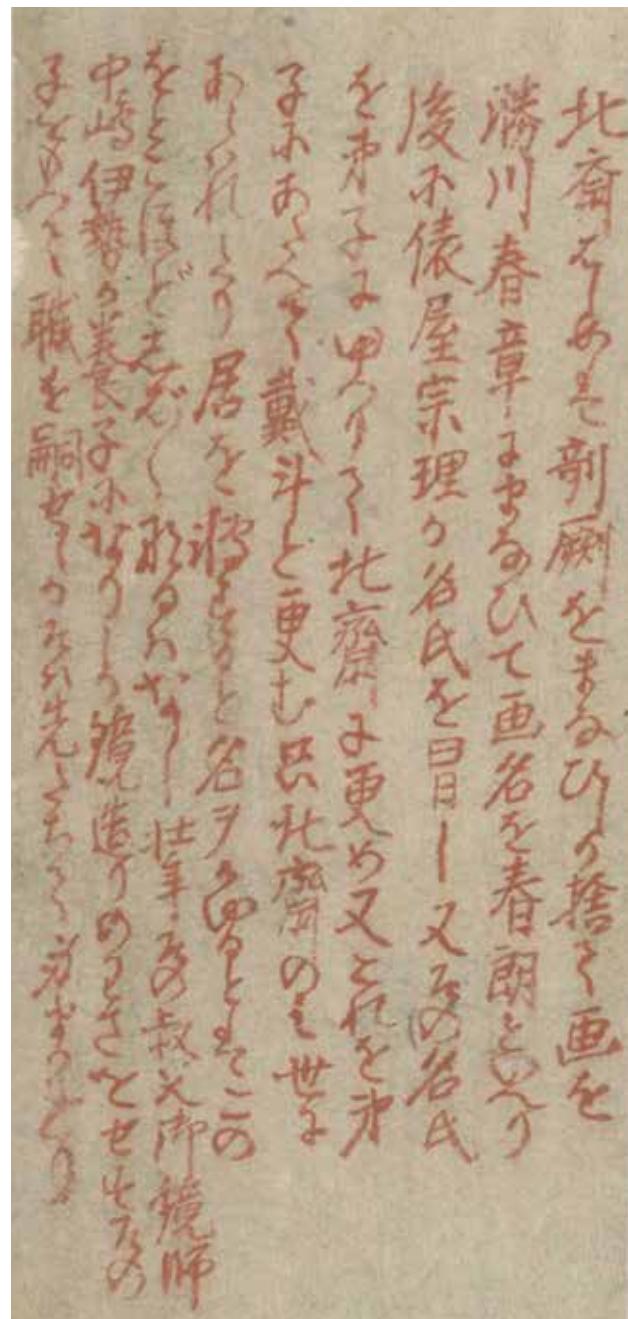


Plate 1.2 Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848), Note by Bakin Attached to Letter from Hokusai, from *Kyokutei raikan shū, tsuki no maki* (Collection of Letters Received by Kyokutei [Bakin]), date unknown. Red ink on paper, height 16.4cm, width 7.1cm. National Diet Library, Tokyo, 2585159

On the other hand, Hokusai's grave at Seikyōji temple, Asakusa, has the name 'Kawamura-shi' ('Kawamura family') carved into the top layer of the pedestal, just beneath the main vertical stone which is carved with 'Brush of Manji, Old Man Crazy to Paint' (*Gakyō rōjin Manji hitsu*) (Pl. 1.3). This gravestone was erected in the Meiji era by Kase Eijirō, the grandson of Takichirō (Kase Sakijūrō), a child of Hokusai and his second wife Koto. This information chimes with the entry for Eijirō in the death register of the Shirai family, into which Takichirō's daughter Tachi (Hokusai's granddaughter) married, which gives Hokusai's family name as Kawamura.² In the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* Tachi's son Shirai Takayoshi is recorded as stating: 'Kawamura was the name of Hokusai's real family. The

Plate 1.3 Hokusai's grave at Seikyōji temple, Asakusa, from Iijima Kyoshin, *Katsushika Hokusai den (Biography of Katsushika Hokusai)*, vol. 1, 68 recto, 1893. Copperplate, height 23.2cm, width 15.8cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1999,1130,0.1.1 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

Nakajima were his adopted family. Hokusai used the family name Nakajima because he was very young when he was adopted by them. I really do not understand now the reference to the Kawamura.' Further, a letter by Tachi states that it was written:

Hokusai was the child of a certain Kawamura and at the age of about four of five he was adopted by the Nakajima family. When he grew up he succeeded to the family headship and for a while was a mirror-maker. Then later he had his oldest son Tominosuke take over from him, left the Nakajima family, and used his real family name of Kawamura.

Also, in the death register of Seikyōji temple, at the time of the death of Hokusai's second wife in 1828, 'Kawamura Hokusai' is named as the chief mourner.

In the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* various theories are given about Hokusai's birth. Two different names are recorded for his birth family, and subsequently there has been no generally accepted account. In recent years, however, art historian Kishi Fumikazu has sorted the theories proposed up to now, as summarised below. He has done this by using records concerning the inheritance by successive generations of the Nakajima Ise family of their hereditary position as mirror-maker, which are included in the 'Petitions for Audience [with the shogun]' (*O-memie negai*) contained in the 'Notes on Official Ceremonies' (*O-kishiki kikitome*), preserved at the National Archives of Japan. He has also applied contemporary principles of samurai law.³

Hokusai's father was the eldest son of the mirror-maker Nakajima Ise II, but for some reason was excluded from the

succession. His father's younger brother succeeded as Nakajima Ise III in 1739. After this, it became officially forbidden for children and grandchildren to succeed to 'province titles' (*kokumei*) and 'officer names' (*kanmei*) that had only been granted for a single generation. As he was therefore no longer able to style himself 'Lord of Ise' (Ise no kami), he took the name Kinkichi. Because there was no one suitable to follow Ise III, Hokusai was adopted to succeed to the position. But since, formally, he was not able to perform the duties of mirror-maker, his eldest son Tominosuke obtained the necessary qualification to succeed to the post and in 1803 became Ise IV. Kishi's theories have a high degree of plausibility and have now gained wide acceptance.

Nakajima Ise II was granted an official residence at Honjo Matsuzaka-chō 1-chōme, in 1703, and in 1760 Ise III still owned land for an official residence there. Hokusai was also said to have been born in Honjo, but at a different location. For this and other reasons, it seems likely that he was not the son of Nakajima Ise III, but rather of this man's elder brother.

In the Edo period the overriding concern was to be able to pass on to one's children the household inherited from one's ancestors, thereby guaranteeing the livelihoods of one's retainers. This could mean that the actual situation was different from what appeared in official records. In samurai families, a person's death might even be covered up in order to secure a succession: the records and the facts were often different.⁴ Hokusai's relationship to the Kawamura family and to the Nakajima household as told by Tachi, the

daughter of Takichirō, who was Hokusai's son with his second wife and who had regular dealings with the artist, suggests that the actual state of affairs might have been different from the official records.

At any rate, Hokusai's position in society was not that of a townsperson; rather, he was a samurai from an official family of hereditary mirror-makers, of 'bannerman' (*hatamoto*) status – that is, a direct retainer of the shogunate – and of sufficient rank to be included in the official printed listings of samurai (*bukan*), with limited rights to an audience with the shogun and allocation of an official residence. That Hokusai's position was different from that of an ordinary townsperson and that he had to consider the continuation of the household surely imposed limits and exerted other influences on the formation of his art.

Since Nakajima Ise III succeeded to the position in 1739 and Tominosuke, Ise IV, succeeded in 1803, this means that Ise III carried out the duties of mirror-maker for some 64 years. The fact that he was quite elderly must have necessitated that Hokusai be adopted in order to succeed to the position. Hokusai then obliged his eldest son Tominosuke to succeed to the hereditary position, because he could not allow the household to die out.

The social status of ukiyo-e artists

When Hokusai was 14 or 15, and using the name Tetsuzō, he learned woodblock cutting. Then at 19 he abandoned this line of work and became a pupil of the ukiyo-e artist Katsukawa Shunshō (?1743–1793). In the note by Bakin mentioned above, it says that he learned 'throw-away pictures' (*sute-e*) from Shunshō and used the art-name Shunrō. In other words, ukiyo-e prints were dismissed as 'throw-away pictures' and ukiyo-e artists were 'picture artisans' (*gakō*) who made 'block-ready drawings' (*hanshita-e*). They were different from proper artists. This distinction between ukiyo-e and 'proper' artists also appears in the biographies of Hokusai and his teacher. In his later years Shunshō stopped designing colour prints to focus exclusively on brush paintings. This marked a transition from designer of block-ready drawings to proper artist, reflecting the prejudicial class attitudes of the day against ukiyo-e. The *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* also records that while Hokusai was a pupil of Shunshō he was secretly studying the painting methods of the official Kano school. When Shunshō found out, he was expelled. After this he was no longer able to use the Katsukawa school name and so called himself Kusamura Shunrō.

On the question of Hokusai's links with the Kano school, in about 1793 or 1794, Kano Yūsen (1778–1815) led his pupils and a group of town painters, including a certain 'Sōri', to make repairs to the mausoleum of Tokugawa Ieyasu at Nikkō. But the story goes that while they were staying at Utsunomiya, Sōri criticised a picture painted by Yūsen as clumsy and so he was dismissed and returned on his own to Edo. This dispute was preceded by an earlier one. Shunshō's teacher Katsukawa Shunsui (worked 1740s–60s) was a late pupil of Miyagawa Chōshun (1682–1752). Following a bitter dispute in 1750 between the Miyagawa school and the Inaribashi branch of the Kano school, they ceased to use the name Miyagawa and instead changed the family name of

the school to Katsukawa. The fatal dispute arose after Kano Shunga (d. 1751), of the Inaribashi Kano family of official retainer-painters (*omote eshi*), employed the ukiyo-e artist Miyagawa Chōshun and his pupils as colourists to accompany Shunga to Nikkō to make repairs to the Tokugawa mausoleum. After the repairs were completed, the Kano family did not pay the promised fees and so Chōshun went to Shunga's mansion to remind him, whereupon he was subjected to violent and humiliating treatment. Outraged by this, Chōshun's son and pupils attacked Shunga's mansion, wounding and killing the owner and others. As a result of this incident, the Inaribashi Kano school was abolished and the Miyagawa school was also dissolved.

It was customary with repairs to Edo castle and the Nikkō mausoleum for successive generations of the various branches of the Kano school to carry out the work, temporarily employing additional town painters as the need arose. We can surmise that a sense of entitlement and discrimination was at work here, based on social status rather than artistic skill or quality of workmanship. If Hokusai studied with the Kano school, then he would need to have been of the appropriate social status. In terms of his participation in the repairs to the Nikkō mausoleum, if this, as with the Miyagawa school, was a case of temporary employment, then whatever problems occurred did not just affect Hokusai as an individual; rather, they affected the Katsukawa school as a whole. We may never be able to confirm what actually occurred, but when assessing the relationship between Hokusai and the Katsukawa school, a close reading of the relevant passages in the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* permits us to conjecture that the Edo-period system of social status was at work.

Hokusai's life events and changes to his artistic style

The artist made his debut with a small, narrow-format (*hosoban*) colour woodblock print of a kabuki actor in about the eighth month, 1779. In the following year he drew illustrations for a 'yellow cover' (*kibyōshi*) comic novel. Following this, he continued mainly to design the small, narrow actor prints, as well as illustrations for *kibyōshi* and 'books of style' (*sharehon*), under the name 'Katsukawa Shunrō'. No colour prints have yet been discovered from 1785, but he changed the signature for his *kibyōshi* illustrations from 'Shunrō' to 'Gunmatei'. Gunmatei was also used for some works dating from the following year, 1786, but for actor prints he retained the name 'Shunrō'. In 1789 he revived the name 'Shunrō' for his *kibyōshi* as well, and he continued to use the signature 'Shunrō' until 1792. In 1793 the signature 'Kusamura Shunrō' appeared on picture calendars (*e-goyomi*) and specially commissioned *surimono* prints. In 1794 there was a deliberate division of signatures into 'Kusamura Shunrō' for picture calendars and illustrated *kyōka* poetry anthologies, 'Gunmatei' for *surimono* and 'Shunrō' for actor prints. Three *kibyōshi* published in this year attributed to Hokusai are unsigned. Picture calendars for the following year, 1795, have the signature 'Sōri', so it is clear that he changed his name from Shunrō to Sōri in 1794.

Sōri was the name of a painter of the Rinpa school, founded by Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716), which continued in



Plate 1.4 Hokusai, *Flowering Plum Tree* (after Kōrin), from *Miyama uguisu* (*Warbler Deep in the Mountains*), 1798. Woodblock, height 19.2cm, width 13.2cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.410 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

Edo over subsequent generations. Hokusai must have succeeded to this name. However, when Bakin recorded that 'he took the name Tawaraya Sōri', he actually used the expression 'he defiled the name' (*namae o okasu*). In the notes made by Shikitei Sanba (1776–1822) in *Ukiyo-e ruikō* (*Various Thoughts on Ukiyo-e*) it says, 'Later, for a particular reason, he returned the name to the head of the school and changed his name to Hokusai Tokimasa.'⁵ So, it seems that he had inherited a name with a certain social standing and for some reason or other he was obliged to relinquish it. Inscriptions from the next few years suggest that he thought of himself as an artist of some standing within the Rinpa lineage. The postscript by one Seiryōtei Sugeki to the illustrated *kyōka* anthology *Shikinami-kusa* (*Waves of Potential Immigrants from Many Lands*, 1796), to which Hokusai contributed illustrations signed 'Hyakurin Sōri', includes the phrase: 'The plum is painted in gorgeous colours by the brush of Tawaraya, as renowned as Kōrin.'⁶ The picture calendar *Scattering Beans at New Year* of the same year is signed, 'Copied by Tawaraya Sōri from a picture by Sōtatsu, of "Bridge of the Law" rank' (*Hokkyō Sōtatsu zu Tawaraya Sōri sha*). The illustrated *kyōka* anthology *Miyama uguisu* (*Warbler Deep in the Mountains*) of the first month, 1798, was signed 'Copied by Hokusai Sōri from a picture by Kōrin, of "Bridge of the Law" rank' (*Hokkyō Kōrin no zu Hokusai Sōri sha*) (Pl. 1.4). Almost no colour prints were produced during the artist's Sōri period: picture calendars, *surimono* and illustrated *kyōka* anthologies formed the main part of his output. The *kibyōshi* attributed to Hokusai from the years up to 1797 are unsigned. The *kibyōshi* with the title *Bakemono Yamato honzō* (*Spook Grasses of Japan*), published in the first month, 1798, is signed with the new art-name 'Gakō Kakō/Sorobeku' ('Picture artisan Kakō/Sorobeku').

Until 1794, then, the artist was mainly producing actor prints and *kibyōshi*, using the name 'Shunrō'. But it appears that after taking the name 'Sōri', he distanced himself from

such commercial activities. Privately sponsored coterie publications such as *surimono* and illustrated *kyōka* anthologies assumed centre stage. Concerning *surimono*, in *Ukiyo-e ruikō* it says, 'Any *surimono* print that is unlike a *nishiki-e* colour print is good'.⁷ In the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*, too, we find an appreciation for a style of painting that differed from *nishiki-e* produced for commercial sale to the masses: 'Around the time he was living in Kodenma-chō, he was exclusively designing *surimono* with *kyōka* poems. *Surimono* were fundamentally different from *nishiki-e*; they employed a different drawing technique and valued all that was tasteful'.⁸ During his Sōri period Hokusai was also producing a large number of brush paintings. Many of these were done in light colour and were rich in poetic sensibility. Thus, changes in Hokusai's painting style resulted not only from changes in his personal taste but were also greatly affected by changes in the social class of the people who surrounded him and other changes to his working environment. Hokusai was continually responding to these changes.

During the Kansei era (1789–1801), Nakajima Ise III was becoming quite elderly and Hokusai was preparing to cede his hereditary position to his eldest son Tominosuke. We can surmise that it was during this period that he became the adoptive son of the mirror-maker, to effect the transition. This was also the period when stricter publishing regulations were introduced as part of the shogunate's Kansei Reforms. Punishments were meted out to the author Santō Kyōden (1761–1816), for whose *kibyōshi* Hokusai sometimes did the illustrations, and to the publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō (1750–1797), with whom Hokusai also worked closely. As heir to the hereditary position of mirror-maker, of *hatamoto* rank, Hokusai shouldered his responsibilities to pass on the household livelihood without causing any problems. It was prudent for him to distance himself from commercial publishing, which risked becoming the target of the new

government regulations. He shifted his social environment from an artisan painter who drew block-ready drawings to one who mixed with a class of people who enjoyed *kyōka* and haiku poetry, and we can infer that he changed his mode of expression to a style that met the tastes of such people.

In the summer of 1798, Hokusai passed the Sōri art-name on to his pupil Sōji. On a *surimono* published in the eighth month, the signature 'Drawn by Hokusai, changed from Sōri' (*Sōri aratame Hokusai ga*) appears. He had already employed the signature 'Hokusai Sōri ga' frequently since the spring of 1796, so people knew that Sōri was Hokusai. By using 'Hokusai, changed from Sōri', however, he was surely aiming to inform a wide society that Hokusai was the new name of the famous Sōri and that there was a concomitant change of generation involving the Sōri name. To reiterate, 'Sōri' was a name highly praised in society and broadly known. Following a transition period, during which he used names such as 'Hokusai, changed from Sōri' (*Sōri aratame Hokusai*) and 'Hokusai, the former Sōri' (*Saki no Sōri Hokusai*), in 1801 he finally began to adopt the name 'Hokusai, Man Crazy to Paint' (*Gakyōjin Hokusai*), with no connection to Sōri.

But even during this transition phase, Hokusai seems to have kept up the more commercial production, from which he had been careful to distance the Sōri name. As mentioned above, the signature 'Kakō/Sorobeku' was used in the *kibyōshi* with the title *Bakemono Yamato honzō* (1798), and on colour prints produced in this period such as *Seven Fashionable Useless Habits* (*Fūryū nakute nana kuse*), the *chūban*-format scenes of lovers *Eight Views of Love Suicides* (*Michiyuki hakkei*), and *New Perspective Views: Treasury of Loyal Retainers* (*Shinpan uki-e Chūshingura*). Thus, the artist's re-engagement with the publishing world was done not as 'Sōri' but as 'Kakō/Sorobeku'. Also, in the listing 'Complete Names of Picture Artisans' (*Gakō nazukushi*) contained in the *kibyōshi* with the title *Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki* (*Annotated Chronology of Illustrated Fiction*, 1802) by Shikitei Sanba, the name 'Hokusai Tokimasa' is given among the artists who are currently 'resting' from making block-ready drawings for illustrated popular fiction.

Then, in 1803, Tominosuke succeeded to the position of mirror-maker as the fourth-generation head of the Nakajima household. In this year, Hokusai published not only pictures but also authored himself two *kibyōshi* titles using the name 'Kakō/Sorobeku'. A great weight had been lifted from his shoulders by passing on the household succession. Both socially and mentally he had acquired freedom, and we can imagine that this also brought a new freedom to the artist's creative activities. Furthermore, Tominosuke was granted a New Year audience with the shogun in 1808, marking his full acceptance as official mirror-maker.

On the 13th day of the fourth month, 1804, Hokusai painted a giant half-length portrait of Bodhidharma (Daruma) at Gokokuji temple in Otowa, Edo, which was staging a display of treasures at the time (Pl. 1.5). The artist used a broom as a brush and painted on sheets of paper joined together that were the size of 120 tatami mats. The feat was celebrated throughout the city of Edo. Historian Saitō Gesshin (1804–1878) recorded it in his year-by-year

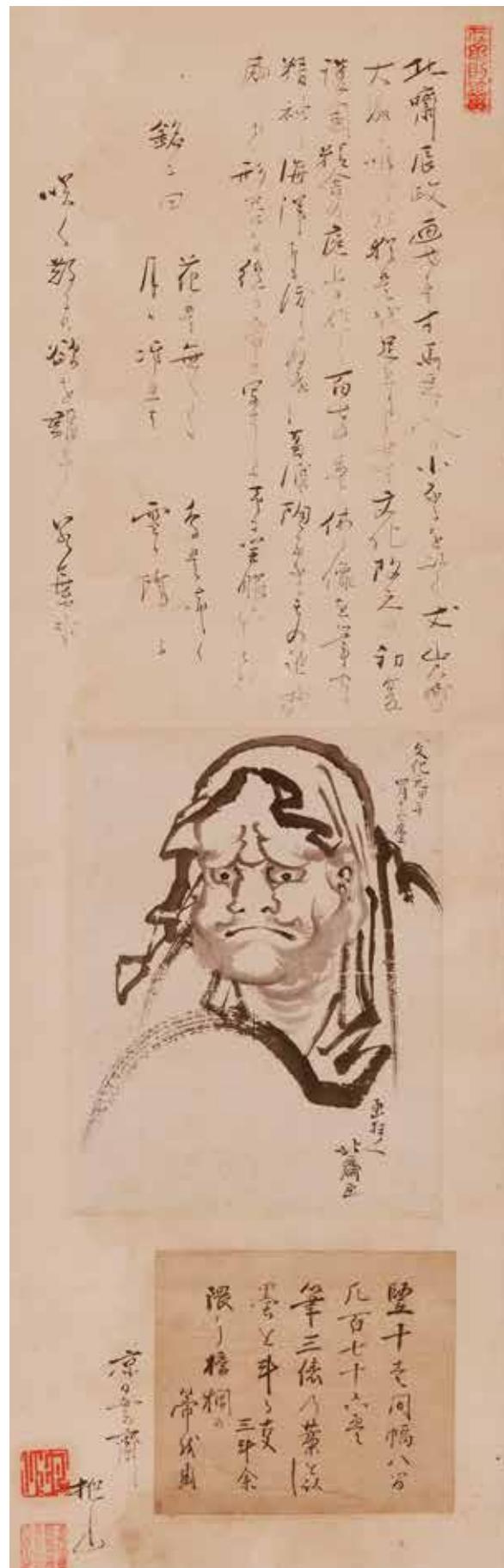


Plate 1.5 Hokusai and Ryōdonsai Hōzan (dates unknown), *Record of a Giant Bodhidharma Painting in Edo*, 13th day, fourth month, 1804. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 84.6cm, width 27.2cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 11.7438, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection

listing *Bukō nenpyō* (*Chronology of Edo*). Perhaps this performance was intended to announce the relaunch of his activities as an artist. The same year saw the publication of the *yomihon* with the title *Shōsetsu hiyoku mon* (*Novel Text of Lovers*), working together with Takizawa Bakin (although production of this book is actually thought to have been progressed in the previous year). In *Zōho ukijo-e ruihō* (*Supplement to Various Thoughts on Ukiyo-e*), Hokusai's illustrations to adventure stories (*yomihon*) are praised as follows: 'The drawing style is different from normal colour prints and illustrated fiction', and later, 'After this person [Hokusai] began to draw illustrations for *yomihon* they became really popular'.⁹ It is clear that he made a great contribution to the development of the genre.

From the artist's 'Sōri' period (1794–8) until the early Bunka era (1804–18), a large quantity of *surimono* were produced in the 'full large sheet' (*ōbōsho zenshiban*) format, with an image featured on half of the sheet. These were used mainly to announce 'name-taking events' (*shūmei hirokai*) or artistic performances such as Tokiwazu chanting. The programme of the event or some such text was printed upside down on the other half of the sheet; it was then folded in half longways and handed out. The *surimono* of this type designed by Hokusai were often reused, not only by changing the emblems and names of the sponsoring groups, but also by removing Hokusai's signature from the print in cases where the form of his signature had changed over time. Such *surimono* were not intended for commercial sale; they were distributed as announcements to a limited group of people and, as such, it seems, were initially exempted from publishing restrictions. From 1818 onwards, however, they became subject to legal controls on the grounds that holding meetings with the purpose of raising funds contravened sumptuary laws, or that the events disrupted public morals. Official instructions connected with the censorship of printed announcements were frequently issued, even if they did not contain any pictures. Around this time, it already seems to have been the practice to censor the pictorial content in advance. As with ordinary sheet prints, it became formal practice to submit the preparatory drawing for approval and to investigate if there was a problem. Hokusai withdrew from the production of these kinds of *surimono* in the first half of the Bunka era. He was sensitive about the production of anything that might become the object of an investigation.

In the fifth month of 1804, new regulations were issued that prohibited the production of illustrated books and illustrated fiction using colour printing. Henceforth, such publications were limited to ink alone, without the addition of colour. Any publication contravening this would be suppressed and such infringements would be severely punished. This was a sumptuary edict, which prohibited colour printing but not printing in shades of ink. Instead of *sharehon* and *kibyōshi*, which were subject to investigation as works that might disrupt public morals, Hokusai now designed *yomihon* illustrations that followed the burgeoning vogue for themes to 'promote virtue and punish vice' (*kanzen chōaku*). Layered printing in both pale ink and dark ink was used to achieve solemn, powerful, sometimes dreamlike expression.

Hokusai was not merely sensitive to publishing regulations, however. He was able to adjust his production to the changes in fashion to which these gave rise. We should also acknowledge that he adapted his style in accordance with the literary qualities born of such restrictions. His style of figure drawing developed from the soft, flowing, abbreviated line, which he used to depict fashionable 'urban sophisticates' (*tsūjin*) in *kibyōshi*, to the elegant, graceful beauties of his *surimono*, filled with lyricism, and the beautiful women of his *yomihon*, with their robust, powerful lines imbuing them with heroism and supernatural charm.

The account of his painting the giant Daruma at Gokokuji temple in 1804 is recorded in *Bukō nenpyō* with the name 'Gakyōjin Hokusai'. It was around this time that Hokusai was using the art-name Gakyōjin ('Man Crazy to Paint') and it is likely that this appellation appeared in his actual signature. This same art-name is included in the signature of another giant half-length portrait of Daruma, 120 tatami mats in size, which he painted in the precincts of Nishihonganji Betsuin temple in Nagoya in 1817: 'Performance painting by Gakyōjin Katsushika Hokusai Taito of Edo' (*Tōto Gakyōjin Katsushika Hokusai Taito sekijō*). Later, in 1834, he employed a version of the name again in the signature to his postscript for *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*), in which he gives the spirited account of his own approach to painting, with which we started: 'Painted by Old Man Crazy to Paint Manji, changed from the former Hokusai Iitsu, aged seventy-five' (*Nanajūgo rei saki no Hokusai Iitsu aratame Gakyō rōjin Manji hitsu*) (Pl. 1.1). It seems to be an art-name used in periods when Hokusai was thinking particularly about his own individual approach to painting. The year 1804 was one year after his eldest son Tominosuke had inherited the position as fourth-generation mirror-maker in the Ise household. This was surely a special time for Hokusai in terms of his artistic production. Similarly, 1831, when it is believed that publication began of Hokusai's most famous work, *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), was also the year in which it is thought that permission was given for Nakajima Matazaemon to succeed as Nakajima Ise IX. From this time there was a concentrated revival of the production of colour woodblock prints. The artist's most well-known bird, flower and landscape colour prints were produced in quick succession over just a few years.

From about the spring of 1829 Hokusai became embroiled in trying to sort out problems caused by the ruinous lifestyle of his grandson, the child born to his daughter Omiyo (a daughter with his first wife) and her husband, Hokusai's pupil Yanagawa Shigenobu (1787–1832). The supplement to Bakin's *Nochi no tame no ki* (*Record for the Future, c. 1835*) records that after her divorce from Shigenobu, Omiyo came back to live with Hokusai, bringing her child with her; and that Hokusai doted on the child, but he grew up to be a wastrel, and so he was sent back to live with Shigenobu. In a letter of the first month, 1830, Hokusai writes that on the 12th day of the first month he had returned the grandson to Shigenobu and sent them off on a trip from Takasaki in Kōzuke province to Mutsu province; that he is still worried that the grandson will escape on the way and come back [to Edo], but for the moment he is relieved; and that he has seen in the New Year

with no money, no clothes and barely enough to eat. It is also possible that by this time Hokusai's relations had ended with the Nakajima Ise household to which his son Tominosuke, a child with his first wife, had succeeded. Tominosuke died in 1816. The fifth-generation family head who had succeeded him died four years later, in 1820. During the next 11 years, until the ninth generation succeeded in 1831, there were three further changes of headship.¹⁰ We can surmise that there were complicated succession arrangements in the Nakajima household.

Hokusai's life events and his lifestyle

Hokusai lived to be 90, finally dying of old age on the 18th day of the fourth month, 1849. His funeral was organised on the following day by his daughter Ei, as described in the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*:

When Hokusai died, friends and pupils contributed funds for the funeral. The coffin was a humble one. Among the mourners were samurai of high rank with retainers holding spears and carrying travelling chests (*hasamibako*) over their shoulders. About one hundred people joined the funeral procession to Seikyōji temple, Asakusa. Neighbours felt a little envious. Those living in their small rooms facing onto a back alley had never before seen such a splendid procession with spears and travelling chests.¹¹

Such was the final send-off for an artist who had managed to transcend the limits of the Edo social status system. Hokusai's death poem is inscribed into his gravestone: 'As a spirit / I will roam freely / over summer pastures' (*Hitodamashi / de yuku kisanji ya / natsu no hara*).

The *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* records an episode in which, hearing how wonderful Hokusai's paintings were, the shogun summoned the artist Tani Bunchō (1763–1840) and Hokusai both to do impromptu paintings for him on his return from an expedition hunting with falcons. Hokusai first joined together many sheets of paper to make a long, continuous strip, which he painted dark blue. He then dipped the feet of a live chicken in red pigment and had it run along the paper to create the classical painting subject *Maple Leaves on the Tatsuta River*. We read that Hokusai was delighted at the honour of an audience with the shogun, which resulted from his audacious performance, although he also felt constrained by the stiff formality of the occasion. In another story, kabuki actor Onoe Baikō (Onoe Kikugorō III, 1784–1849), who was famous for performing ghost roles, commissioned from Hokusai a painting that he would then imitate in performance. Despite the invitation, Hokusai did not appear, so the actor travelled by palanquin to Hokusai's residence. The house was in disarray and had not been cleaned, and the interiors were extremely unsanitary. Shocked, the actor went out to fetch a blanket from inside the palanquin, spread it on the floor and made formally to greet the artist, whereupon Hokusai angrily said, 'Don't be so rude', remained at his desk and refused to engage the actor in conversation. Now also angry, Baikō returned home. Sekine Shisei (1825–1893) recorded this story to show that Hokusai was not the kind of person to curry favour with famous people. Later, Baikō apologised for his rudeness and the two became good friends.

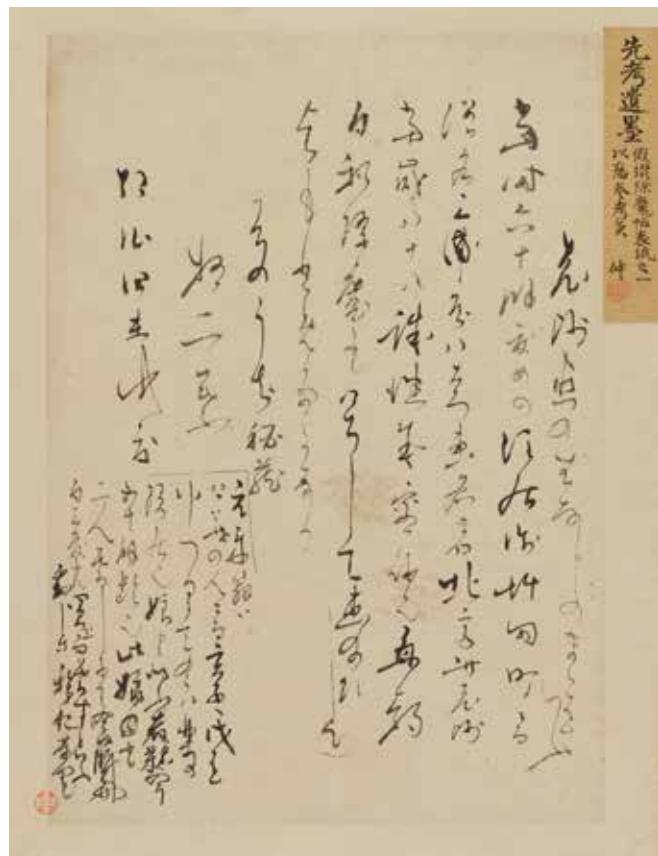


Plate 1.6 Miyamoto Shinsuke (1822–1878), *Senkō iboku* (Record Written by My Late Father), 1847. Ink on paper, height 33.9cm, width 24.3cm. Important Cultural Property, Kyushu National Museum, A123, gift of Sakamoto Gorō

Hokusai was by nature someone who disliked formal behaviour: he pasted up a notice that read, 'No bowing, no presents'. And it was not only the actor Baikō who was shocked at how dirty Hokusai's house was. Another anecdote describes how the lord of Tsugaru commissioned a screen painting. Hokusai did not even respond to the request, and he argued with the samurai intermediary from the domain who tried to make an advance payment. We cannot be sure exactly how far to believe such stories, but it seems certain that Hokusai loathed authoritarian attitudes and formality. He disliked etiquette and good manners, paid no attention to status and delighted in being called a country bumpkin. He even referred to himself as a 'country farmer'. Or so we are told...

In the collection of the Kyushu National Museum are 219 pages of brush drawings, the so-called *Daily Exorcisms* (*Nisshin joma zu*) featuring Chinese lions (*shishi*) and people performing lion dances, and so on, which were done each day by Hokusai from the age of 83 (in 1842), continuing into the following year (Pls 13.3, 15.3). These were acquired in 1847 by an old acquaintance of the artist, one Miyamoto Shinsuke (1822–1878), a samurai of the Matsushiro domain in Shinano province, together with a preface and an image of a *Wish-fulfilling Jewel* newly added by Hokusai. The *Daily Exorcisms* drawings were later mounted in an album by Shinsuke's son Miyamoto Chū (1857–1936). Chū included in the album a text entitled *Senkō iboku* (Record Written by My Late Father), composed by his father Shinsuke about the drawings' provenance at the time he had received them from Hokusai (Pl. 1.6).



Plate 1.7 Hokusai, *Cormorant on a Rock*, c. 1823–6. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 41.3cm, width 71.3cm. Hayashibara Museum of Art, Okayama

Senkō iboku records:

This is exactly what was said by the Old Master [Hokusai] ... The old man was originally a government official, but he ceded this position to his birth son and now enjoys a pleasurable retired life. His daughter is called Ei and she is now aged more than 50. He lives together with her and it is said that they purchase three meals a day; an extremely refined and virtuous [lifestyle].¹²

We should regard this as a reliable testimony telling us about Hokusai's circumstances and state of mind in his final years, written as it was by a samurai who knew Hokusai well and had visited Hokusai and Ei at their residence at Asakusa Tamachi to take receipt of the *Daily Exorcisms*.

When Hokusai was young, it may well be that he suffered considerable emotional anguish due to the need to conduct himself in the manner of the warrior estate, in order not to cause succession problems for the Nakajima Ise household. His subsequent unconventional behaviour may, concomitantly, be a reaction to this.

Hokusai's paintings were never limited to the normal ukiyo-e subjects such as pictures of beautiful women. It is true that he prepared block-ready drawings, as an urban ukiyo-e artist, but he also did performance painting for high-ranking patrons. He often painted birds and flowers, and landscapes too, which were typically the forte of mainstream artists. In the case of Hokusai's bird and flower paintings, for example *Cormorant on a Rock* (Pl. 1.7) and *Crows* (1841; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), a strong influence is evident from the bird and flower paintings of the so-called Nagasaki school of Shen Nanpin (Shen Quan, 1682–1760), which was favoured by the warrior class of Edo. In Hokusai's colour print designs, such as *Peonies* and *Poppies* from the 'Large flowers' series of c. 1831–2 published by Nishimuraya Yohachi, the manner in which stems are blown in the wind and leaves are depicted from both front and back suggests the influence of Qing-period flower painting from China. In *Dragon Rising above Mt Fuji* (see Pl. 9.5), the manner of drawing rocks so that they look like billowing clouds suggests that Hokusai had studied the dynamic, three-dimensional style of depiction of the Yuan school of Qing court painters. Hokusai had a much wider vision than painters of the contemporary Kano and other schools, and he clearly enjoyed exchanges with the kinds of people who enabled him to absorb the latest Qing painting. His unique position

is also clear from the description 'shogunal painter Hokusai' in relation to his landscape paintings in Western-influenced perspective style (1824–6; Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden; Pl. 0.3), which were commissioned by the Dutch head of the United East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie; VOC), and which enabled him to meet Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) and others. The fact that he produced woodblock print designs incorporating Western-influenced perspective in the early Bunka era (1804–18) suggests that he had access to European paintings during the period when he succeeded to the Nakajima household.

Hitherto, due to his strikingly eccentric behaviour and pronouncements, and the unconventional lifestyle of his later years, Hokusai has been thought of as a painter of genius who did not accept the normal rules of society. Yet, we must also remember that he lived his life right in the middle of Edo society and created and developed his unique works in conjunction with that very same society.

Notes

- 1 Trans. in Smith II 1988, 7.
- 2 Naitō 2019.
- 3 Kishi 2014; Kishi 2016.
- 4 Compare the example of inheritance by successive generations of the Itaya household, official painters to the shogunate. Tazawa 2017.
- 5 Nakada 1941, 142; Yura 1979, 142.
- 6 Nagata 1997, 29.
- 7 Yura 1979, 139 transcribes this as 'Any *surimono* print that is **like** a *nishiki-e* colour print is good' (*Subete surimono no ga wa nishiki-e ni nitaru o yoshi to su*). However, Nakada 1941, 141, 144 and other editions say 'Any *surimono* print that is **not like** a *nishiki-e* colour print is good' (*Subete surimono no ga wa nishiki-e ni nizaru o yoshi to su*). Bearing in mind what comes before and after in the text, the phrase 'not like' (as in Nakada and other editions) is surely correct.
- 8 Iijima 1999, 46.
- 9 Nakada 1941, 141. Text with the same meaning appears in Yura 1979, 139.
- 10 Kishi 2014; Kishi 2016.
- 11 Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), part 1, section 46 (Hokusai's passing).
- 12 Kyushu National Museum 2022, 53.

北斎の生涯と作品

田沢裕賀

画狂人北斎のイメージ

葛飾北斎といえば、改名と引越しを繰り返し、社会での栄誉を求めることがなく、90歳で生涯を終えるまで、画の道の探求一筋に人生を歩んだ天才画家の姿をイメージすることだろう。自身で「画狂人」と名乗っていることは、北斎の絵に対する姿勢と生活ぶりをうかがわせる。天保5年(1834)75歳の時に刊行された『富嶽百景』初編の跋文で「自分は6歳からものの形を写す癖があり、50歳のころよりしばしば画図を発表してきたが70歳前に描いたものは実にとるに足らないものばかりだった。73歳にして少しほは禽獸虫魚の骨格、草木の生きている姿を悟った。86歳ではますますよく描けるようになり、90歳になると更に其の深い真実を極め、100歳にならまことに神妙の領域に達するだろう。110歳にならまに描く1点1画が生きているようになるだろう。出来ることなら、長寿をつかさどる君子が私を長生きさせて、私の言葉が妄言でないことをみてもらえるようにして欲しい。」と書き、さらなる絵の上達を目指していることをわざわざ公言する姿勢にも、画狂人の生きざまを感じさせる(図1.1)。

北斎の弟子露木為一(つゆきいいつ)が、明治時代になって、北斎が晩年娘のお栄と二人で暮らす様子を回想して描いた「北斎仮宅之図」(国立国会図書館所蔵)には、こたつを放れること無く布団に潜り込んで書き、描くことに倦きれば、傍の枕を取って眠り、覚れば又筆を取ったという姿が描かれている(北斎は寒がりで、九月下旬より四月上旬迄こたつを離れることがなく、どのような人が来てもそのまままで会ったと文章を書き込んでいる)(図4.1)。明治になって幕臣で明治政府のもと教科書編集も行った飯島虚心が、晩年の北斎を知る人々の証言をもとに北斎の伝記をまとめた『葛飾北斎伝』には、酒や煙草はたしなまず、着るものにも無頓着で、掃除をすることではなく、部屋は汚っていたという逸話が書き込まれている。堅苦しい形式と虚栄を嫌い、大画家として人々の注目を集めているにもかかわらず、社会的、金銭的な成功には無頓着で、常に貧しさに苦労しながら、絵の制作にだけ心を尽くして絵筆をとっている北斎の姿が映されているのだ。

「グレートウエーブ」として世界的に愛されている「富嶽三十六景・神奈川沖浪裏」をはじめ、「赤富士」と称される「富嶽三十六景・凱風快晴」や「諸国瀧廻り」などの連作による孤高の力強い表現、「北斎漫画」に展開する自由な発想による生き生きとした表現は、社会に束縛されることなく芸術一筋を追求した北斎だからこそ生み出されたものと思わせる説得力を持って我々の前に展開している。

しかし、北斎も身分制度が厳格に守られていた江戸時代の社会を構成する一員であった。

『葛飾北斎伝』などによって語られる北斎の姿は、北斎を直接知る人々の証言をもとにしているが、その人々の証言は90年に及ぶ生涯の晩年の部分に関するものが中心である。江戸時代の制度の中では、浮世絵師は芸術家としては認められていなかったが、それにしては珍しく伝記としてまとめられる程情報の多い人であった。しかし、その生涯、特に前半生には不明な点も多い。不明な部分の多い前半生から再度検証を行い、北斎の芸術が、江戸時代の社会制度の影響を受けて形成されていったことを確認する。

北斎の生まれ

北斎が生きた江戸時代は、大名と呼ばれる武士団が日本国内で戦いを繰り返していた戦国時代を豊臣秀吉が統一した後に、日本を二分した慶長5年(1600年)の関ヶ原の戦いに勝利した徳川家康が将軍となって政治的混乱を収め、元和元年(1615年)の豊臣家との戦いである大阪の陣以後明治元年(1868年)に明治政府が出来るまで、徳川家が代々にわたって将軍として日本の政治を行なった、大きな戦争のなかった250年に及ぶ平和な時代である。将軍を頂点として大名の支配が行われ、各地の大名が武士を家臣として支配し、厳格な身分制度が敷かれることによって権力の固定化がはかられていた。権力を永続化するために、人々の身分を固定することが、政治的安定を支える最も重要な課題であった。

身分制度は、武士などの支配階級と、被支配階級である都市に住む町人、地方の村に住む百姓に大きく二分され、町人百姓の間では職業の移動も比較的容易であったが、武士は家代々の格に縛られ、身分移動は一部を除いてはほとんどなかった。

江戸時代の画家は、いわゆる御用絵師と呼ばれる屋敷を拝領し土地や俸禄を支給され武士の体制に組み込まれた身分の絵師と、町人身分の町絵師と呼ばれる絵師に分けられる。

歌川広重は、江戸城と市中の消防を担当する幕府の下級役人である火消同心安藤源右衛門の子として生まれた。広重の父は、本姓は田中で、広重の母の父安藤十右衛門の後継ぎとして火消同心を継いでいた。広重は13歳で母と父を相次いで失い、安藤家の職を継いで重右衛門と名乗り、火消同心として幕臣となった。25歳で、同じ身分の火消同心岡部弥左衛門の娘と結婚した。文政6年(1823年)には、母方の祖父の子仲次郎に家督を譲り、自身は鉄蔵と改名したが、仲次郎がまだ8歳だったので引き続き後見として火消同心職の代番を勤めた。天保3年(1832年)、17歳になった仲次郎が元服したので正式に同心職を譲っている。この頃から「一立斎」の号を用い、「東海道五拾三次」の出版など絵師としての活動が本格化している。職を譲る前までの広重の職業は、武士であり、浮世絵は仕事の裏で行っていたことになる。

東洲斎写楽は、寛政6年(1794年)5月から翌年の寛政7年(1795年)1月にかけての約10か月の期間のみ活躍し、個性的な作品を残した謎の絵師とされているが、近年の研究では、阿波徳島藩蜂須賀家お抱えの能役者斎藤十郎兵衛であることがほぼ定説となっている。突然制作を行わなくなったのは、作品の人気がなくなったためともいわれるが、藩お抱えの能役者が、当時取り締まりの厳しくなっていた出版統制の対象である浮世絵の制作にかかわっていることに不都合な状況が生じていたからとも考えられる。また、素性が明らかにならないのも、同様な理由があつたからと考えるべきだろう。

広重も写楽も、江戸時代の社会的職業意識の枠の中で、武士と絵師とのバランスをとって浮世絵制作を行っていた。

『葛飾北斎伝』には、北斎は、宝暦10年(1760年)9月23日本所割下水に生まれ、父は、幕府御用鏡師の中島伊勢とされとい。しかし、曲亭馬琴が北斎からの手紙に張り付けた次ぎのように記された朱書きの覚書(国立国会図書館蔵)がある(図1.2)。「北斎、はじめは版本の彫を学んだが、捨て画を勝川春章に学んで画名を春朗といった。後に俵屋宗理の名前を名乗って、またその名前を弟子に譲って北斎に改めた。(中略)壯年のころ、叔父である御用鏡

師中島伊勢の養子となつたが、鏡造りの仕事を行わず、自分の子に職を継がせた。継いだ子は北斎に先立つて亡くなつた。」北斎と親しかつた馬琴の記述であることを尊重すると、北斎の父は幕府の御用鏡師中島伊勢の兄ということになる。

一方、浅草誓教寺にある北斎の墓碑には、「画狂老人印筆」と彫られた竿石の下の上台に「川村氏」と彫りこまれている(図1.3)。この墓石は、北斎と後妻との間に生まれた多吉郎(加瀬崎十郎)の孫加瀬昶次郎(えいじろう)によって明治期に建てられたものだが、多吉郎の娘多知(北斎の孫)の嫁いだ白井家の過去帳の昶次郎の項目に、北斎の姓を川村として記載していると相応している。注1『葛飾北斎伝』には、多知の子白井孝義が語ったこととして「川村は北斎の実家の氏で中島は養家の氏である。北斎は幼くして中島氏に養われたので中島を称した。川村のことは今はよくわからない。」と記されている。さらに、多知の残した書状に「北斎は、川村某の子で、4・5歳の頃中島氏に養われ、成長して家を継いで、一旦は御鏡師となつたが、後に長男富之助を自分に替わらせ、自分は中島家を出て、実家の川村氏を称した。」と記されていたことを述べている。なお、誓教寺の過去帳に、北斎の後妻が死没した時の施主として「川村北斎」の記載があるという。

『葛飾北斎伝』に北斎の生家の氏が二つ記されているように、その生誕についても諸説が提出され、これまで決着を見ていなかつた。

近年、岸文和氏が、国立公文書館所蔵『御規式書留』所収の「御目見願」に記された御鏡師中島伊勢家代々の跡職相続に関する資料をもとに、当時の武家法にてらしながら、御鏡師中島伊勢家の相続関係を整理し、以下のようにこれまでの説を整理した。注2

北斎は、御用鏡師2代目中島伊勢の長男であったが何らかの理由によって後継ぎから外れた人物を父とし、3代目の中島伊勢は父の弟が元文4年(1739年)に継ぎ、後に、一代限りで許される国名と官名を子孫がそのまま名乗ることが禁止され、伊勢守を名乗れなくなつたために名前を金吉と改めた。3代目には家督を継ぐ立場の子がなかつたため、北斎が養子となって後継ぎの身分となつた。しかし形式的には、鏡師としての仕事が十分に出来ないなどの理由により、その長男の富之助が、跡を継ぐ資格を得て、享和3年(1803)に4代目を相続した。その推測には、蓋然性が高く、現在多くの賛同を得ている。

2代目中島伊勢は、元禄16年(1703年)に本所松坂町1丁目に屋敷を拝領し、宝暦10年(1760年)3代中島伊勢も本所松坂町1丁目の拝領地に屋敷があった。北斎は、同じ本所ではあるが、別の場所で生まれたとされることからも、3代目中島伊勢の子ではなくその兄の子ということになる。

しかし、先祖から継承した家を子供の代に引継ぎ、家来たちの生活を保障していく家の継承が最重要的課題であった江戸時代には、表向きの記録とは別の事実もありえた。武家の相続のために人の死すらも伏せられ、記録と事実が異なることはしばしばであった。注3 北斎と行き來のあった北斎の後妻の子多吉郎の娘多知の語る北斎と川村氏、中島家の関係にも表向きの記録とは違う事情があつたのかもしれない。

ともかく、北斎が身を置いたのは、幕府御用達で将軍にも限定的ではあったが御目見を許され、御屋敷を拝領し、身分としては町人ではなく武士身分に相当し、武家の名簿である『武鑑』に記載されるほどの旗本格の家柄の鏡師の系譜であった。普通の町人とは別の家柄に身を置き、しか

も家の存続にかかわる立場にあったことが、北斎の芸術形成に制約と影響を与えていたと考えられる。

3代目の中島伊勢は、元文4年(1739年)に家職の相続を行つており、4代目富之助が相続を行つたのが享和3年(1803)なので、3代目は64年間御鏡師の職を勤めていたことになる。かなりの高齢であったことが、北斎が家職を継ぐ立場の養子となることを必要としたのであろう。北斎は、家を途絶えさせないため、長男富之助へ家職を繋ぐ役目を担わされていたのだ。

浮世絵師の社会的身分

北斎は鉄蔵と名乗つていて14・5歳の頃に版木の彫を学び、19歳でその仕事をやめ、浮世絵師勝川春章に入門している。先の馬琴の覚書には、「捨て画」を勝川春章に学んで画名を春朗といった。と記載されている。浮世絵版画は「捨て画」と軽蔑的に見られていたのであり、浮世絵師は「版下絵」を描く「画工」と呼ばれ、絵師とは区別されていた。

春章は、後年は錦絵よりも肉筆画をもっぱらに描くようになつていて、「版下絵師」から「絵師」への転身であり、この変化は、浮世絵に対する当時の差別的な階層的見方を反映しているのだろう。

『葛飾北斎伝』では、春章の門弟だった頃に、密かに狩野派の画法を学んだために春章に破門されたと伝えられ、それ以後勝川を名乗ることができず叢春朗と称したとされている。

狩野派との関係では、寛政5・6年頃、狩野融川が門人と町絵師数名を従えて日光の徳川家康廟の修理を行つた際に「宗理」も従つたが、宇都宮の宿で融川の描いた絵を拙いと批判したために追い出され、一人江戸に帰つたと伝えられている。春章の師である勝川春水は、宮川長春の晩年の門人で、寛延3年(1750年)に宮川一門と稻荷橋狩野家とのあいだで起きた抗争の後に宮川の画姓を憚り、勝川に姓を変えていた。この殺傷事件は、幕府の表絵師稻荷橋狩野家の狩野春賀が、日光の徳川家靈廟の修理に浮世絵師宮川長春一門を彩色手伝いとして雇つて同行させたが、修理が終わつても狩野家から謝礼が払われなかつたため、長春が春賀邸に催促を行つたが、逆にそこで屈辱的な暴行を受けた。これに怒つた長春の息子や弟子が春賀邸を襲い、当主春賀他を殺害した事件である。これにより稻荷橋狩野家は取り潰しとなり、宮川派も解体した。

江戸城や日光の修復には、狩野派の各家が行つた仕事部分を子孫が代々受け継いで修復することとなっており、必要に応じて臨時に町絵師を雇つて行なわれていた。そこでは、仕事の出来栄えや力量ではなく、身分制度に基づいた特権的な差別意識が働いていたことが想像される。北斎が狩野派に入門したとすると、それを可能とするような身分が必要であり、また日光廟修復への参加が、宮川派同様の臨時雇いとすれば、一人北斎だけの問題ではなく勝川派全体に及ぶ問題になつたと思われる。このようなことが実際にあったのか確認はできないが、北斎と勝川派の関係を考えるのに、江戸時代の身分制度が影響している可能性を『葛飾北斎伝』の記事の中に伺うことができる。

北斎の生涯と画風変遷

安永8年(1779年)8月頃、細判役者絵を描いて錦絵のデビューを果たし、翌年には、黄表紙の挿絵も描いている。以後、細判役者絵を中心に、「勝川春朗」の名で黄表紙・洒落本の制作を行つてゐる。錦絵の見つかっていない天明5年(1785年)、黄表紙挿絵の署名で「春朗」を「群馬亭」と

改めている。「群馬亭」の号は翌年にも用いられているが、役者絵では「春朗」が用いられ、寛政元年(1789年)には、黄表紙でも「春朗」に復し、以後寛政4年(1792年)まで「春朗」の署名が続いている。寛政5年(1793年)には、絵暦や摺物に「叢春朗」の署名がなされ、寛政6年(1794年)には、絵暦や狂歌絵本で「叢春朗」、摺物で「群馬亭」、役者絵で「春朗」の落款の使い分けがなされ、北斎作とされる黄表紙3種は無署名で出版された。翌年の絵暦に「宗理」落款のあることから、寛政6年(1794年)に春朗から宗理に改名したと考えられる。

宗理は、尾形光琳以後の流れを江戸で継承していった琳派の画家の名前で、それを襲名したことになるのだが、馬琴が「俵屋宗理の名前を名乗った」と記す際に、「名前を冒す」と表現していることから、また、『浮世絵類考』の式亭三馬の書入れに「後二故アリテ名ヲ家元ニ返ヘシし北斎辰政ト改ム」注4とあることから、社会的格式を持った名前を襲名したものであり、事情によっては返上しなければいけないような由緒のある名前だったと考えられる。寛政8年(1796年)の「百琳宗理」の名前で挿絵を寄せた狂歌絵本『帰化種』の清涼亭菅伎(せいりょうういすげき)の跋文には「梅は光琳とうたひし俵屋の筆にあやどり云々」注5とあり、同年の絵暦「豆まき図」には「法橋宗達図俵屋宗理写」とある。さらに寛政10年(1798年)1月出版の狂歌絵本『深山鶯』には「法橋光琳之図北斎宗理写」と署名し、自分が地位のある琳派画家の流れに位置する絵師であることを表明している(図1.4)。

宗理を名乗った時期には、錦絵の制作はほとんど行わず、絵暦や摺物や狂歌絵本の制作が中心となっている。また、宗理が描いたとされる寛政9年までの黄表紙には、署名がなされておらず、寛政10年(1798年)1月に出版された黄表紙『化物和本草』には新しい号の「画工可候」と署名がされている。

寛政6年(1794年)までの「春朗」の名前では、役者絵や黄表紙を中心に制作していたのが、「宗理」と名乗ってからはそれらの商業出版からは、身を遠ざけていたように思われる。そして趣味人の自費出版である摺物や狂歌絵本が制作の中心となっている。摺物は、『浮世絵類考』に「すべて摺物の画は錦絵に似ざるを貴しとす」注6とあり、『葛飾北斎伝』に「小伝馬町に住んでいた頃、もっぱら狂歌摺物を描いていた。従来摺物は、錦絵と異なり、別に画法があつて風趣賤しからざるを良しとする」と記されているように、庶民への販売を意図した錦絵とは別の画風が好まれたのである。宗理と号した時期には、多くの肉筆画も制作されているが、それらは淡彩画が多く、情趣に富んだ表現がなされている。北斎の画風変化は、自身の嗜好変化だけでなく、北斎を取り巻く人々の階層の変化や制作環境の変化が大きく影響し、それに北斎が応えていた結果だと考えられる。

寛政年間(1789~1801)は、3代目中島伊勢が高齢となり、北斎の長男富之助へと家職の継承を準備する時期であり、北斎がその中継として御鏡師の養子となっていた時期と想像される。また、寛政の改革による出版統制が行われた時期であった。北斎が挿絵を寄せた黄表紙の作者山東京伝や版元萬屋重三郎など仕事の場を同じくした人々が処罰をうけている。北斎は、旗本格の御用鏡師継嗣として、問題を起こすことなく家の継承を果たす責任を担っていた。取り締まりの対象となりうる危険のある商業出版から離れる慎重さが必要だった。版下絵を描く画工の身から、狂歌俳諧をたしなむ階層の人々との交流に身を置く環境に替わり、そのような階層の人々の嗜好にかなう作風へと表現が変化していったことが想像される。

宗理の号は、寛政10年(1798年)夏に弟子の宗二に譲られ、8月に出版された摺物では「宗理改北斎画」の署名がなされている。すでに寛政8年(1796年)春以降、しばしば「北斎宗理画」の署名が用いられており、「宗理」が「北斎」であることは知られていたが、「宗理改北斎」と名乗ることで、北斎が著名な宗理の改名であること、宗理の代替わりが行われることを広く世間に示す意図があったと思われる。「宗理」は世間で高く評価され広く知られた名前だった。「宗理改北斎」あるいは「先ノ宗理北斎」と署名した時期を経て、享和元年(1801年)には、宗理との関係を示さない「画狂人北斎」の名前が用いられるようになる。

寛政10年(1798年)の黄表紙『化物和本草』に用いられた「可候」は、この頃に制作された「風流なくてなくせ」や中判に男女の道行きを描いた「道行八景」、「新板浮絵忠臣蔵」の錦絵の署名にも用いられている。出版界との再接觸は「宗理」ではなく「可候」として行われた。

享和2年(1802年)式亭三馬作の黄表紙『稗史億説年代記』の「画工名盡」に草双紙版下を休んでいる画家として「北斎辰政」の名が挙げられている。

享和3年(1803年)富之助が御鏡師中島家の4代目を継ぐ。この年に北斎は、「可候」の名前で絵だけでなく文章も自作した黄表紙2種を出版している。家の継承を終えたことで肩の荷を下ろし、社会的にも精神的にも自由を獲得し、創作にも新たな自由の場がもたらされたのかもしれない。なお、富之助は、文化5年(1808年)に年始の將軍御目見を許され、これにより一人前の御用鏡師として認められた。

文化元年(1804年)4月13日、北斎が、開帳の行われていた音羽の護国寺で120疊の大きさに継いだ紙に箒を筆にして半身の達磨を描いたことが、江戸市中で評判となつた出来事を斎藤月岑が編年体で記録した『武江年表』に記されている(図1.5)。絵師としての活動再開を告げるパフォーマンスだったのかもしれない。同年には、馬琴と取り組んだ『小説比翼文』が出版されている(実際には前年に制作を進めたものと考えられる)。文化2年(1805年)には『新編水滸画伝』が出版されている。『増補浮世絵類考』に北斎の読本は「画風錦絵草双紙等の尋常にあらず」注7と評され、以後「繡像読本の差画を多くかきて世に行われ、絵入読本此人より大に開けたり」注8という展開の上で大きな役割を果たした。

「宗理」と号していた(1794~1798)時期から文化年間(1804~1818)初期にかけて大奉書全紙判の半分に絵を描いた摺物が多数制作されている。これらは、襲名披露会や常磐津などの芸事の発表会の案内として用いられるもので、残りの半分に演目などの案内を上下逆にして摺り、中央で半分に折って配られた。北斎のこの種類の摺物では、主催する会のマークや画中の名前を変更して再利用されるだけでなく、北斎の落款書式の変更後にも落款を削るなどの手を加えて、再利用されていた。これらの摺り物は、販売品ではなく、限定された者に配布する案内状として、当初は出版取り調べの対象から外れていたようだが、文化15年(1818年)以後、金銭集めなどを目的とした会の開催を奢侈の禁止、風紀を乱すものとして取り締まるようになり、絵入り以外も含めた案内の検閲に関する指示がたびたび出されている。この頃には、すでに絵の部分に対しては事前の検閲が行われていたようで、改めて絵入摺物も一枚絵同様に下絵を差し出し、問題があれば取り調べを行うとされた。北斎は文化年間前半で、このような摺物制作から手を引いている。取り調べの対象となるような制作物には敏感な対応をしていた。

文化元年(1804年)5月、色摺りを施した絵本・草紙などの出版を禁止し、以後色を加えずに墨だけで出版すること、これに違反しているものは絶版とし、今後違反するものは厳しい罪を科すという規制が出された。奢侈禁止の命令であり、色摺は禁止されたが、墨彩色は禁止されなかつた。北斎は、当時風紀を乱すものとして取り締まられていた洒落本・黄表紙に代わり、勧善懲悪を題材として流行してきた読本に、薄墨、濃墨を重ねて重厚で力強い表現や、夢幻的な表現の挿絵を描いていった。

出版規制に敏感に反応し、それに伴って生じる出版物の流行変化に即応して制作を行なうだけでなく、その制約の中で文学性に合わせた作風を展開していたというべきだろう。黄表紙で用いられた流れるような柔かく簡略な描線で描かれた粹な通人の姿は、抒情性豊かな摺物に描かれた品のある楚々とした美人の姿に変わり、読本では硬質で力強い描線による英雄と妖気を含んだ美人へと変わっている。

文化元年(1804年)に護国寺で行われた大達磨の揮毫は、『武江年表』に「画狂人北斎」の名で記録されている。時期的にも北斎が画狂人の号を用いていた時期であり、実際の落款にもそのように書かれていたと思われる。「画狂人」の号は、文化14年(1817年)名古屋の西本願寺別院の境内で120畳敷の大達磨半身像を描いた際の署名にも「東都画狂人葛飾北斎戴斗席上」として用いられている。また、天保5年(1834年)、自身の作画に対する意気込みを巻末の跋に記して出版された『富嶽百景』で「七十五齡前北斎為一改画狂老人丑筆」として再び用いられている(図1.1)。作画に対する画期に北斎自身が用いた号と考えられる。文化元年(1804年)は、長男富之助が御鏡師中島家4代目を相続した翌年であり、北斎の制作にとっても画期となつたことが想像される。

北斎の代表作「富嶽三十六景」の刊行が始まったとされる天保2年(1831年)は、9代目として中島又左衛門が中島伊勢の相続を許された年と考えられており、この頃から再び錦絵の制作が集中的に行われている。代表作とされる花鳥版画や風景版画などの錦絵が、数年の間に次々と制作された。

文政12年(1829年)春ごろから北斎と先妻との間の娘お美与と門人柳川重信との間にできた子(北斎の孫)が放蕩を尽くし、その後始末に北斎は追われていた。曲亭馬琴の『後の為の記』の付録には、重信と離縁となつたお美与が北斎の許に子供を連れて帰った。その子を北斎は寵愛して育てたが、大人になると放蕩となつたので、重信のもとに返したということが記されている。天保元年(1830年)正月の手紙に、1月12日孫を重信に引き渡し、上州高崎より奥州へ連れて行かせたが、途中から逃げ帰らないか心配だが、ひとまず安心した。正月を迎えたが、今年はお金もなく、着るものもなく、やつと食べていくだけの状況だ。と記していた。

最初の妻との子富之助が継いだ中島伊勢の家との関わりもなくなつたのかもしれない。富之助は、文化13年(1816年)に没している。それを継いだ5代目は、4年後の文政3年(1820年)に亡くなり、9代目が跡職相続をする天保2年(1831年)までの11年間で当主が3人変わっている。注9 中島家の継承には複雑な状況があつたことが想像される。

北斎の生涯と生活態度

北斎は、90歳まで長生きしたが、嘉永2年(1849年)4月18日、老衰で亡くなった。翌日、同居していた娘のお栄により

葬儀が執り行われた。「北斎が死ぬと門人および旧友などがお金を出して葬式が行われた。棺などは粗末なものだったが、見送りの人々の中には槍や荷物箱を持って家来を従えた身分の高い武士などおよそ100人が参列して浅草の誓教寺に行った。これまで裏通りの路地から槍や箱を持たせた参列が行われたことはなかったので、近所の者はすごく羨んだ。」と『葛飾北斎伝』は伝える。身分制度の枠を超えた絵師となつた北斎の死出の旅であった。北斎の死に臨んでの句として「ひと魂でゆきさんじや夏の原」が、墓碑に刻まれている。

『葛飾北斎伝』には、将軍が北斎の絵が素晴らしいことを聞いて鷹狩の帰りに谷文晁と北斎を呼びだし席面をさせたが、長く継いだ紙に藍を塗り、鶏の足に朱肉をつけて放ち、足跡がついた紙を龍田川の風景とした。その大胆なふるまいの陰で、北斎は将軍にお目見えできることを無上の栄誉と非常に喜んでいたが、礼儀を正し窮屈なことには困ったという。また、幽霊の演技で名高かった歌舞伎役者の尾上梅幸(3代目尾上菊五郎)が、北斎の幽霊画に倣つて演じようと絵を北斎に依頼したことがあった。ところが招いても北斎が来ないので輿に乗って北斎宅を訪問した。家は荒れ果て掃除をしたこともなかつたので室内は不潔極まりなかつた。驚いて外に出て輿の毛氈(敷物)を家の中に敷いて座わり、一礼しようとしたが、北斎は「失礼だ」と怒って、机に向かって相手をしなくなつた。梅幸も怒って帰ってしまった。北斎は世の中の名声に媚びることのない人だったとして関根只誠がこの話を記している。後に梅幸が非礼を詫び、それから2人は親しくなつた。北斎は、「おじぎ無用、みやげ無用」と張り紙して形式的振る舞いを嫌う人物だった。北斎の家の汚さに驚いたのは梅幸だけではなかつた。

また、津軽藩主が屏風揮毫を依頼したがその招きにも応じず、金を事前に贈った取次の藩士との間でトラブルを起こした逸話も伝わっている。これらの話がどこまで真実かは不明だが、北斎が権威的な態度や形式的振る舞いをひどく嫌っていたことは、確かなようだ。北斎は、行儀作法を嫌い、身なりにもこだわらず、田舎者と呼ばれるのを喜び、自分で「田舎の百姓」と称していた。と言われる。

九州国立博物館所蔵に所蔵される「日新除魔図」は、葛飾北斎が83歳だった天保13年(1842年)から翌年にかけて日課として描いた獅子や獅子舞などの人物図219枚を、弘化4年(1847年)に、旧知の間柄であった信州松代藩士の宮本慎助(みやもとしんすけ、1822-78)が、北斎自筆の序文や「宝珠図」などを添えて譲り受けたものである(図13.3、15.3)。「日新除魔図」は、後に慎助の息子宮本仲(ちゅう)によって帖に仕立てられた。その際に、父慎助が北斎から譲られた時に書いた絵の由緒書を「先考遺墨」と題をつけて帖に綴っている(図1.6)。

「先考遺墨」には、「老師(北斎)直のはなしのまいをいふ…元来翁ハ公儀の人ニ而、実子ヘ代をゆつりて、今は樂の隠居也、娘といふ者名栄、今五十餘齡也、此娘と二人暮しにて、食料毎日三度共買上而暮らすという、甚しき雅仁なり」と記されている。浅草田町の北斎とお栄の住居を訪ね「日新除魔図」を譲られた北斎をよく知る武士が記した、北斎の立場と晩年の心境を語る証言といえるだろう。

若い頃、中島伊勢家存続のために問題を起こさない武家としての振る舞いをしなくてはいけなかつたことが、心に大きな傷を作っていたのかもしれない。大胆な行動はその影響だったとも思われる。

北斎の肉筆画は、美人画などの浮世絵として通常扱われるテーマに限られることはなかつた。むしろ花鳥図や山

水図など一般の絵師の描く画題が多かった。身を市井の浮世絵師の中に置き、版下絵も描いたが、貴顕の席画にも応じていた。

「岩上の鶴図」(林原美術館蔵、図1.7)や、「鳥図」(ボストン美術館蔵)のような花鳥図には江戸の武士階級に好まれていた南蘋派花鳥図の影響が強い。また西村屋版の横大判「牡丹図」や「芥子図」では、風に揺れる枝や葉の表裏の描き分けなど、中国清時代の「花卉図」の影響が感じられ、「富士越龍図」(小布施北斎館蔵、図9.5)の雲が湧くように描かれた岩の描き方には、清時代の宮廷画院画家袁派の動きのある立体的描写を学んだことがうかがえる。

当時の狩野派の画家などよりはるかに広い視野と、最新の清代絵画を受容できる立場の人々との交流があったことが考えられる。中でも、オランダのカピタンに絵を依頼された逸話や、西洋画法による風景図(ライデン国立民族学博物館蔵、図0.3)が「幕府の絵師北斎」によるものと記録されており、シーボルトとの交流もあったことなど、北斎が特別な立場にあったことを想像させる。西洋の遠近法を取り入れた版画作品が、文化年間(1804~1818)初期に制作されていることから、北斎が中島家の後嗣とされていた時期に西洋画に触れる機会があったのではないだろうか。

北斎は、その強い個性と言動、そして超俗的な晩年の暮らしぶりから、社会に制約を受けない天才画家として考えられてきたが、江戸という社会の中に生き、社会とのかかわりの中で自己の作品を作り、変化させていったということができる。

注1 内藤正人 「北斎の裔—幕臣白井家の系譜と、その遺品—」『浮世絵芸術』177 国際浮世絵学会 2019年 15-25頁

注2 岸文和 「御鏡師中島伊勢と北斎」『日本文化の明と暗』 風媒社 2014年 203-222頁

岸文和 「北斎伝記の再検討—新出資料『御鏡師中島伊勢御目見願』を手がかりに」『美術フォーラム21』34 醍醐書房 2016年 86-96頁

注3『板谷家を中心とした江戸幕府御用絵師に関する総合的研究』(研究代表者田沢裕賀・平成23~27年度科学研究費補助金研究成果報告書/Research Project Number: 23242013) 2017年

(『Comprehensive Research on Official Painters to the Bakufu with a Focus on the Itaya Clan』 Report of Grants-Aid for Scientific Research April 2011 to 2016 Principal Investigator TAZAWA Hiroyoshi 2017)

注4 由良哲次 『総校日本浮世絵類考』 画文堂 1979年 142頁

仲田勝之助 『浮世絵類考』 岩波文庫 1941年 142頁

注5 永田生慈 「葛飾北斎年譜」『北斎研究』22 東洋書院 1997年 29頁

注6 由良哲次 前掲『総校日本浮世絵類考』139頁には、「すべて摺物の画は錦絵に似たるを貴しとす」とあるが、仲田勝之助 前掲『浮世絵類考』141・144頁、他の諸本では「錦絵に似ざるを貴とす」とあり、文章の前後内容からも後者が正しいと考える。

注7・8 仲田勝之助 前掲『浮世絵類考』144頁

由良哲次 前掲『総校日本浮世絵類考』139頁 にも同内容の文章がある。

注9 岸文和 注2論文

Chapter 2

Between the Lines: Hokusai in His Letters

Frank Feltens

Letters from bygone times continue to spark the imagination. Pieces of writing from artists of the past offer us glimpses into their personal and professional spheres, thereby allowing us to draw a more complete picture of a person's life. This is even more true the further that person is removed in time from ourselves. The words by their hands – no matter how mundane their content – add pieces to the puzzle in the quest for making sense of artists whose lives occurred well before our own. This is no less true for Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849). An artist whose work has been featured in countless exhibitions and writings, Hokusai seems like a familiar figure, one whom we think we know. His letters, however, reveal aspects of his person and persona that may well surprise us.

This essay tries to read Hokusai through translations of a selection of his letters. In so doing, it offers a rumination on Hokusai – the man, the painter and the entrepreneur – as he appears in some of his professional correspondence. In the complete absence of exclusively private letters by Hokusai, we are left with analysing his business correspondence. The survival of professional letters alone points to how the private and the public faces of Hokusai blended into each other, making one virtually indistinguishable from the other. Hokusai was a prolific writer, dashing off his words with a vigour equal to the vibrancy of his paintings. The extant letters from Hokusai's hand reflect his business activities and specific commissions. They also allude to his methods of social interaction and persuasion. His words disclose the concerns and struggles he faced, while also offering an unobstructed view into the idiosyncratic strategies he employed to pursue his goals.

The 1810s

Painters of the Edo period (1615–1868) left behind troves of personal and professional writings of varying size and diversity. Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716) stands out for the immense number of – and wealth of content in – the writings that survive. His descendants safeguarded receipts for commissions as well as love letters and other deeply personal correspondence, making them essential for reading his life and work.¹ Correspondence by Yosa Buson (1716–1784), the famous *haikai* poet and painter, survives in substantial numbers in part due to his literary and artistic fame. Rather than through the filial piety of descendants, addressees most often treasured letters they received from well-known artists as pieces of art in and of themselves.² This was certainly the case for Hokusai, whose writing style was highly distinctive. Hokusai further had a habit of adding small drawings to his letters, instantly making them collectibles that were kept by publishers and collaborators alike.

For Hokusai, a total of 36 letters are known, with a further three surviving from his artist daughter Ei (art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857?). The vast majority of surviving letters are addressed to publishers or other associates of their art business. Among the 39 known missives, 24 are directly addressed to publishers while a number of others deal in various related ways with the production of prints, illustrated books and other artworks. Only a small fraction relay private information other than reporting on maladies, and even the addressees of those letters always had some

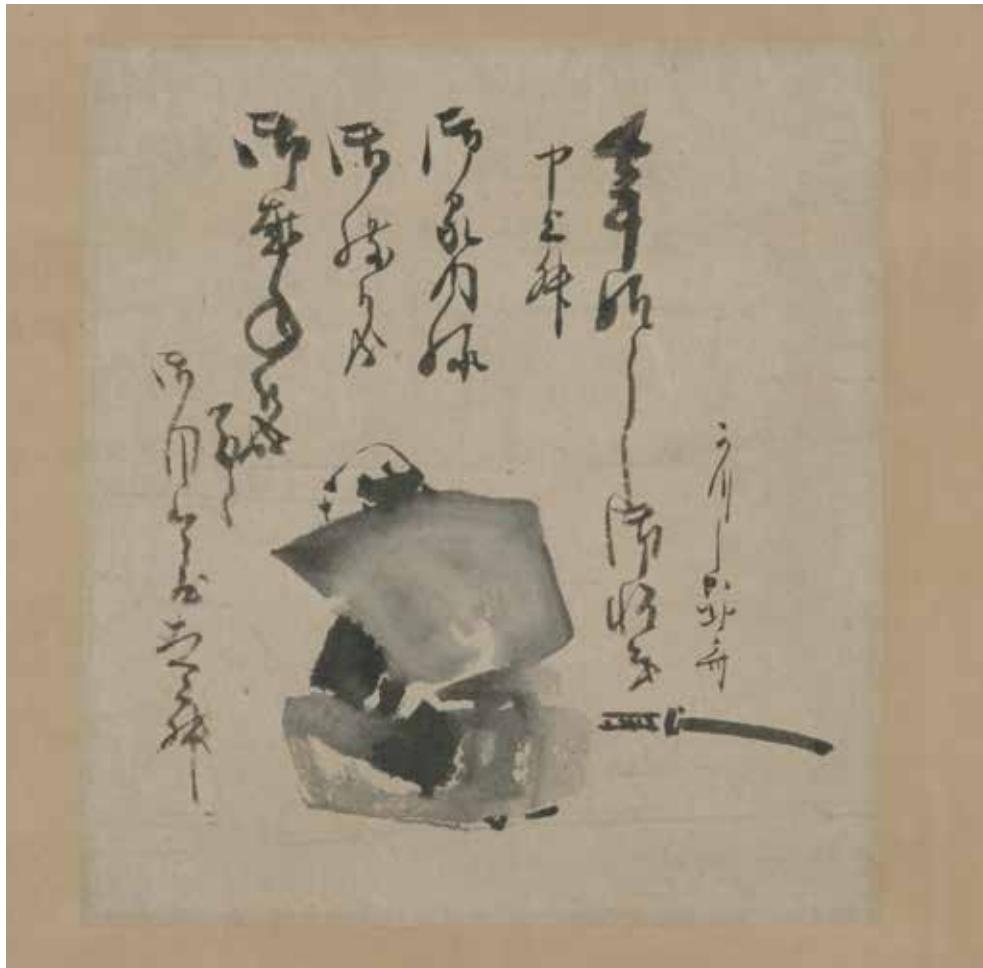


Plate 2.1 Letter from Hokusai to Eirakuya Tōshirō, New Year, c. 1812. Ink on paper, height 35.9cm, width 34.3cm. Private collection, Japan (loaned to Nagoya City Museum)

connection to Hokusai's activities as an artist. For example, in a letter of 1830 addressed to the publisher Hanabusá Heikichi, Hokusai complains about his grandson being led astray by a group of reckless individuals. Hokusai, however, weaves this deeply personal information into a business transaction by emphasising his alleged poverty and continuing with descriptions of the status of recent projects.³ In short, Hokusai's letters show that his professional and private lives intersected constantly and seamlessly.

While some of his communications survive physically, others are only accessible through quotations in secondary sources, such as *Katsushika Hokusai den (Biography of Katsushika Hokusai)* by Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901). Iijima's book of 1893 is an account of Hokusai's life compiled from a combination of facts, anecdotes and hearsay more than four decades after his death.⁴ In his text, Iijima cites 12 letters dated between 1830 and 1846. Most of them – nine in total – are addressed to the Nihonbashi-based publisher Sūzanbō (Kobayashi Shinbei), with whom Hokusai worked on projects late in his career.⁵ A number of letters with particularly intriguing content, however, predate those in Iijima's book. In fact, the earliest known letter by Hokusai was written roughly two decades before Iijima's earliest citation. The document is a simple New Year's wish dispatched to Eirakuya Tōshirō, one of Hokusai's main publishers (Pl. 2.1).⁶

[From] Katsushika Hokusai
I am sending you my best wishes for the New Year.
May everyone in your family have myriad good fortune
throughout the year. Happy New Year!

Tentatively dated to around the year 1812, the letter employs standard language found in countless New Year's greetings dispatched throughout the Edo period. As in other letters by Hokusai from the early 1810s, he writes 'Katsushika' in the syllabic *kana* script, rather than in Chinese characters, which would have been the more common practice. The image of a sitting man at the centre, however, immediately rendered the missive a collectible by customising and elevating the ordinary content through a drawing by the master.

Tōhekidō, the firm of Eirakuya Tōshirō, was based in the city of Nagoya in Owari province (today's Aichi prefecture). Hokusai resided in Nagoya for several months in 1812, when he stayed at the residence of Maki Bokusen (also known as Gekkōtei Bokusen, 1775–1824). Bokusen was an offspring of a retainer to the lords of Owari province. He received painting instruction from Hokusai while the artist was in Nagoya and became one of his pupils and collaborators. For example, both men worked together on completing drawings for the painting manual *Santai gafu (Album of Drawings in Three Styles)*, published by Eirakuya in 1816 (Pl. 2.2). The artist's stay in Nagoya is summarised in another New Year's letter that Hokusai dispatched to Nagoya the following year, after his return to Edo:⁷

May the new year (*shinshun*) bring you myriad luck and joy. I hope this finds you and your wife in good spirits. Please accept my utmost gratitude for your kindness this past year. [Generous] beyond words, your relations hosted me at their properties and treated me to seasonal delights. If it pleases you,



Plate 2.2 Hokusai and Maki Bokusen (1775–1824), from *Santai gafu* (Album of Drawings in Three Styles), 1816. Colour woodblock, height 22.9cm, width 15.9cm (covers). Freer Gallery of Art Study Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Purchase, The Gerhard Pulverer Collection – Charles Lang Freer Endowment, Friends of the Freer and Sackler Galleries and the Harold P. Stern Memorial fund in appreciation of Jeffrey P. Cunard and his exemplary service to the Galleries as chair of the Board of Trustees (2003–7), FSC-GR-780.238

could I trouble you to convey this to them? Here [in Edo], everyone is doing well and we were able to welcome the New Year. We have done nothing but talk about your kindness last year. Yes, yes, yeah, yeah! I shall call on you again one of these days. With kind regards.

Second month, 6th day. Katsushika Hokusai, [seal:] 'Kimō dasoku'. For the attention of Gekkōtei Bokusen

Contrary to the matter-of-fact, almost impatient tone of the 1812 letter, the missive to Bokusen reads as warm and affable. Probably dating to 1813, the note doubles as a token of gratitude for the hospitality he received from Bokusen and his family while in Nagoya. Shortly before his stay there, Hokusai was reportedly hit by a lightning bolt, a traumatic experience that no doubt occasioned extensive recuperation and introspection.⁸ Unlike in most other surviving letters, Hokusai here offers no complaints about his own health nor that of those around him, underscoring the extent of appreciation and amity that he seems to have felt towards Bokusen.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding features of the letter is the onomatopoetic non sequitur 'Yes, yes, yeah, yeah!' (*haihai heihei*) that visually and contextually marks a jarring break in

the letter's narrative flow. Accentuating the preceding and following sentences in equal measure, Hokusai's exclamation is written in syllabic *katakana* script and stretched out across the paper. Like a shout from Hokusai channelled through the paper, the passage offers a small yet powerful glance into the artist's unconventional personality.

All the more powerful, however, are a number of longer letters that Hokusai sent to his publishers which, in addition to the two letters discussed above, are also not quoted in the *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*. The note below was sent to Eirakuya c. 1817 (Pl. 2.3).⁹

Many thanks for dispatching a messenger from Eirakuya] Tōshi, but this was not the amount of money that yours truly here (*temae yashiki*) had requested. Since I am such a lofty man (*yakusho nareba*), I shall have an official speak for me:

[Drawing of an official delivering a message]

To jog your memory, it's about this painter – hmmm, what was his name again, Crappy (*Hekusai*)? – who drew that large Daruma at Nishikakesho [Honganji Nagoya Betsuin] in Ōsu the other day.¹⁰

Today he asks you for money, all the while he says he would surely not dare to ask for money in this letter. But if he cannot



Plate 2.3 Letter from Hokusai to Eirakuya Tōshirō, 16th day, tenth month, 1817. Ink on paper, height 14.5cm, 28.7cm. Nagoya City Museum

borrow anything, he will be completely impoverished. So, there should be a way. But no, no (*iyaya*), please just wait a moment. I'll ask someone to go and fetch Crappy. We'll make him write up a loan receipt, so we can hand it to you [the messenger]. Hey, you [calling to an imaginary assistant], go and get Crappy!

[Drawing of a man bowing]

Crappy asks to say:

Thank you for all you have done. I certainly received the two *ryō* and two *bu* in gold. My apologies, but I would be grateful if you can pass on the above message from his excellency (*onyakusho*)¹¹ to Eirakuya.

The amount received is as follows.

For your reference

Two *ryō* and two *bu*.

The amount was borrowed as noted above.

Therefore, I certify receipt with my own hand and as witnessed below. Tenth month, 16th day, middle hour of the snake [c. 11.00 am].

Hokusai

Taito

The Eirakuya Shop

Fujisuke (or Fujinosuke; also could be read Tōnosuke)

[Lower part of letter:]

This is not the Tō (*fūji*) character,
'tis the Tō (*higashi*) character, don't you see!
He's old enough to die, this clumsy old guy (*buchōhōna oyaji*)
Hahahahaha!
Yes, yes!
I am Crappy! (*hekusade gozarimasu*)

Hokusai had returned to Nagoya in 1817 where he conducted a painting performance at the temple Nishikakesho (Honganji Nagoya Betsuin). The artist famously drew a gigantic image of Bodhidharma, the first Zen patriarch. Hokusai's letter of the time is akin to an avalanche of words. The essence of the document is a

recurring trope found in many of Hokusai's missives: a request for higher remuneration for his artistic services. He populated that general thematic framework with a barrage of content, both overt and subtle.

Never one to mince his words, Hokusai makes clear in the first line what the letter is about. It is an attempt to comically mock his publisher, Eirakuya Tōshirō, who had sent a messenger to Hokusai to convey his words. Perhaps displeased by that gesture and insufficient payment, the artist jokingly pretends to send an envoy himself, 'since I am such a lofty man'. To underscore his point, Hokusai includes a drawing of a messenger handing over a communiqué as if in the presence of a high-ranking individual. However, instead of representing a lofty person, Hokusai's imaginary courier struggles to remember the artist's name and, in the process, morphs it into an expletive. The resulting double entendre plays on the similar pronunciations of Hokusai and *hekusai* ('crappy'), establishing another leitmotif for the entire letter.¹² The seemingly humble remark regarding the recent painting performance at Nishikakesho that follows reads as a subtle reminder to Hokusai's publisher of the public power his name commands. Hokusai continues the playful subterfuge by pretending to summon his alter ego – the painter Crappy – to write a pre-emptive loan agreement for the amount he is requesting from Eirakuya. Such advance payments were commonplace in the art world of early modern Japan, where artists themselves were often required to purchase the materials needed to make works. Not technically loans since reimbursement was not always required, such down payments served to ensure both continuity of work and the artist's enthusiasm for the project. The sum of more than two *ryō* was quite a substantial amount, equivalent to a hundred pounds or so in today's currency. To convey his gratitude – in contrast to the humorously condescending tone of the letter – Hokusai added an image of a man bowing to an open entrance door, as if paying respects to a high-ranking patron.

Although the commission is not specified in the letter, a short document in a similar style of writing, signed 'Hokusai

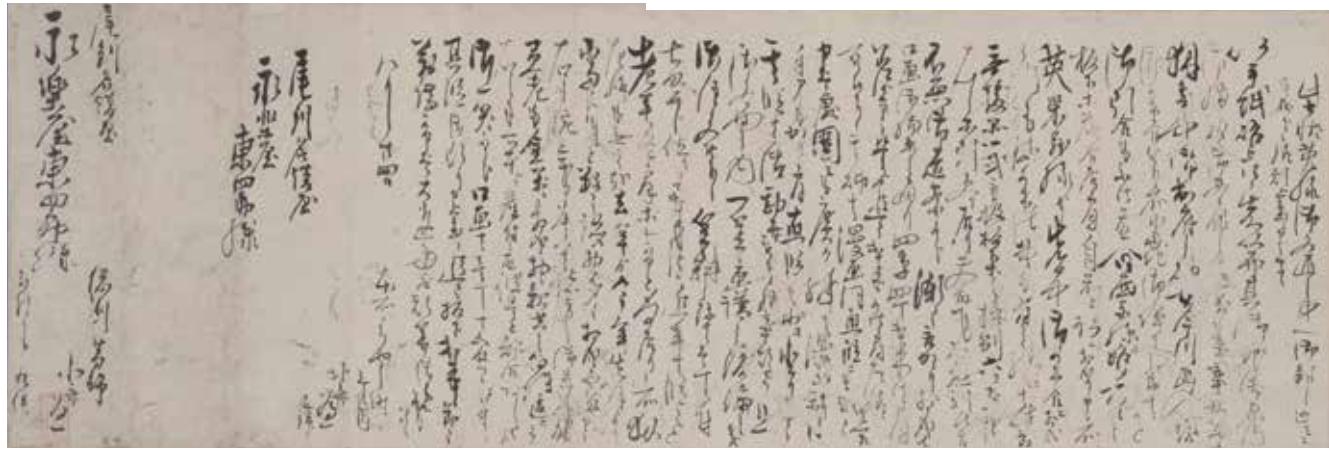


Plate 2.4 Letter from Hokusai to Eirakuya Tōshirō, 24th day, eighth month, c. 1823. Ink on paper, height 15.5cm, width 46.3cm. Private collection. Photo courtesy of Nagoya City Museum 「写真提供 名古屋市博物館」

Iitsu', records the receipt of the same amount – two *ryō* and two *bu* – for the completion of four *shunga* images, literally 'four pictures of men and women' (*danjo no e yonmai*).

Confirmation

This is to certify receipt of payment of two *ryō* and two *bu* for four *shunga*.

In addition, I completed the six paintings for which I was entrusted with six *ryō* in gold. With compliments,

Hokusai Iitsu
[P.S.] I shall send this today with my attendant.

It is possible that the confirmation of payment relates to the order discussed in the 1817 letter to Eirakuya. Hokusai simply describes the images as 'pictures' (*e*), a general term that can refer both to a preparatory drawing for a print or book illustration, or for a stand-alone painting. The substantial amount paid for just four images, however, may suggest that Hokusai worked on a set of paintings or highly finished works here.

Returning to the Eirakuya letter, the text concludes with a verse-like addendum in 8 short lines, which apparently was inserted at the end by squeezing it into the lower half of the letter. The rhyme commences with a comical jab at Tōshirō, the proprietor of Eirakuya. Hokusai reminds his addressee that it was not Tōshirō himself, but a messenger named Fujisuke who delivered the unwelcome news. The first character of Fujisuke can also be read 'Tō', so it is phonetically similar to the first character of Tōshirō. Hokusai seems to suggest that, because of that similarity, it is actually Tōshirō whom he is addressing, an elaborate ploy that Hokusai jokingly pretends to have uncovered. In the same vein, Hokusai unveils himself – 'this clumsy old guy' – as his alter ego Crappy. The artist practised comical poetic forms popular during the late Edo period, such as *kyōka* and *senryū*, a passion that shines through in this sequence of self-deprecating jokes and exclamatory expressions.

Hokusai's correspondence with publishers and other collaborators stands out in its general idiosyncrasy in the use of language, narrative structure and elaborate smokescreens that masterfully serve to advance a particular agenda by peppering them with unexpected caesuras and subplots. Few other artists corresponded in this way. The painter Sakai Hōitsu (1761–1829), for example, composed the following message to a pupil in Edo around the same time as Hokusai's letter quoted above.

If from tomorrow you can begin to assist with the iris screens, then I would like to have them mounted by the 1st day of the month. If that isn't possible it can't be helped, but it will be difficult if it takes too long, as I am being pressured to hurry. First of all, please begin to work on it tomorrow. The 24th.

To Hitsu

From Ō [Ōson, or Hōitsu]¹³

While the content is different from Hokusai's request for higher advance payment, the letter similarly voices a request but shuns any embellishments. Such pragmatic diction was much more commonplace among artists' correspondence than the flowery, meandering style of Hokusai.¹⁴ It has also been noted that Hokusai's younger contemporary and rival Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) was significantly more accommodating and down-to-earth in his interactions with publishers and other patrons, a fact that is true for the majority of Edo period artists whose letters survive.¹⁵ Hokusai was not the rule but an exception.

The 1820s

In another letter sent to Eirakuya around 1823, Hokusai addresses Tōshirō directly. The artist entrusted the document to a messenger from Edo to Nagoya (PI. 2.4).¹⁶

Please kindly enclose this letter with the communication to Ei[rakuya].

As I noted in my letter, I trust that you and your family are very much in good health and I am wishing you all the very best [parts of this sentence are illegible].

When you came to Edo (*shuppu*) at the beginning of the year (lit. spring), we discussed the drawings for [*Ehon*] *onna Imagawa* (*Illustrated Imagawa Precepts for Women*).¹⁷ When it was time for you to leave Edo and return home, I still had not received the promised amount. [Publisher's 'triple *tomoe*' trademark] Nishi-Yo has now begun to bring together the various block-ready drawings (*tokorodokoro no hanshita*). All of this is naturally running late. I discussed this with Hanabusa Eizō the other day, but we left it at that for now.¹⁸

At this time, I cannot be expected to accomplish the entire work (*shina isshiki*). The block-ready drawings are particularly complex. For that reason, I realise that we are running late. Please assume that I do not mean anything bad in all of this. At long last I have begun working on the pictures and, according to your order, have completed four pages (lit. 'leaves', *chō*) of the four seasons.¹⁹ I shall send them to you. From now on, I should

finish others and please know that I shall finish the other images soon. At this opportunity, I also want to raise the matter of remuneration for [Hokusai] manga (*Hokusai's Sketches*).²⁰

The extent of work needed for *manga* has been especially taxing. So, could you please increase the low fee (*nedan no sukunaki*) for it? I would be very grateful if you could kindly give this matter your consideration.

In your letter, you had ordered a second part (*kōhen*) of *Ippitsu gafu* (*Album of Single-Stroke Drawings*) for a fee of seven *monme* and five *bu* per leaf.²¹ These years I am getting older and older (*rōnen ni oyobi*). Although one might expect someone so old to be senile and absent-minded – well, I'm not that, am I (*sayō ni mo kore nashi*)?! It pains me that from last year and into this year, and from last month to this month, I have barraged you with my letters.

If both of my hands could draw equally well (lit. 'have two right hands') everyone would be happy, and this foolish old man (*guro*) should probably make plenty of money. Because of parental imprudence, I was born with only one hand that can draw (lit. 'one right hand') and keep struggling in this way and that. Go ahead and chuckle, but I am asking for 15 *monme* per frontispiece image (*kuchie*). I kindly ask for your understanding in this matter. I am gradually completing the block-ready drawings and I should finish all of them bit by bit. I beg your forgiveness for always sending rambling notes (*ranpitsu*) like this. That is all.

Eighth month, 24th day Honjo Hayashi-chō 3-chōme²²

Hokusai Iitsu

Nagoya in Bishū [Owari province]

Eirakuya

Tōshirō

[Outer fold of letter, address section]

[To] Nagoya in Bishū [Owari province]

Eirakuya Tōshirō

[From] Katsushika in Sōshū [Shimōsa province]

Hokusai Iitsu

[seal:] ? 'Iitsu'

Given the more detailed address portion in this letter – from Sōshū to Bishū – along with the fact that the document was clearly sent by courier, we may surmise that Hokusai sent his earlier Eirakuya letter of 1817 while in Nagoya himself. The later letter of c. 1823 discloses some of the complexities of interaction between artist and publisher in the production of a print or illustrated book. Although the letter's translation here is divided into different paragraphs for ease of reading, the original is visually akin to a stream of consciousness, written in a continuous block without breaks. Only the beginnings of nearly every second line stand out since Hokusai apparently refreshed his brush each time he completed two lines, rendering their first characters in thick, dark strokes of ink that implicitly alert the reader and recapture their attention.

The content of the first section follows common practices in correspondence between artist and publisher. After standard greetings, Hokusai raises the topic of a publication commissioned by Eirakuya, which Hokusai and its proprietor Tōshirō apparently discussed during the latter's visit from Nagoya to Edo earlier in the year. The book, *Ehon onna Imagawa* (*Illustrated Imagawa Precepts for Women*), was an education manual for women based on an eponymous work published in 1687 by the early Edo period writer Sawada Kichi (Pl. 2.5).²³

As in the letter to Eirakuya quoted earlier, Hokusai provides a glimpse into the production process of a printed illustrated book. Hokusai, as is often the case in his letters, criticises the lack of payment for his work. The frequency with which such issues are raised in correspondence by early modern artists alludes to the asymmetrical hierarchies between patrons and creative professionals. Being paid, it seems, was not a given but frequently required advocacy on its own. It appears that Hokusai had worked on the project over an extended period of time and had asked 'Nishi-Yo' to put all the preparatory drawings in order and arrange for the cutting of the printing blocks. Nishi-Yo is an abbreviation for Nishimuraya Yohachi, the Edo-based publisher, who apparently collaborated in the *Illustrated Imagawa Precepts for Women* project.²⁴ The reason for mentioning Hanabusa Eizō, a different publisher, is unclear. Perhaps the two publishers – one mainly working in Nagoya and the other in Edo – collaborated on the work, a practice that was not uncommon for Hokusai. In fact, for the serial publication of *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai's Sketches*), Eirakuya Tōshirō, Hanabusa Heikichi and Kadomaruya Jinsuke joined forces and published the magnum opus in their respective cities.²⁵ *Hokusai's Sketches* is referred to in the letter as well, indicating the time-consuming and physically taxing work required for one of the artist's most influential publications. Here, too, Hokusai requests a higher fee for his creative labour. That famous series of publications is mentioned in another letter, cited by Iijima in his *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*. The letter is dated to 1835, roughly 10 years after the letter translated here.²⁶ Hokusai addressed his three Edo-based publishers – Sūzanbō (Kobayashi Shinbei), Mankyūkaku (Hanabusa Heikichi or Hanabusa Eizō)²⁷ and Shūseikaku (Kadomaruya Jinsuke) – all at once, and praises the cutting skills of Egawa Tomekichi (active 1820s–30s) in *Hokusai's Sketches*, demanding his services for a variety of other projects.

We further learn from the letter how frenetic Hokusai's activities were, a reality confirmed by his tremendous artistic output. While navigating the intricacies of the early modern art market, Hokusai worked on many parallel projects simultaneously. In this letter alone, three different publications are referred to. Given that *Ippitsu gafu* (*Album of Single-Stroke Drawings*) was first published in 1823 and Hokusai discusses the order of a second volume, it is possible that the letter's date roughly corresponds with the first volume. This assumption also enables us to speculate on the hitherto unknown publication date for *Illustrated Imagawa Precepts for Women*. Given the letter's tentative dating to the early 1820s, we may assume that the book was finished around the same time. In the section dealing with the *Album of Single-Stroke Drawings*, Hokusai again displays his tendency for narrative breaks to emphasise a point, often related to monetary matters. Suggesting that the proposed fee can only be offered to someone deemed mentally incapacitated, Hokusai asserts that despite his advanced age, he is anything but senile. The artist continues by adding self-deprecating, witty comments, blaming 'parental imprudence' (*oyadomo no kokoroejigahi*) for his alleged lack of productivity.

Hokusai's command of language and the flashes of humour are undeniably impressive. Letters such as those

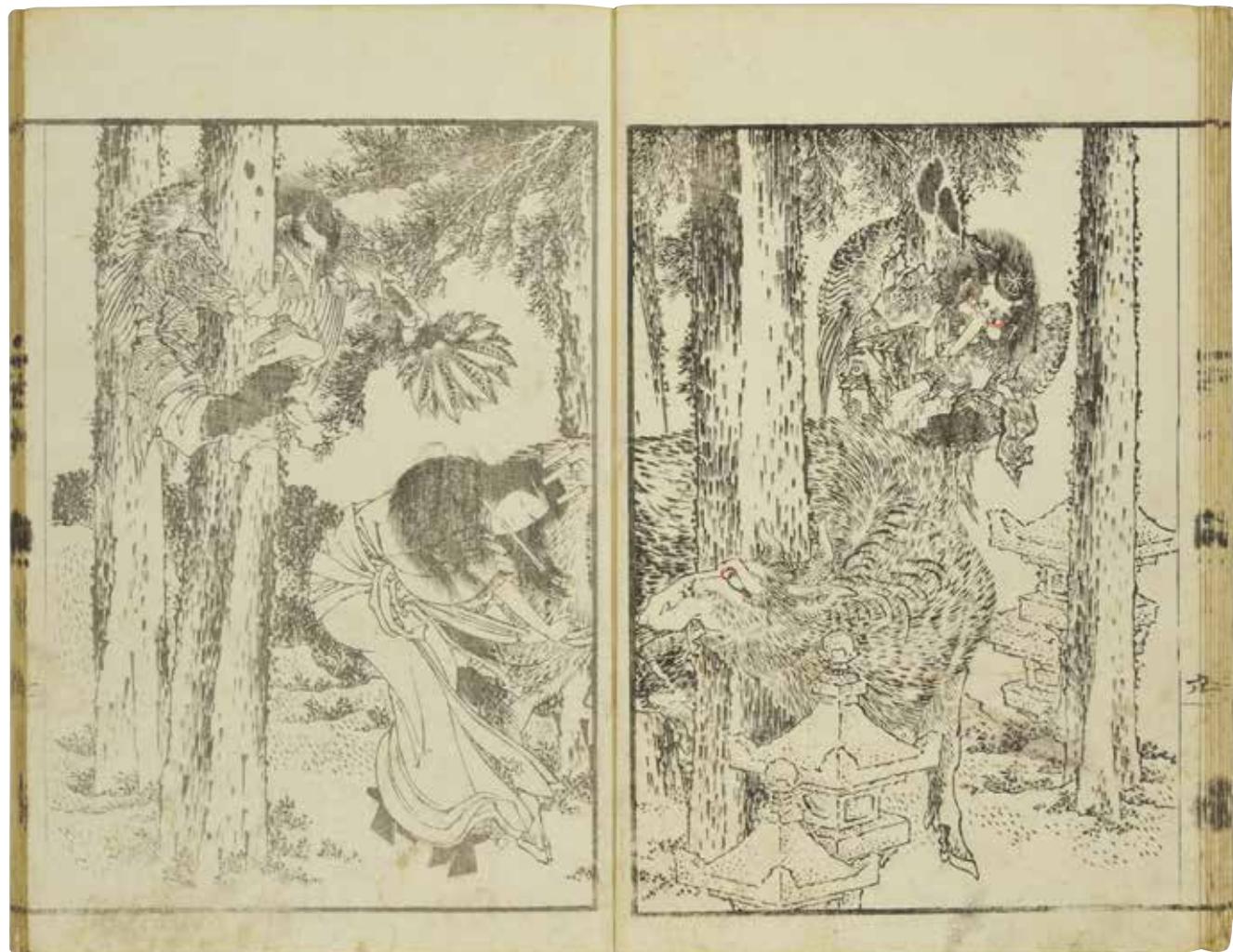


Plate 2.5 Hokusai, from *Ehon onna Imagawa* (Illustrated *Imagawa Precepts for Women*), date unknown. Colour woodblock, height 22cm, width 15cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.463 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

addressed to Eirakuya display a dexterity in the art of letter writing. Hokusai understood and cultivated the power of comedy to capture his reader's attention, and used the tool of self-effacing satire to push a specific objective. This skill is summarised best by a short payment confirmation that Hokusai wrote sometime during the 1840s.

The 1840s

As with any artist of the Edo period, Hokusai issued countless invoices and dispatched notes to confirm receipt of payments. A brief fictional payment confirmation dating from Hokusai's final decade epitomises his attitude towards the art trade, money and strategies for interacting with patrons (Pl. 2.6).²⁸

Confirmation

For the amount of some *ryō* and some tens of *monme*
I hereby confirm receipt of the above painting fee at the earliest
convenience. [The invoice] is as [playfully written character]
written here (*kaku no gotoku*).²⁹

Kamezawa-chō

Miuraya Hachiemon

[seal:] 'Katsushika (type 3)'

To Mr So-and-so of the Such-and-such business (*Naniya Nanbei*)

The father [drawing of face in profile] with small eyes, a big
nose, and shaggy white hair, or his daughter [drawing of frontal

face], a square-jawed woman – either one will come and see
you.

Now kept at the Shimane Art Museum, the note is thought to have been written during one of Hokusai's stays in the village of Obuse, Shinano province (modern Nagano prefecture).³⁰ The note's presumed date relies on the presence of a prominently placed 'Katsushika (type 3)' seal, which the artist used during his eighties, from about 1839 to 1847. The note is an artwork in and of itself. Addressed to a fictitious person – in essence meaning 'insert name here' – Hokusai requests the sum of 'some' *ryō* and 'some tens of' *monme*. The comical receipt represents a summation of Hokusai's persona and practice that we encounter in virtually all the documents discussed in this essay. Business matters are perpetually paired with jocularity; the matter-of-fact is fused with the facetious.

The imaginary template is followed by a poetic insertion that comically describes the appearances of Hokusai and his daughter and collaborator, Ei/Ōi. Their peculiar facial features had effectively become part of Hokusai's trademark as an artist, a notion that is supported by the frequency with which Hokusai wittily refers to his own physical appearance in letters.³¹ Hokusai's unflattering sketches of himself (in profile) and his daughter (in frontal view) set the stage for Hokusai's posthumous reputation. A drawing by his pupil

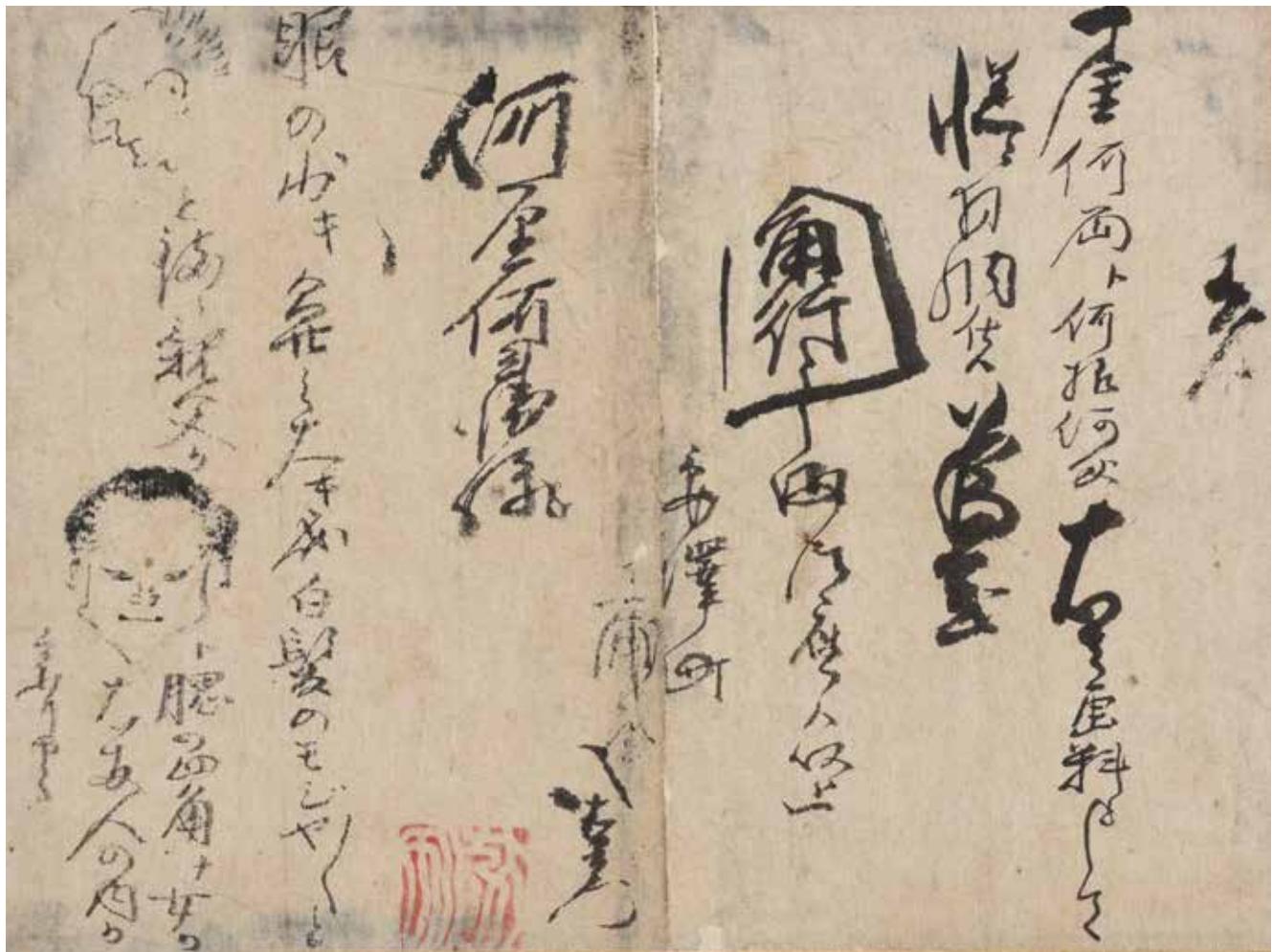


Plate 2.6 Fictional letter from Hokusai to 'Mr So-and-so of Such-and-such a Business', 1840s. Ink on paper, height 18.6cm, width 24.9cm. Nagata collection, Shimane Museum of Art

Tsuyuki Kōshō (d. after 1893) shows Hokusai in old age hunched over a painting while in his bed quilt (see **Pl. 4.1**). Ōi, with angular facial features, is seen casting a stern eye over her father.³²

Ōi's likely role in Hokusai's art-making is highlighted in letters like this one, sent by her to a benefactor in Obuse (**Pl. 2.7**).

I have read your note. Although I have not been able to see you, I hear you are doing well and have been out and about – how wonderful! Last month you also sent me a letter, but I have been away and was unable to reply. Please excuse this.

I shall return home in the middle of next month. The model sketches (*tehon*) should be in your hands by then. Before that, I have some urgent business to attend to. In haste.

Yours sincerely.

Thank you for sending so many chestnuts from Obuse. Words cannot express my delight.

It is difficult [right now] to write more. In haste.

Yours sincerely.

To [section torn out]

Miuraya Ei [Hokusai's daughter, Ōi]

Using the family or business name Miuraya, which Hokusai had adopted towards the final decade of his life, Ōi

mentions a model book that she is preparing for an unnamed client. The letter is relatable and pleasant, and has none of the idiosyncratic eruptions common in Hokusai's correspondence. The addressee's name has been torn out, but her note of gratitude for receiving chestnuts from Obuse discloses the destination of her work. Apologetic remarks throughout the letter refer to an evidently busy and peripatetic lifestyle (see Haft essay, pp. 43–57). Hokusai and Ōi were much in demand.

The variety of their commissions is further illustrated by a late letter, dating to around the mid-1840s (**Pl. 2.8**; see also Haft essay, p. 54):

Okay (*hai*), so the sculptor [Shōgorō] came to my home the other day. He is working diligently and we should have the winged dragon [sculpture] (*ōryū*) finished by the middle of next month. This old man has managed to recreate four images for the volume lost in the fire. Also, the ghost painting on silk (*kinuji no yūrei no e*) will be delivered by the end of the third month. As discussed, the model book of fan paintings (*senmen no tehon*) will be painted on actual fans and all sent to one place (*issho*). I have had to borrow money for this [commission], so I ask for it to be done as requested here. Nothing in the world is more woeful than human desire (*yo ni jin'yoku*). Still, I would kindly ask you to consider that the sculptor is burnt out (*yake*) and this old man is sick and both of us have our heads and necks wrapped in cloth [drawing of a masked face].³³ So, I would be grateful if you could advance the amount mentioned earlier.

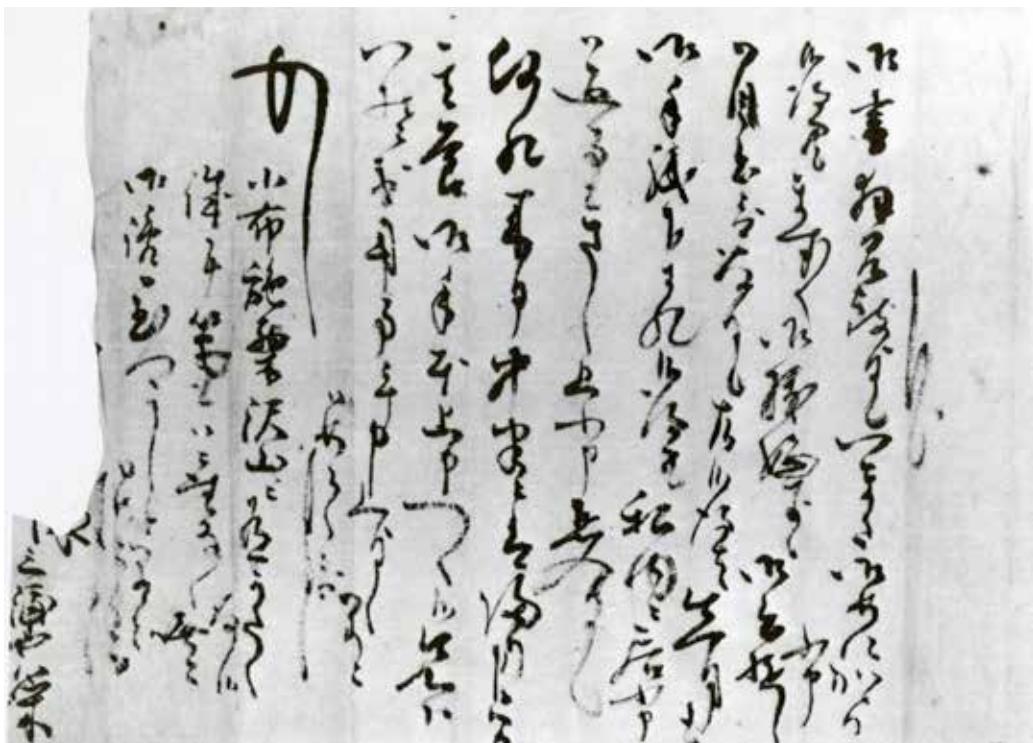


Plate 2.7 Letter from Ei/Ōi to unknown recipient (name removed), 1840s. Ink on paper, height 22.4cm, width 30.2cm. Private collection, Japan (loaned to Hokusai-kan, Obuse)



Plate 2.8 Letter from Hokusai to the staff of the Jūhachiya business, 14th day, third month, mid-1840s. Ink on paper, height 24.2cm, width 34.1cm. Maki family collection (loaned to Hokusai-kan, Obuse)

[Next line and confirmation were probably added later] I am confirming receipt below.

Confirmation

Shōgorō and Hachiemon both confirm the receipt of an advancement of two *ryō* as stated here.

Third month, 14th day. Honjo Nakanogō Motomachi
Miuraya Hachiemon
[seal:] 'Katsushika' (type 3)

To the staff of Jūhachiya

Hokusai begins the letter with a virtual sigh. Shunning customary formulae of courtesy, his language suggests that

the document was part of an energetic written exchange that has exasperated the artist. He speaks of a winged dragon sculpture on which he worked with another artist who has been identified as the same Shōgorō mentioned later in the letter. Hokusai was asked to participate in the production of the décor for two festival floats in Obuse (see also Haft essay, pp. 43–57). The Kanmachi district float includes a sculpture of a dragon, which is the one probably referred to here. The sculpture itself was made by the Edo artist Shōgorō on the basis of Hokusai's designs. This letter documents their collaboration. Hokusai's work with the sculptor on this joint project echoes the nature of the partnership between an

artist and a printmaker. The artist would supply the preparatory drawings from which a blockcutter and printer – or a sculptor, in this case – would create the final work. Hokusai's collaborative efforts on sculptural elements for the Kanmachi float did not stop there. From another letter, addressed to one of his Obuse patrons, Takai Kōzan (1806–1883), we learn that Hokusai was also tasked with producing a rendering of Gongsun Sheng, a warrior featured in the well-known Chinese epic *Suikoden* (*Water Margin*), who Hokusai had often depicted in prints, books and paintings (see **Pl. 3.10**).³⁴ Forming the float's central theme, Gongsun Sheng brazenly engages the fierce dragon beneath a ceiling enlivened with wave paintings by Hokusai (see **Pl. 3.9**). The warrior sculpture was made in collaboration with Kamehara Wadashirō II, a respected local artist.

While the work on the sculpture sets the tone for the letter, Hokusai swiftly moves on to other commissions and suggests that his home had burnt down. A devastating fire occurred in Hokusai's neighbourhood in 1839, which destroyed the majority of his sketches. The fire alluded to in this letter could either indicate the aftermath of the 1839 event or signify an unknown fire that occurred closer to the time the missive was written.

Hokusai further speaks of a commission for a ghost painting on silk, alongside an album of fan paintings. The fan album in particular is curious, since Hokusai and Ōi in the posthumous imagination have been associated with their dislike for orders of fans. The drawing by Tsuyuki Kōshō mentioned earlier includes a whimsical note pasted to a pillar in Hokusai's home saying: 'we strictly refuse [to paint] albums or fans' (see **Pl. 4.1**).³⁵ Notwithstanding the humour that pervades the letter, its timbre is decidedly more sombre than in the other documents examined in this essay. In lieu of self-effacing remarks, Hokusai invokes Buddhist associations by referring to human desires in this world. Compared to that pining, his request for higher remuneration must surely be benign, but, in essence, his request for money represents a human desire in and of itself. The artist includes a sketch of a person, wrapped in a scarf, perhaps to highlight his illness at the time. The sketch may be read as generic, standing in for both Hokusai and Shōgorō. The sharp, almost geometric regularity of the calligraphy in much of the letter is punctuated by strokes of thick, black ink, such as in the first two characters of the name of the addressee, 'Jūhachiya'. True to his form, the artist ends the letter with a visual roar.

Between the lines

In their totality, Hokusai's letters give welcome tactility to an artist whose life can sometimes seem shrouded by his outsize posthumous persona. No selection of written correspondence – no matter how comprehensive – can allow us to draw a complete picture of an individual's motivations, character and interactions. Letters offer but a small window onto the much larger cosmos that constitutes a human being. Still, words are manifestations of our thoughts, acts and being. They are a key part of the way in which a person presents themselves to others. As such, they allow us to glimpse important facets of a person.

In Hokusai's case, one stylistic feature stands out: his melding of business language with outbursts of quirkiness.

In other words, in his letters Hokusai was both idiosyncratic and conventional at the same time. These explosions at first seem like stark breaks in the narrative flow, but, when considering a number of Hokusai's letters together, a pattern of well-chosen and well-choreographed paroxysms emerges. He reminds us that jokes can have very explicit purposes. Hokusai certainly had a sense of humour and by all accounts was regarded – and remains so in the public imagination – as an untrammelled character. Yet we will never be able to determine how much of this was curated and how much was real.

What we can be sure of, however, is the double efficacy of his letters. As much as they reveal to us about the man, Hokusai, and his concerns, in many ways they also enhance the myth around him. The more we delve into his written words, the more we are exposed to the veil that Hokusai cast around himself and that shapes his perception in the public eye to this day. That veil is one of idiosyncratic expressions, untrammelled behaviour and deconstruction of norms, all self-made myth-making in their own right. It seems the more we seek to pierce the membrane of Hokusai's persona, the more we are absorbed by it.

Note on translations

All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Yamamoto Yoshitaka for his invaluable advice on Hokusai's language. Thank you to Matthew McKelway for kindly allowing me to include his unpublished translation of Sakai Hōitsu's letter. I also wish to acknowledge Timothy Clark, who could not have been more generous in sharing his deep knowledge and research on Hokusai.

Notes

- 1 The immense quantity and layered insights of documents by or about Ogata Kōrin represent a singular case among artists of the Edo period. See Feltens 2019.
- 2 This is especially true for artists that were praised for their calligraphy, such as Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), whose letters have been cherished as heirloom collectibles. See, for example, Masuda 1980.
- 3 The letter is transcribed in Iijima 1893, 2:22–4 and has been translated by Yasuhara Akio (Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), part 2, section 18 [Letter IV]). See also Iijima 1999, 228–30.
- 4 The book was published by Hōsūkaku, a Tokyo-based publishing house owned by the art dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi (1862–1923), a major purveyor of Japanese art objects to Western clients throughout the Meiji and Taishō eras. See, for example, Kobayashi 1997.
- 5 Iijima names the source for each letter cited in his book of 1893. Kobayashi Shinbei, Sūzanbō's proprietor who worked with Hokusai, shared nine letters relating to that publishing house.
- 6 The letter is published in Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan 1991, 181, no. 220.
- 7 The letter is published in Nagata 1997, 157.
- 8 See Keyes 2017, 8.
- 9 The letter is published in Nagata 1997, 158–9.
- 10 Literally, 'the Ōsu branch temple of Nishi-[Honganji]' (Ōsu Nishikakeshō). This Jōdo Shinshū temple is located in Naka Ward,

Nagoya, and was established in the early 16th century. I am grateful to Timothy Clark for sharing his reading of the location as 'Ōsu'.

¹¹ Hokusai here is comically referring to himself.

¹² While *hekusai* is phonetically similar to 'Hokusai', it can mean both 'stinky' or 'unskilled'. Hokusai here writes the term with the character for 'buttocks'. To capture these two meanings in English, the term 'crappy' was chosen here.

¹³ Translated by Matthew McKelway.

¹⁴ Sakai Hōitsu was born into a feudal family and thus hailed from a higher social class than Hokusai. However, the language in Hōitsu's letters does not differ much in structure and grammar from Hokusai's own, thus enabling a valid comparison between these two artist contemporaries.

¹⁵ See Kobayashi 2003, originally published in Japanese in Kobayashi 1996 and Kobayashi 1996b and Kobayashi 1997.

¹⁶ The letter is published in Nagata 1997, 96.

¹⁷ A number of editions of *Ehon onna Imagawa* with illustrations by Hokusai survive. An edition at the British Museum contains backmatter that mentions Eirakuya as the publisher. While the dates of most surviving editions range from c. 1825 to 1845, the letter suggests that Hokusai worked on and possibly completed drawings for the volume in the early 1820s. See Appendix 1, pp. 269–70, for a discussion of the possible publishing history of this title.

¹⁸ Hanabusa Eizō appears in other Hokusai letters and published a number of Hokusai's works through the business Mankyūkaku at Jikkendana, in the Nihonbashi neighbourhood of Edo. Hokusai is clearly trying to play off different publishers against each other.

¹⁹ It is unclear if Hokusai is referring to images related to *Ehon onna Imagawa* or a different work. Yet the book lacks a seasonal association, so the artist is probably discussing an unrelated commission here. Such abrupt non sequiturs are not uncommon in letters by Hokusai and other early modern writers.

²⁰ Hokusai here refers to the hugely popular series of publications under the title *Hokusai manga*.

²¹ The first edition was published in 1823 by Eirakuya Tōshirō.

²² Hokusai's address at the time.

²³ Sawada, in turn, based his women's textbook on educational notes written by the medieval poet Imagawa Sadayo (1326–c. 1420) to his adopted son Imagawa Nobuaki (late 14th–early 15th century).

²⁴ I thank Timothy Clark for this reference.

²⁵ The backmatter of the first edition of *Hokusai manga* mentions its joint distribution in Edo by Hanabusa Heikichi and in Nagoya by Eirakuya Tōshirō. See Appendix 1, pp. 259–60.

²⁶ Iijima 1893, 1:53–6. See also Iijima 1999, 142–7.

²⁷ This information is taken from Kobayashi 2003, 77.

²⁸ The letter is published in Nagata 1997, 118.

²⁹ In some documents signed Miuraya Hachiemon, Hokusai playfully wrote the characters for *kaku* and *gatoku* in an ornamental way, in the shape of pieces (*kaku*) for the board game *shōgi*, making them stand out among the rest of the text.

³⁰ Kobayashi 1997, 178–9. For a discussion of Hokusai's time in Obuse as seen through his letters, see also Kobayashi 1996a, Kobayashi 1996b and the Haft essay in this volume, pp. 43–57.

³¹ A total of three self-portraits in Hokusai's letters are known. See Kobayashi 1997, 172–84.

³² See Clark 2017a, 295, no. 193.

³³ 'Burnt' (*yake*) here can either mean 'burnt out' in a literal sense or a figure of speech to indicate that the sculptor collaborating on the project is overwhelmed. Hokusai himself is suffering from illness, two reasons he cites for asking for advance payment. *Yaku* can also mean 'to be troubled'. In order to capture a possible double entendre, the translation of 'burnt out' was used here.

³⁴ In the letter, Hokusai reports on the completion of the Gongsun Sheng figure and asks Takai Kōzan for money to celebrate the completion of the sculpture that evening. The letter further includes whimsical renderings of the backs of the heads of Hokusai, Shōgorō and Wadashirō: the three collaborators on the float's sculptural décor (see PI. 3.7). See Kobayashi 1996b, 192–3.

³⁵ Translated in Clark 2017b, 15.

Chapter 3

Hokusai in Obuse: A Study of Cultural Mobility during the Late Edo Period

Alfred Haft

In his art and his life, Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) proved himself an inveterate traveller. During the early 1810s, after finding success as an illustrator of serial adventure novels (*yomihon*) and as a designer of privately commissioned poetry prints (*kyōka surimono*), he left Edo for central Japan, following the East Sea Road (Tōkaidō) to Nagoya and thence to Kyoto and surrounding areas.¹ In Nagoya he became friendly with a group of amateur artists and the publisher Eirakuya Tōshirō II (Katano Yoshinaga, head of the firm from 1797 to 1836), who would help to secure his popular acclaim in Japan and around the world by publishing the renowned series of illustrated drawing manuals, *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai's Sketches*, 1814–78), as well as *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*, 1834–49) (see also Tinios essay, pp. 71–88). Hokusai travelled again to Nagoya in 1817, this time to give a public demonstration of his painting skills in the courtyard of the temple Nishikakesho (Honganji Nagoya Betsuin), where he produced a colossal ink-portrait of the first Zen patriarch Bodhidharma. The second trip must have provided an opportunity to reinforce his ties with Eirakuya and others in that circle, for if not already convinced by his connections with the *kyōka* poetry groups, whose networks stretched across Japan, certainly in his Nagoya following Hokusai would have recognised the importance of patronage centres beyond the Three Cities (Edo, Kyoto and Osaka) to a thriving artistic career.

Hokusai's roaming continued after his return from Nagoya. Following the productive period of the early 1830s, when he designed such celebrated print series as *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), *Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces* (*Shokoku meikyō kiran*), *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces* (*Shokoku taki-meguri*) and two untitled series of bird-and-flower prints (called the 'Large flowers' and 'Small flowers' series), for unknown reasons he left Edo and 'went into hiding' (*senkyo*) in Uraga, a small coastal town south-west of Edo.² By around the end of 1836 he was back in the shogun's capital moving from residence to residence and supplementing an already long list of addresses with lodgings at various places east and west of the Sumida River.³ This period also saw him renewing contact with Takai Kōzan (1806–1883), the 11th-generation head of a wealthy merchant and sake-brewing family whom he first met probably in Edo around 1833 or 1834 (Pl. 3.1).

Surviving evidence suggests that Kōzan became the major patron of Hokusai's last years. From his home in the farming village of Obuse, located around 240km (150 miles) north-west of Edo in the mountainous Shinano province (Shinshū, modern Nagano prefecture), Kōzan supplied Hokusai with regular painting commissions and took a direct interest in his welfare, even in 1839 visiting him in Edo and delivering gifts, after Hokusai and his artist daughter Ei (art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857?) lost their possessions to fire, escaping with only the clothes on their backs and a few painting brushes – the principal tools of their livelihood.⁴ At least twice during the mid-1840s Kōzan also hosted the artist for several months, so he could work locally on two now-famous public commissions: the festival floats for the Higashimachi and Kanmachi neighbourhoods of Obuse.

The idea of 'Hokusai, the traveller' might be extended to the artist's ceaseless forays into new painting styles and



Plate 3.1 Mihata Jōryū (worked c. 1830–44), *Portrait of Takai Kōzan (Takai Kōzan shōzō ga)*, c. 1830–44. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 37.8cm, width 32.6cm. Takai Kōzan Memorial Hall, Obuse

methods, which over the course of eight decades ranged from the linear manner of ukiyo-e to the volumetric techniques of European painting, to the expressive brushwork of the Chinese literati (*bunjin*) school. This essay, however, leaves aside Hokusai's exceptionally varied stylistic searches, and from among his excursions in, around and beyond Edo, concentrates on what seem to have been his last major journeys: the visits to Obuse. His first biographer Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901) noticed in the late 1880s that opportunities to document Hokusai's life were disappearing and proceeded to track down anyone who might have known him in order to record their reminiscences. Iijima, however, limited his detective work to Tokyo, Nagoya and their environs. He neither travelled to Obuse nor, judging from the introductory notes to his *Katsushika Hokusai den* (*Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*, 1893), pursued contacts there. He mentions Takai Kōzan only briefly: in the first part of his book as the son of a sake brewer renowned for his wealth, who studied in Kyoto under the artist Gan Ku (1749 or 1756–1838) and then in Edo under Hokusai, and who hosted Hokusai at his home in Obuse in 1831–2; and in the second part with a brief biography summarising the same information, among the biographies provided for Hokusai's numerous other students.⁵ And yet, while time, natural disaster and military conflict have taken their toll on a number of the materials that Iijima consulted – he cites several documents, including letters, which now exist solely as transcriptions in his book – Obuse, by contrast, is comparatively rich in archival materials related to Hokusai and his connections with the local community. Some of these materials require further research in order to establish their context and dating, but despite the lacunae they convey

much that is not found elsewhere regarding Hokusai's late career (1830s–40s) and help to correct errors and limitations in Iijima's account. Such a body of information rarely survives for any artist of the Edo period (1615–1868), let alone one associated with popular culture and the Floating World. In this way, too, Hokusai is exceptional. This essay looks at the artist's social environment during his last decades by reviewing the character of Obuse in Hokusai's time, the evidence for his visits there and his links with that rural village. The discussion offers a way of exploring the social parameters that framed Hokusai's cultural reception in his last years. It is a case study of 'cultural mobility' – referring to the movement of artists, artworks and artistic influence – during the late Edo period.

Obuse in Hokusai's time

Rural life secured an early hold on Hokusai's imagination. During the first decade of the 1800s – and three decades before Utagawa Hiroshige – he designed perhaps the first print series dedicated to the 53 stations of the Tōkaidō highway, *Tōkaidō gojūsan-tsugi*. Produced in the medium *chūban* print format using a limited colour palette, this modest series was probably inspired by the contemporary success of Jippensha Ikku's (1765–1831) picaresque serial novel, *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (*Shank's Mare*, 1802–9; plus a one-volume prequel, 1814), which recounts the adventures of two ne'er-do-wells as they travel from Edo to Osaka. Unlike Ikku's burlesque portrayal of life on the road, however, Hokusai's series offers finely drawn vignettes, quiet scenes of daily life that seem realistic, lightly humorous and accessible. These qualities would soon be found throughout *Hokusai manga*.

Somewhat later, in 1818, Hokusai used a form of aerial perspective to condense the Tōkaidō into a single print with hills and mountains represented in relative scale, creating a vivid impression of the topography of Japan. The follow-up to this print was a topographic overview of the rugged but scenic Kiso highway (1819), which ran from Edo north and then west along a mountainous route through Shinano and other provinces before eventually joining the Tōkaidō at Kusatsu and, two stations later, ending in Kyoto.⁶ By 1840 Hokusai had designed a total of five such aerial views, including one of China (see Introduction, **P1. o.6**). *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* stands on its own as a testament to Hokusai's interest in regional Japan, but this series should not overshadow the innovations in subject and design, as well as the care in production, displayed in the series on waterfalls and bridges (c. 1833–4). The few completed prints and the extraordinary, surviving block-ready drawings for the series *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse* (*Hyakunin isshu uba ga etoki*, c. 1835–8) likewise often take the viewer far outside Edo and other urban centres into remote areas probably unknown to the majority of those who might have been interested in the prints.⁷

Shinano itself occasionally fell within Hokusai's artistic purview. For example, in *Hokusai manga, Part X* (1819), a lively double-page illustration shows farmers and traders walking across Lake Suwa (in southern Shinano) when frozen solid in winter. Titled 'Lake Suwa', the view looks from the north shore southwards to Mt Fuji and Takashima castle low on

the horizon. Few genre illustrations in *Hokusai manga* identify the location this way, so the region already by this time seems to have captured Hokusai's imagination. Around a decade later, he devoted one of the first prints in the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* to a similar view, except that in this case the foreground belongs to a simple shrine with a worn, thatched roof, possibly representing one of Lower Suwa Shrine's subsidiary chapels. As a mature artist designing a series more elevated in character, Hokusai here chose to foreground the spiritual and religious character of the area. In the waterfalls series he takes the viewer to the Ono waterfall, a beauty spot in Shinano along the Kiso highway (Pl. 3.2). Here, seemingly crystalline chutes of water pour down opposite a rising blue mist, the cyclical movement of the composition centring on a shrine dedicated to the Buddhist deity Fudō Myōō. An illustration in Part 3 of the travel guide *Kisoji meisho zue* (*Illustrated Guide to Famous Places along the Kiso Highway*, 1805) indicates that the shrine stood to the left of the waterfall.⁸ Its central position in Hokusai's print underscores the spiritual essence of the location. Shinano features again in a print from the series *True Mirror of Chinese and Japanese Poems* (*Shiika shashin kyō*, 1833–4), where the old man from the noh drama *Tokusa* (*Reeds*) balances two bundles of harvested reeds across his shoulders as he stops to view two waterbirds gliding in unison across a still lake at moonrise. And in *Fugaku hyakkei*, vol. 2 (1835), Hokusai returns to a favourite theme – the encounter between people and nature – with a scene of three fishermen steering a dugout canoe into roiling waters, as Mt Fuji and Shinano's eight volcanic peaks (*Yatsugatake*) rise in the distance. These five 'Shinano views' may be intended less as literal representations of place than as artistic imaginings or spiritual evocations. They shed light on Hokusai's conception of Shinano and the setting he perhaps hoped to find when, in his mid-eighties, he left Edo for Obuse. What, though, was the Obuse he would have seen?

Occupying a quiet and fertile stretch of alluvial land beside the Chikuma River, Obuse stood a day's journey north of the Kiso highway and east across the river from Nagano city, the seat of Matsushiro domain, a wealthy region governed during Hokusai's lifetime by the Sanada family and encompassing Obuse and other parts of what is now north-east Nagano prefecture (Pl. 3.3). The river – the longest and widest in Japan – supplied water to irrigate fields planted with a variety of crops, notably cotton, rapeseed (pressed to obtain the oil used in Edo-period lamps) and chestnuts (for which the area is still known). Local farmers prospered as demand for their produce steadily rose both within the region and from Edo. At the end of the Edo period Obuse ranked as the largest producer of cotton in Shinano, and the village of Iida, situated between Obuse and the Chikuma River, had by the early Meiji era become Shinano's largest producer of rapeseed.⁹ Faced with regular flooding by the river, farmers in the area developed a cooperative system of 'customary-land allotments' (*jiwari kankōchi*): that is, plots within each farm assigned to receive flood waters in an emergency and to serve otherwise as communal arable land.¹⁰ Obuse village at the same time developed as an important marketplace attracting both local farmers and those from further north in the rice-

growing region of Niigata. Rokusai'ichi, the village's market, was established in 1625 and opened six days per month on days ending in 3 and 8, until the Genroku era (1688–1704), when a permanent market was formed. Goods on offer included cotton cloth, oil, vegetables, kindling, salt, fish and tea.¹¹ The village's five neighbourhoods – Higashimachi, Isemachi, Kanmachi, Nakamachi and Yokomachi – supported two Buddhist temples, Shōunji in Kanmachi and Ryūunji in Yokomachi, but they geographically fanned around, and thus appear to have been spiritually riveted to Kōtai Jinja (also called Daijingū), a shrine complex incorporating sites dedicated to Amaterasu and Daikoku, as well as a subsidiary shrine, Gion-sha (now called Yasaka Jinja), worshipped to forestall disease and other calamities and generally to protect the village.

Even before Hokusai arrived, Obuse had a developed history of cultural patronage. The area's prosperous merchant and farming families welcomed cultural celebrities into their homes and sent their sons to Edo and Kyoto to study with leading scholars and practitioners of various polite arts. Thus in 1820, at the age of 15, Kōzan went to Kyoto where he engaged a series of leading teachers: the Confucian scholar Mashima Shōnan (1791–1839), the Chinese-style calligrapher Nukina Kaioku (1778–1863), the Maruyama-Shijō school artists Gan Ku and his son Gan Tai (1782–1865), and the scholar of classical Japanese poetry and literature Kido Chitate (1778–1845). After returning home briefly in 1826 to marry, Kōzan took his new wife Kazu with him back to Kyoto and embarked on a study of Chinese poetry composition with Yanagawa Seigan (1789–1858). Then in the spring of 1833 he accompanied Seigan to Edo, where he began studying with the renowned Confucian scholar and calligrapher Satō Issai (1772–1859). Kōzan was his father's fourth and only surviving son, and there may have been considerable expectation that he would engage in the family business, but he pursued his own interests until 1836 when, with the Tenpō famine approaching a new extreme, he returned home to help his father and the village navigate the disaster. When his father died in 1840, he took over as head of the family.¹²

Kōzan's cultural training would not in itself have helped him to run a family business, but it may have facilitated his interactions with the samurai authorities under whose auspices such a business had to operate. It also would have smoothed his dealings with other influential members of the community, for his social peers were equally well educated (Pl. 3.4).¹³ The area was known as far away as Edo for its Rokugawa Ginsha (Rokugawa Chinese Poetry Composition Society), named after the village of Rokugawa near Obuse. In addition to Kōzan, the society's membership included: Takatsu Seisai (1796–1869), a sake-brewer and trader in oil and tea based in Obuse's Nakamachi neighbourhood; Negishi Rokuzan (1804–1859), the son of a wealthy farming family in nearby Ōshima village, who succeeded as head of the Negishi family in Fukuvara; Imai Sogyū (1805–1878), a shrine official based at Fukuvara's Kontaiji temple and a recorder of daily life in the area; Toita Ryōshū (d. 1859), head abbot of Shōunji in Obuse's Kanmachi neighbourhood, who like Kōzan had studied with Nukina Kaioku; and Shaku Seisen (d. 1870), a priest at Ryūunji in Obuse's Yokomachi



Plate 3.2 Hokusai, 'Ono Waterfall, Kiso Highway' (*Kisokaidō Ono no bakufu*), from the series *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces* (*Shokoku taki-meguri*), c. 1833. Colour woodblock, height 38.3cm, width 25.7cm. British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.553 (ex-collection Arthur Morrison)



Plate 3.3 Aerial view of Obuse looking east. Photo courtesy of PIXTA

neighbourhood. Both Seisai and Sogyū were pupils of Yanagawa Seigan in Edo. They and Kōzan in fact became the Edo scholar's second generation of students from the region. Years earlier Ichimura Tekisai (1782–1870), the son of a wealthy farmer in Takaino village near Obuse, had studied in Edo with Ichikawa Kansai (1749–1820) and his son Beian (1779–1858), both renowned for their skill in Chinese poetry and calligraphy, and then went on to train with Seigan. Tekisai's connections may have paved the way for the younger Obuse elite who, after they returned to their hometown, ensured that urban culture would also circulate in their direction. At Shōunji, Ryōshū hosted a cultural salon that on different occasions featured Ōnuma Chinzan (1818–1891) from Edo and Ono Kozan (1814–1910) from Ōmi, both specialists in Chinese poetry. Scholarly interests in northern Shinano seem to have gravitated towards Chinese studies, but they also embraced classical Japanese literature and *haikai*. The leading *haikai* poet Kobayashi Issa (1763–1828) found some of his most loyal patrons there in the form of the wealthy Higashimachi farmer Sekiya Tofū (1735–1819), as well as Terashima Kashō (1777–1857) and Kashō's son Hakuya (1801–1878), both of whom served as mayor (*dai-shōya*) of Rokugawa village. Hakuya also edited the poetry collection commemorating the 17th anniversary of Issa's death (1844). Those who pursued this kind of cultural training often devoted themselves at the same time to local education. Ryōshū, Seisen and Sogyū all taught at temple schools (*terakoya*), a conduit through which urban culture regularly flowed into the provinces during the Edo period.¹⁴

Hokusai became a figure of interest for many in northern Shinano who collected art, or pursued art as an avocation. In Sakurazawa village, 4km (2.3 miles) north-east of Obuse, for example, the Fujimaki family of wealthy farmers acquired a 'large hanging scroll' (*dai-kakemono*) that seems to have borne the signature 'Hokusai-rōjin' ('Old Man

Plate 3.4 Hiramatsu Kassai (1792–1868, painting) and Negishi Unsō (1771–1851, calligraphy), *Writing Calligraphy and Painting Pictures (Shoga kigō)*, 1846. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 131cm, width 61cm. Hiramatsu Collection, Obuse



Hokusai'). The work is listed in an 1850 inventory of the family's painting and calligraphy collection, which encompassed: Kano-school paintings, including a triptych by Kano Tan'yū (1602–1674); paintings by more recent artists who were active in Kyoto and Osaka, starting with a triptych by Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795); and examples of calligraphy, including a triptych by Negishi Rokuzan's father Unsō (1771–1851), who had studied in Edo with the samurai scholar and poet Ōta Nanpo (1749–1823).¹⁵ The inventory neglects to mention the subject of the Hokusai hanging scroll, but among the collection's three 'ukiyo-e' paintings, this is the only one where the artist is named. In this instance the artist evidently outweighed his subject in value. The presence in the collection of Unryū temple, Nagano city, of a folding screen by Hokusai's student Katsushika Isai (1821–1880), depicting the Chinese immortal Yuzhi and her dragon, a subject that Hokusai also treated, may point to wider regional interest in what has been called the 'Hokusai brand' (see Tinios essay, pp. 71–88).

Two historical events shaped Obuse and its residents during the period of this study: the Tenpō famine (1833–9) and the Tenpō reforms (1841–3). During the summer of 1833, unusually wet and cold weather caused widespread crop failure that triggered famine across Japan. In the tenth month of the year, Matsushiro domain prohibited the export of grain from areas under its control and ordered villagers to store rice in anticipation of a deepening crisis. Conditions in northern Shinano eased somewhat during the growing seasons of 1834–5, but in 1836 drought during the sixth month gave way to three months of constant rain and unseasonable frost.¹⁶ Kōzan recorded in a poem his visit to a local shrine to pray, 'The ripe wheat is rotting, and the rice is damaged and wilting. / For the sake of the people, please drive out the god of rain'.¹⁷ The rain continued, however, and rice fields in the area flooded three times prior to harvest. Local crop yields dropped below 2 per cent those of ordinary years. Scarcity inflated the price of rice beyond the reach of most farmers. In the winter of 1836–7, with the disaster approaching its severest point, the Takai family opened their rice storehouse and offered emergency rations to the poor and afflicted. Documents preserved in Obuse reveal that the famine conditions sparked riots in other provinces, such as nearby Gunma and Yamanashi.¹⁸ The Takai family's generosity and commitment to the community, in tandem with the contributions of other village leaders, spared Obuse a similar fate. As harvests improved in 1837–8, village life began returning to normal.

The Tenpō reforms were a milder disaster of shorter duration. Initially, just a handful of Obuse's residents may have taken notice as in 1841 Mizuno Tadakuni (1794–1851), the shogun's chief councillor (*rōjū*), began issuing sumptuary laws and other austerity measures in Edo to limit anything he considered an extravagance, such as elaborate styles of architecture and kabuki theatre. Within a year, however, Obuse was beset by similar directives controlling every aspect of village life and forcing down the price of dozens of rural products, several of them crucial to the health of the local economy, including cotton thread, cotton cloth, tools for softening cotton, as well as rope, firewood, eggs and water wheels.¹⁹ In the fifth month of 1843, Obuse village's

headman (*nanushi*) Hiramatsu Kunai Kassai (1792–1868) recorded a subsequent edict ordering extravagant houses to be either stripped of excess decoration or demolished, and further restricting the behaviour of farmers and townspeople. The reforms also included new taxes on unused land, a burden that conflicted with Obuse's *jiwari kankōchi* system. Tadakuni's policies garnered minimal favour outside the walls of Edo castle and hardly more within them. In the intercalary ninth month of 1843, barely two years after he had launched his agenda, he was dismissed from office.

Hokusai in Obuse

Perhaps it was the brighter mood accompanying the end of Tadakuni's regime that motivated the residents of Obuse's Higashimachi neighbourhood to renovate the festival float that they had last restored in 1805 and reinforced in Kōzan's mind an ambition to bring Hokusai to Obuse. Kōzan succeeded probably on one occasion, possibly on two occasions, and with greater uncertainty on three or four. In the latter category is an often-mentioned first visit in 1842, proposed on the basis of Hokusai paintings that are in Obuse and date to that time, but which do not on that account prove the artist himself was there then.²⁰ In addition to visits in 1844 and 1845, a fourth visit during the fifth to eleventh months of 1848 has also been proposed, but Hokusai's dated signature on an 1848 painting of a feasting demon indicates that during the sixth month of that year he was in Edo meeting with his student Honma Hokuyō (1822–1868).²¹ Stronger evidence points rather to a visit in 1844, when Hokusai is thought to have painted the phoenix and dragon ceiling panels for the Higashimachi festival float (Pl. 3·5), and the near certainty of a visit in 1845, when he orchestrated and worked on the decorative programme of a festival float newly constructed for Kōzan's home neighbourhood of Kanmachi (discussed below).

The 1844 visit may have grown out of correspondence that Hokusai and Kōzan exchanged the previous year. During his long and productive life Hokusai must have generated hundreds of letters, including notes to friends and family and instructions to his publishers, but only 36 are known. Of these, 30 (83 per cent) can be dated to his last two decades.²² Forming a notable group within this corpus are four letters to Kōzan and two to the Obuse merchant and trader Jūhachiya. Kōzan seems to have kept no file copies of his own letters to Hokusai, and he preferred to convey at least some information via word-of-mouth. Hokusai's personal effects (letters received, notebooks, diaries, etc.) have, meanwhile, not survived. As a result, Kōzan's end of their exchanges – where projects may have been initially laid out in detail – appears lost. Hokusai, for his part, omits particulars if his correspondent is already apprised of a topic. His Obuse letters therefore contain phrases and references yet to be parsed, but they are nonetheless revealing.

A reply to Kōzan dated the 21st day of the fourth month, for example, indicates that Kōzan has invited him to Obuse but Hokusai is struggling to take up the offer.²³ Hokusai's language is formal, as though he and Kōzan are corresponding still as acquaintances. He expresses delight



Plate 3.5 Hokusai, *Phoenix* (left) and *Dragon* (right), c. 1844. Pair of ceiling panels from the Higashimachi festival float, colour on paulownia wood, height 123cm, width 126.5cm (each). Higashimachi Neighbourhood Council, Obuse

that Kōzan is in good health, assures him that 'the two of us' (interpreted to mean Hokusai and Ōi) are safe and thanks him for his kind thoughts. He notes that Kōzan's messenger Yashichi has related the details of Kōzan's 'profound idea' (*shin'i*), an enigmatic phrase perhaps connected with a specific project. Then, sounding both apologetic and distressed, he reviews the issues that prevent him from travelling. He reports being overwhelmed with book projects that he cannot complete, and while acknowledging that he could produce drawings for woodblock illustrations in Obuse, says that other commitments are also causing him difficulty. He adds that 'parent and child' (again, he and Ōi) wish to make the trip to Obuse, but they disagree over the practicalities of travel and their discussions have ground to a vague halt. He mentions that while the trip is within his means, he has dealings with people who tell him, 'the timing is bad, and it's a wasteful expenditure'. He can swiftly withdraw his request for permission to travel but considers it a 'total, total disappointment' (*amari amari zannen ni zonjirare-sōrō*). Unable to make the trip during the ninth month that year, he offers instead to travel during the third month of the following year. Kōzan had previously recommended budgeting 4 *ryō* in cash for the trip but according to Yashichi 2 *ryō* would be enough. He tells Kōzan that he has many ideas to discuss but will forbear until he reaches Obuse and will have more to say in his next letter. He reconfirms in conclusion that two people will be travelling.

The progress of Hokusai and Kōzan's relationship has placed this relatively formal letter earliest among the four to Kōzan, prior to a first visit to Obuse. The letter has therefore been dated to the fourth month of 1843, looking ahead to the third month of 1844.²⁴ Hokusai's reference to timing and expenditure may reflect not only the immediate concerns of his anxious publishers, who had deadlines to meet, but also the wider circumstances of the Tenpō reforms, when discretionary travel almost certainly would have been deemed wasteful. Yashichi's budget-conscious advice might

similarly echo these social pressures, as well as the limits of Hokusai's financial means compared with those of Kōzan. The letter overall provides evidence of a plan for Hokusai to visit Obuse, the impediments involved and Hokusai's determination to get there in any case. It may also incidentally offer a glimpse into Ōi and Hokusai's relationship. She emerges as someone self-assured enough to voice her preferences and to prevail against Hokusai in matters requiring negotiation, while on his side, there appears no question of attempting to circumvent her. Perhaps Ōi was one of the few people whom the elderly Hokusai would heed.

An inscription on the reverse side of the phoenix panel of the Higashimachi festival float suggests that in 1844 Hokusai indeed travelled to Obuse. Independent records verify that the float existed at the time. An undated notice on the interior of the float's storehouse reports, 'This renovated festival float (*yatai*) respectfully rebuilt in the sixth month of 1805', followed by the names of the residents in charge (*sewakata*) and the builders (*daiku, ryōshi*) and then a further notice, 'This storehouse renovated in 1817', again with the names of the organising residents and builder.²⁵ Forty years, however, would have been a long time for a mobile wooden construction such as a festival float to have survived unaltered by climate, use or changes in taste, as suggested by an ink inscription on the underside of the current float's ridgepole: 'Festival float (*yatai*) rebuilt in 1843; master carpenter Eitarō, from Kakumi village, Kanbara region, Echigo; assistant master carpenter Bungorō; sculptor Wadashirō, from Takai region, Shinano'.²⁶ According to a subsequent report, in 1845 Higashimachi's residents protected their new float with a waterproof persimmon-paper (*shibukami*) covering, an indication that it could be seen during a rainy festival celebration that year and so was probably complete.²⁷

The year 1844 therefore appears the most likely time for Hokusai to have visited Obuse in order to work on the



Plate 3.6 Hokusai, 'New Year Letter' (*Shinshun jō*), 20th day, first month, 1845. Ink on paper, height 15.6cm, width 46.8cm. Private collection, Japan (loaned to Hokusai-kan, Obuse)

Higashimachi ceiling panels. Kōzan's fourth son Tatsuji (1841–1905) provided the anecdotal evidence that he did so, on the reverse side of the phoenix panel in 1900, over 50 years later:

In terms of who did the pictures, I heard from my late father that the phoenix and dragon paintings are the brushwork (*hisseki*) of Old Man Hokusai Manji. They have no signature, so I now record the fact here. It was in the *kano* [sic] dragon year Tenpō 15 (1844). Inscribed by his son Takai Tatsu, tenth month Meiji 33 (1900).²⁸

That same month in his private diary, however, Tatsuji outlined an alternative version of history:

My worry is that maybe Old Man Manji did the designs and my father the colouring, but the general belief in Uramachi [Higashimachi] is that [the paintings] came from Old Man Hokusai's brush alone. The world is often that way. It is difficult to keep silent, but I left it to their will and inscribed [the panel] for them. Alas!

The diary entry conveys a sense of internal conflict, as Tatsuji sees Hokusai's fame erasing his father's memory, even in his hometown.²⁹ In voicing this concern Tatsuji might have had in mind Kōzan's work on the decorative frames that surround Hokusai's famous wave panels in the Kanmachi festival float, and the phoenix ceiling panel at Ganshōin, the Takai family's mortuary temple near Obuse, all done in accordance with designs by Hokusai.³⁰

There seems no question that the Higashimachi phoenix and dragon conform to Hokusai's animated and expressive way of depicting these mythological creatures. In regard to technique, the paints were applied directly to the paulownia-wood substrate, the binder being a combination of vegetable oil (perhaps perilla oil) and animal glue that lends the colours a special lustre and vibrancy, as seen particularly in the striking red ground of the dragon panel.³¹ Notably, towards the end of volume one of his painting treatise *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848), Hokusai explains in detail how to prepare and use perilla-oil pigments.³² He recommends using this medium as a way of making birds, beasts, plants, insects and fish appear 'as if freely alive' (*jizai ni ikeru ga gotoku*), precisely one of the notable and appealing characteristics of the Higashimachi phoenix and dragon. It remains uncertain whether Kōzan knew how to use oil paints or possessed the skill in their

application that the phoenix and dragon seem to display. He painted the Ganshōin phoenix more traditionally with animal-glue paints applied to a primary coat of white clay (*hakudo* or *shirotsuchi*) thinly brushed onto the wood substrate.³³ Further evidence is required, however, to reinforce the theory that in 1844 Hokusai visited Obuse and painted the two Higashimachi panels. Of the two, the dragon seems to have received greater attention, with the suggestion that it in particular may be from Hokusai's hand.³⁴

Unlike the many events in his life that are known primarily through anecdote, Hokusai's 1845 stay in Obuse finds confirmation in several historical sources, making it perhaps the most fully documented period of his late career. First is a letter to Kōzan, dated the 20th day of the first month and familiarly known as the 'New Year Letter' (*Shinshun jō*), in which Hokusai again seems to be answering an invitation to visit Obuse (Pl. 3.6). After a formal New Year's greeting written in stylised seal script, followed by a sketch of himself bowing in supplication, as though during a visit to a superior, he thanks Kōzan for raising the matter of travel, and explains that owing to work on a votive plaque for an exhibition at Ushijima Gozen shrine and a set of sliding doors (*fusuma*) for a guest room in the home of the Fujidō family, he might not be able to depart until after the middle of the third month, but that he 'definitely, definitely' (*zehi zehi*) would be making the journey. He then proudly reports that he was the healthiest of five elderly men honoured 'last winter' (*kyotō*) at a *shōshikai* (literally, 'still-have-teeth party') held in Yushima in Edo, and gives the names and ages of the honourees.³⁵ The clumsiness of the self-portrait, hesitant handwriting and problematic age that Hokusai appears to assign himself (88) have suggested that the extant version of the New Year letter is a manuscript copy by an unknown hand, but the contents nevertheless stand up to historical scrutiny.³⁶ Useful in this connection are the writings of Saitō Gesshin (1804–1878), headman of Edo's Kanda neighbourhood, particularly his *Bukō nenpyō* (*Chronology of Edo*; part I completed 1848, part II completed 1878), a year-by-year record of events during three centuries of Edo/Tokyo history, and his *Saitō Gesshin nikki* (*Diary of Saitō Gesshin*, 1830–75). In *Bukō nenpyō*, the final entry for 1844, titled 'This year's men of long life' (*Kotoshi chōju no hito*), gives

the names and ages of the same five elderly men whom Hokusai mentions in the New Year letter, including Hokusai's correct age that year (85), helping to date the letter to the first month of 1845.³⁷ Gesshin's diary then confirms that in 1845 the Ushijima Gozen shrine held an exhibition from the 9th day of the second month to the 19th day of the fourth month, and that Gesshin visited three times.³⁸ He mentions in a subsequent entry for the 8th day of the sixth month, 1845, 'Heard that Katsushika Hokusai, changed to Iitsu, is seventy-six [sic] this year; heard he has been away in Shinshū since the spring'.³⁹ The news that Hokusai had gone to Shinano at his advanced age (even if noted incorrectly) seems to have struck Gesshin as surprising yet plausible enough to merit recording in his diary.⁴⁰ Gesshin's writings strengthen the impression conveyed by the New Year letter that late in life Hokusai's capacity for work, his appetite for travel and his celebrity status remained undimmed. They also reinforce the likelihood that Hokusai did indeed visit Obuse in 1845.

A message from Hokusai to 'My Honourable Patron' (*Danna-sama*) captures the success of the 1845 visit (Pl. 3.7).⁴¹ Apparently dashed off at top speed, the message lacks an opening salutation, closing salutation, date, signature and named recipient, but scholarly consensus suggests that, based on its contents, brush style and preservation in Obuse, Hokusai must have written it and intended it for Kōzan. After first offering 'nine deep bows' (*kyū hai*; auspicious in number and emphatically respectful), he announces that carving is complete on the figure of Gongsun Sheng (Japanese: *Kōsonshō*): the Chinese warrior sculpture installed in the Kanmachi festival float, which Kōzan is understood to have sponsored (discussed below). He humbly asks whether 'in the spirit of a ridgepole-raising' (*mune-age no kokoro nite*), he and the others involved could have a drink and some tofu together that evening. In other words, would the patron sponsor a small celebration? Interspersed within the text are four playful sketches: Hokusai bowing (drawn in one continuous line, like the illustrations in the artist's *Ippitsu gafu* [Album of Single-stroke Drawings, 1823]); Hokusai holding out a sake cup while rubbing his bald pate, as though bashfully accepting a refill; an oval representing a small piece of tofu; and in the bottom left corner, three men viewed shoulder-to-shoulder as a cohort paying their respects to the word *danna-sama* written in prominent script above them. According to local histories of the Kami-Takai (Upper Takai) region of Nagano, in which Obuse is located, the Gongsun Sheng sculpture was a demanding project that underwent multiple iterations before being judged satisfactory and complete at last on the seventh attempt. One history (1914) states that the temple and shrine sculptor Kamehara Wadashirō II (1799–1870), who worked around Kami-Takai and produced the carvings for the Higashimachi float, had to re-carve the warrior figure seven times before Hokusai gave his approval.⁴² Another history (1915) states that Hokusai himself redrew the design seven times before he considered it ready.⁴³ Whichever version is correct (and both may be at least partly correct), this story of perseverance triumphing over adversity helps to explain the enthusiasm, good humour and sense of camaraderie that runs through Hokusai's message. Scholarly consensus again

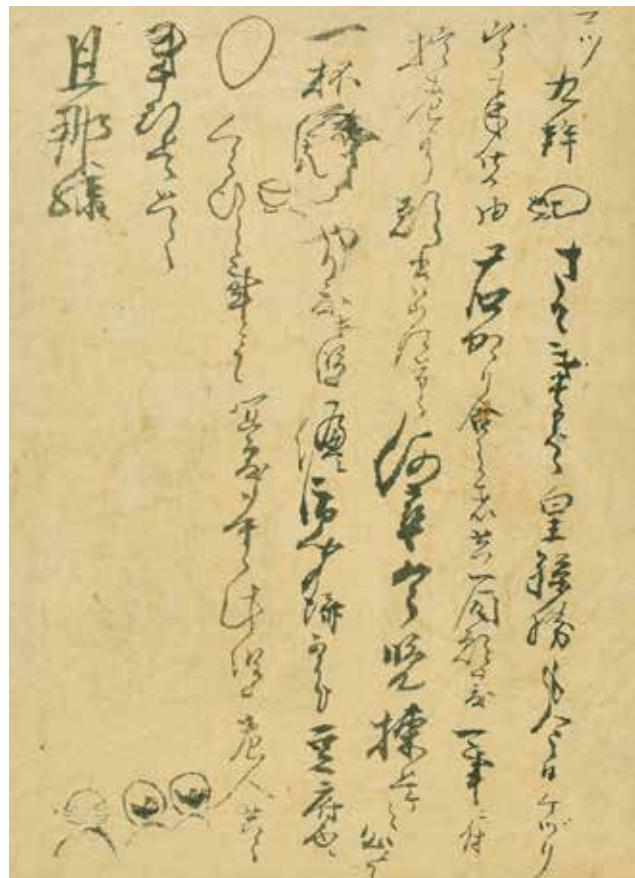


Plate 3.7 Hokusai, Letter to 'My Honourable Patron' (*Danna-sama*), 1845 (?). Ink on paper. Private collection

seems to suggest that Hokusai would have written something like this only if he were within easy communication of Kōzan in Obuse, and at this point on familiar terms with his patron.

Kōzan composed two Chinese poems (*kanshi*) and an inscription that fill out this picture of Hokusai in Obuse. He explains in one poem that Hokusai temporarily resided at his (Kōzan's) home for over half a year but one day left without a word of farewell. He recognises that, as a man proudly independent for more than 80 years, Hokusai 'comes and goes to suit his own pleasure'. His regard for Hokusai is boundless: 'At a word he apprehends the teachings of heaven and earth. / All creation dwells in his hand; in his heart live the desires of men and devils. / He makes manifest the feathered flocks, and deftly conjures myriad living things.' Kōzan had met and studied under many prominent cultural figures over the years, but Hokusai seems to have transcended them all. The patron meditates on the highs and lows of human fortune and the changing seasons, and observes that people tend to avoid cold weather, perhaps suggesting that Hokusai hurried back to Edo before winter snows blocked Shinano's roads. Hokusai lives to paint, he says, and in old age his brush has grown only more powerful: 'Like a towering cliff or a massive wall his spirit overwhelms and pierces the clouds.' Then perhaps to alleviate a concern for Hokusai's welfare during the trip back to Edo, he imagines that for '[Hokusai's] broad wings, 90,000 [miles] are as no distance at all'. He concludes, '[Hokusai's] drawn line is still not exhausted, his painted colour still not extinguished.' Kōzan seems to accept that

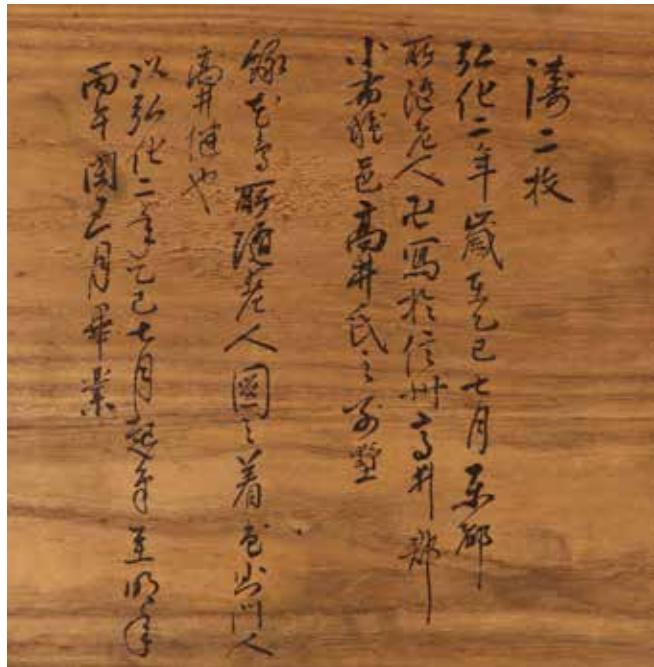


Plate 3.8 Unsigned inscription attesting Hokusai's and Kōzan's work on the *Wave* ceiling panels of the Kanmachi festival float, undated. Ink on wood, inscribed on the reverse side of the 'female wave' (*menami*) panel. Kanmachi Neighbourhood Council, Obuse. Photo provided by Hokusaikan, Obuse

while Hokusai's abrupt departure might be disappointing, there would be no easy way to restrain the movements of such a man. At least two versions of this poem are known, one recorded in the 1910s and another published in 1933, each having slightly different phrasing. The opening lines of the latter version give Hokusai's age as 86, helping to pinpoint his stay with Kōzan to 1845.⁴⁴

Kōzan reports in the second *kanshi* that Hokusai gave him the seal carved with the renowned art name, 'Gakyō rōjin' ('Old Man Crazy to Paint'), an expression of thanks and goodwill that almost certainly would have been offered in person: 'Old Manji is crazy to paint and calls himself "gakyō". / He has been crazy to paint for eighty-six years. / Now I hold in private the *gakyō* seal. / I fear, however, that my hand is inferior and not yet crazy.' Both known versions of this second poem give Hokusai's age as 86.⁴⁵ The second *kanshi* documents Hokusai's appreciation for his patron's kindness, while the first conveys the excitement and awe that he inspired in Kōzan and also (one supposes) in many others among the Obuse community.

Equally useful for tracing Hokusai's whereabouts and activities in 1845 is an inscription on the reverse side of the so-called 'female wave' (*menami* or 'gently breaking wave') panel from the Kanmachi festival float (Pl. 3.8):

Two wave panels: Painted by Old Manji from the Eastern Capital [Edo] in the seventh month of the *kinoto* snake year Kōka 2 (1845), at the Takai family manor, Obuse village, Takai region, Shinshū. The birds and flowers of the frames follow the designs of the Old Man with colours applied by his student Takai Ken [Kōzan]. Work began in the seventh month of the *kinoto* snake year Kōka 2 (1845) and was completed in the intercalary fifth month of the following *hinoe* horse year (1846).⁴⁶

The inscription is unsigned and undated but speaks with the voice of a well-informed eyewitness reporting on the who,

what, when, where and some of the how of the panels' production. The handwriting is characteristic of Kōzan's.⁴⁷ As just observed, Kōzan greatly admired Hokusai, and after receiving a seal from the master might have felt encouraged to describe himself as his student, although given the location of this inscription on the crowning decorative element of the festival float that he himself had sponsored, he might have considered it boastful then to append his signature. If the inscription were written by his son Tatsuji, why did Tatsuji not sign and date it or (to gauge from published research) note the fact in his diary, as he did for the Higashimachi phoenix inscription, and why does the writing differ from that on the Higashimachi panel? The phrasing of the Higashimachi inscription leads one further to wonder whether Tatsuji would have referred to his father, rather clinically, by name alone, without mentioning their relationship. These several factors suggest that Kōzan produced the Kanmachi inscription to document Hokusai's and his own involvement in the float's development and construction.

Often referenced in Hokusai studies, the Kanmachi festival float includes two prominent relief panels (*ranma*) whose narrative subjects were originally perhaps too obvious to need recording but in recent times seem to have eluded identification. Hokusai's *Wave* paintings have, meanwhile, been treated in isolation, disconnected from the Gongsun Sheng sculptural group they were designed to canopy (Pls 3.9–3.10). A closer look at the Kanmachi float's ritual role and narrative programme, however, helps to shed light on the possible reasons for Hokusai's interest in and commitment to this project.

Paraded during Obuse's Gion Festival, which aims to promote general good health and to avert the ravages of communicable disease, the Kanmachi float depicts three miracles of healing within the setting of a paradise garden. The healing occurs at three levels: the body, the family and the cosmos. In the panel below the roof at the front of the float, a dragon rests its head on the lap of a smiling sage who applies an acupuncture needle to the creature's jaw. This is the story of Mashi Huang (literally, 'Horse-doctor Huang'; Japanese: *Bashikō*), a legendary Chinese doctor who knew how to heal horses and one day also healed a sick dragon, forever winning its loyalty. The story must have been well known, as it appears illustrated in *Lixian quanzhuan* (*Complete Biographies of the Immortals*; Japanese: *Ressen zenden*; published in various Japanese editions from the 17th century onwards) and in Hokusai's *Ehon hayabiki: Nagashira musha burui* (*Illustrated Quick-Reference Alphabetised Catalogue of Warriors*, 1841). Decorated in shades of blue and pink, the scene is paired with a panel depicting a springtime cherry tree with bright pink flowers in full bloom.

Balancing Mashi Huang at the back of the float is a scene of a mother shielding two young boys while an older boy pleads with his bewildered father. This is the climax of the story of Min Sun (Japanese: *Binshiken*), one of the Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety (*Nijūshikō*). Min Sun begs his father not to banish his abusive stepmother, thereby earning the stepmother's gratitude and preserving the family. The Twenty-Four Paragons were a staple of children's education throughout the Edo period and featured in countless textbooks and illustrated books. Similar depictions of Min

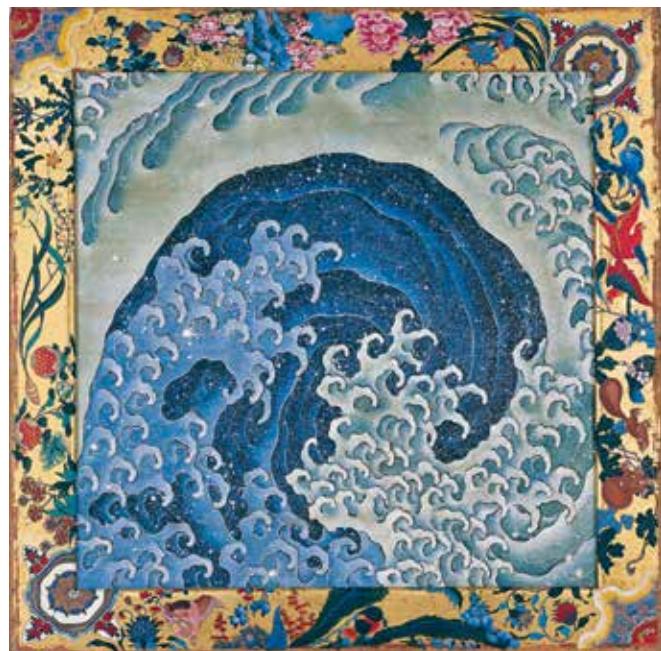
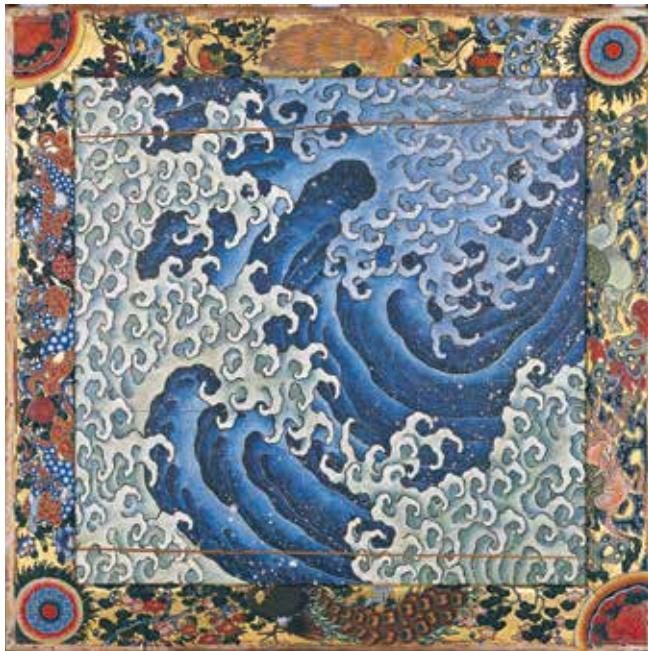


Plate 3.9 (above) Hokusai, *Waves*, c. 1845. Pair of ceiling panels from the Kanmachi festival float, colour on paulownia wood, height 118cm, width 118.5cm (each). Kanmachi Neighbourhood Council, Obuse

Plate 3.10 (left) Hokusai (design), Kamehara Wadashirō II (1799–1870, carving, warrior) and Shōgorō (active mid-19th century, carving, dragon [not shown]), *Gongsun Sheng and Responsive Dragon* (*Ōryū*), c. 1845. Sculptural group from the Kanmachi festival float, colour on wood; Gongsun Sheng, height 67cm, width 100cm, depth 80cm; rock-shaped stand, height 100cm, width 120cm, depth 90cm; responsive dragon [not shown], dimensions unknown. Kanmachi Neighbourhood Council, Obuse

Sun's story appear, for example, in volume 1 of *Nijūshikō zue* (*Illustrated Guide to the Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety*; illustrated by Katsushika Taito II, 1822) and *Nijūshikō eshō* (*The Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety Illustrated and Summarised*, 1842). Painted in a range of vivid colours, the Min Sun panel is paired with another carved with brightly coloured autumn chrysanthemums in full bloom.

Between these two narratives, and bordered by a summer array of peonies and irises, appears the figure of Gongsun Sheng, the Daoist warrior-magician from the popular 14th-century Chinese historical novel, *Shuihu zhuan* (*Tales of the Water Margin*; also translated as *All Men are Brothers* and *Bandits of the Marsh*; Japanese: *Suikoden*). Gongsun Sheng stands braced against a rock and pointing a long sword – his

instrument of battle magic – towards the sky to summon a dragon that he will send, along with a storm of rocks, to repel and defeat an enemy magician, thereby reinstating the authority of his allies and healing a rupture in the order of the universe. The waves churning overhead and the ‘responsive dragon’ (Chinese: *yinglong*; Japanese: *ōryū*) hovering nearby demonstrate his superhuman grasp of the multifarious forces of creation, ranging from the primal to the occult. They signal that he is a supreme artist. Kōzan’s word-portraits of Hokusai and the master’s dedicated work on the Gongsun Sheng sculptural ensemble – the only one that he is known to have designed – suggest that late in life Hokusai himself must have seemed a kind of sorcerer wielding uncanny powers, not for their own sake but as a force for healing and for good in the world. The Kanmachi float was a public project, but it may have given Hokusai an opportunity to unfold a private vision of his role as an artist.

Hokusai, Obuse and Edo

Given that Kōzan had Hokusai in residence for around six months from spring to autumn 1845, and probably felt responsible until he knew the celebrity artist was safely home, his distress at finding that Hokusai had simply taken off for a multi-day journey back to Edo seems understandable. Kōzan probably would have realised, however, that having accomplished the journey to Obuse (perhaps for a second time), Hokusai had the capacity to arrange his own return trip, even at short notice. Neither Hokusai nor Ōi (if she accompanied him) would have walked the entire 240-km (150-mile) distance between Edo and Obuse, and the trading firm Jūhachiya was well placed to manage their travel needs, from accommodation and transportation, to a return trip as required.⁴⁸ Founded in Obuse by Koyama Mon’emon (1777–1859 or later), Jūhachiya numbered among the more successful enterprises linking rural Shinano with Edo. According to an Edo-period document held by the Koyama family in Obuse, Jūhachiya operated two branches in the Eastern Capital, one for retail and another for bulk sales, along with warehouses to store inventory and other valuables.⁴⁹ Two seals discovered together in 1988 inside the Koyama family’s Buddhist altar establish the firm’s Edo address – Honshirogane-chō 2-chōme, just north of Nihonbashi, Edo’s central market – and indicate that they dispensed patent medicines, a commodity in high demand. A shop sign for the business reveals that in Edo they additionally traded in silk floss (*mawata*), a staple of eastern Japan’s growing textile industry.⁵⁰

As a trader pursuing multiple lines of business, Jūhachiya may have played several roles in Hokusai’s late career. For example, two extant letters from Hokusai to the firm concern cash advances (*zenshaku*) on commissions destined for Obuse (see also Feltens essay, pp. 39–41). Dated the 14th day of the third month and the 23rd day of the third month, the letters may have been written a few days apart in 1847. In the first, Hokusai requests one *ryō* in gold (a large sum) each for him and a doll-maker (sculptor) named Shōgorō, who at the time, under Hokusai’s direction, was carving the broad-winged ‘responsive dragon’ planned for installation above the figure of Gongsun Sheng in the Kanmachi festival float

(discussed above). Perhaps anticipating that he would have to explain the request, Hokusai muses, ‘Nothing in the world is more woeful than human desire’, as if to suggest that getting and spending money are just inevitable if regrettable aspects of the human condition, but then admits that he and the doll-maker are both ill and require the funds on that account. He solicits the reader’s sympathy with a sketch of an invalid wrapped in a warm hood (*zukin*) (see **Pl. 2.8**). The second letter acknowledges receipt of the requested sum plus a further one *ryō* advanced towards another set of Obuse commissions.⁵¹ In advancing these sums Jūhachiya must have thought Hokusai eccentric but reliable. The Jūhachiya letters serve as reminders that, perhaps as a consequence of his reputed disregard for money, Hokusai’s fame never translated into a fortune, although his art seems to have always provided him a wealth of opportunity for technical experimentation and deepening his perception of life.⁵² The letters also recall a sketch by Hokusai’s student Tsuyuki Kōshō (Iitsu III, d. after 1893), showing Hokusai and Ōi’s cramped and penurious living conditions during the early 1840s (see **Pl. 4.1**).⁵³ The two letters have accordingly prompted the suggestion that Jūhachiya financially supported Hokusai on other occasions, such as during the early 1830s, and that he initially encountered the firm while in the neighbourhood of Honshirogane-chō to visit the Edo premises of one of his then-publishers, Eirakuya Tōshirō.⁵⁴

Could Jūhachiya have introduced Hokusai to Kōzan? In the early 1830s Hokusai’s major print series and numerous drawing manuals must have festooned the fronts of print shops and bookshops across the city of Edo. When Kōzan relocated from Kyoto to Edo in 1833 to study Chinese poetry and calligraphy, he might have noticed Hokusai’s work and found his approach to picture-making, and his Chinese-inflected style, intriguing. The circumstances of their first encounter appear to have gone unrecorded, but perhaps after arriving in the shogun’s capital, Kōzan sought out Jūhachiya for news of his hometown and they arranged a meeting with Hokusai.⁵⁵ The meeting would have taken place before Hokusai’s departure for Uraga (late 1834 or early 1835), because by the time Hokusai returned to the city in 1836 Kōzan was back in Obuse assisting his family during the Tenpō famine. One uncertainty, though, is why, in the successful days of the early 1830s, when Eirakuya, Nishimura Yohachi and other publishers were calling for his designs, and when he was begetting one high-quality colour print series after another, would Hokusai have become interested in Jūhachiya, or tied himself to a financial arrangement with them, particularly since there seems no evidence that he received commissions from Obuse prior to meeting Kōzan? An alternate scenario (among others) is that Kōzan discovered Hokusai for himself and afterwards introduced him to the trader, perhaps with the idea of future commissions in mind.

Kōzan was an avid art collector and seems to have been a tastemaker (or ‘influencer’) as far as collecting trends in northern Shinano were concerned. His collection at one time included 44 paintings by his Kyoto teacher Gan Tai, along with 23 paintings by Hokusai and one by Ōi.⁵⁶ It seems worth noting, however, that while Gan Tai’s work constituted the majority of his collection, it never moved him

to poetry, as Hokusai's did on at least three occasions.⁵⁷ Within Obuse and northern Shinano, Kōzan also acted as an intermediary for other collectors. For example, in a letter sent probably during the early 1840s he informs the Matsushiro domain samurai Yamaji Gendayū (later called Jōzan, 1807–1878) that a commissioned warrior painting by Hokusai was 'poorly done' (*fudeki*) but that the artist's painting of a misty landscape was 'quite well done' (*kanari no deki*) and would be offered instead. Kōzan assures him that the painting would be mounted 'Hokusai-style' on virgin paper (*keppaku no kami*) and 'absolutely not' on recycled paper (*usuzumi no kami*).⁵⁸ The intention must have been to preserve the freshness of Hokusai's work with a clean backing, and to avoid the soiled appearance and discoloration engendered by dingy grey recycled paper. Kōzan here reveals Hokusai's concern for all aspects of his work, from production to presentation, and calls to mind the meticulous instructions that the artist issued in the early 1830s to a team of woodblock cutters preparing his drawings for publication.⁵⁹

As might be expected for the scion of a merchant family, Kōzan kept records of the commissions and payments that he handled, although only one of his account books appears to have survived, covering around a decade of activity, from before 1853 to around 1863. In this volume, titled *Jūshūdō shujin* (*Master of the Hall of Flourishing Bamboo*), one finds Kōzan selling a Hokusai painting to his Obuse compatriot and fellow practitioner of Hokusai's style, Hiramatsu Kassai, and issuing numerous payments for other hanging scrolls, handscrolls and albums, four payments going to a certain Nagakawa (or Osagawa) Kamatarō in Edo.⁶⁰ In a letter to Nagakawa written during the eighth month of probably 1853, Kōzan expresses respectful interest in acquiring more paintings by 'Manji-sensei', in the event that 'members of your society (*go-shachū*) should be disposing of any, even if only a few'.⁶¹ This is most likely the same Nagakawa whom Hokusai mentions with similar respect in a surviving letter, and with whom Hokusai seems to have shared a friendship, raising the possibility that commissions flowing from an organised group helped to keep the elderly artist financially afloat.⁶² The term *shachū* in this context suggests a society of amateurs and followers aligned with the master of an intellectual pursuit or cultivated art.⁶³ It points to the enthusiasm and devotion that Hokusai inspired, certainly throughout his life but particularly in his last years and continuing after he had passed. Kōzan's archives thus open a view onto the ways Hokusai's art and fame were sustained and propagated, and onto the finely calibrated social and commercial networks that linked even seemingly far-separated areas of Japan at this time.

Mapping Hokusai's late career

Around the mid-1840s, Obuse village and its surrounding farms in mountainous Shinano province formed a productive, cooperative rural community. The region that Hokusai had imagined in his five 'Shinano views' was there to be seen, filled with natural beauty, spiritual faith, a sense of life linked to the rhythms of nature, and people known for a love of place, as evidenced by the numerous local festivals and festival floats that lend colour to the area to this day. During his visits probably in 1844 and almost certainly in

1845, Hokusai would have found himself among people who had survived two recent social upheavals, and who, with prosperity at hand and likely to continue, may also have been in a mood to celebrate. Additionally, in the circle of Takai Kōzan, his leading patron there, Hokusai would have found a cultivated and well-connected elite eager to foster and preserve the legacy of an outstanding artist.

A mere fraction of this history, and no hint of a society of students and painting collectors dedicated to the elderly Hokusai, appears in Iijima Kyoshin's *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*. Information along these lines might have eventually led Iijima to assign Obuse greater weight in his biographical portrait. He mentions paintings incidentally, via anecdotes about Hokusai's training, skill and showmanship, and briefly references just two painting collections.⁶⁴ Of the late colour prints he mentions only the series *Hyakunin isshu uba ga etoki*, which was left unfinished. His study instead features probably the first comprehensive annotated bibliography of the illustrated books that Hokusai designed throughout his long career.⁶⁵ Iijima suggests in effect that the brilliant, mercurial artist whose life events he rescued from obscurity thrived foremost in the world of literature, books and publishing.

Considered together, Iijima's portrait and the information gathered through recent scholarship indicate that, just as Hokusai's artistic vision proved adaptable to a diverse range of media, so his art during his late career and afterwards captured an audience far more socially and geographically diverse than is sometimes recognised. Within Japan alone, responses to his work ranged from flights of philosophical Chinese poetry in the mountains of Shinano, to grounded biographical investigation in the lowlands of Tokyo. Further study might, therefore, track the movement of Hokusai's works, and those of the many followers he inspired, across regions and through time, facilitated by emerging, collaborative research technologies, such as ResearchSpace. Clarifying Hokusai's associations with Obuse and other areas beyond Edo should strengthen our appreciation not only for the resonating impact of the master's character and imagination, but also for the complex interpersonal relations and social networks that sustained the growth of culture and the role of the artist in late Edo-period Japan.

Notes

- 1 Takeuchi 2001.
- 2 Clark 2017b, 22.
- 3 Ibid., 16.
- 4 Ibid., 26.
- 5 Iijima 1999, 134–6, 326.
- 6 Hokusai designed the China print while sojourning in Uraga; see Clark 2017a, 104, discussion to no. 37, and 206–7, no. 119.
- 7 Ibid., 222–39, nos 132–46.
- 8 Ibid., 146, no. 69.
- 9 Ichikawa 2011a, 4; Ichikawa 2011b, charts 3–13, esp. chart 5 on p. 9.
- 10 Ichikawa 2011b, 7, 11. The size of the plot was calculated as a percentage of the farmer's total landholdings, but the percentage differed for each farm. Reserved land would usually be planted with root vegetables. Other farming regions had similar systems

that have since been disbanded. Nagano is one of the few places where it continues, although now the same percentage applies to all farms; see Yoshida 1987.

11 Takeuchi 2008, 46.

12 Yamazaki 1995, 7–8.

13 Following information derived from Kaneda 2011, 32–5.

14 For an English-language discussion of *terakoya* education, see Dore 1965, chapters 8–9.

15 *Takai-gun Sakurazawa-mura Fujimaki-ke shoga me-ire chō*, transcribed and published in Nagano-ken 1976, *Hokushin chihō*, 814–7, document 1037. Regional collection inventories may be an under-utilised resource in the study of Edo painting. Negishi Unsō's life is briefly summarised in Kaneda 2011, 34.

16 Maruyama 2008, 19, 21. For a study of painted handscrolls documenting the famine, see Mueller 2016.

17 Quoted in Kaneda 2011, 30.

18 Maruyama 2008, 19, 23, 24.

19 This and the following information derived from Maruyama 2009, 26, 31, 34, 39.

20 Proposed in the early 1970s by historian Yura Tetsuji (1897–1979), with reference to: 1) a fan painting of autumn grasses signed 'Gakyō rōjin Manji hitsu' and dated with Hokusai's age to 1842, although there is no indication when the painting arrived in Obuse; 2) a painting of bamboo and a severed head with the same signature and date but probably copied from a painting by Hokusai's student Honma Hokuyō (1822–1868), with Hokusai's signature added; 3) three brush drawings of Chinese lions (*shishi*), from a group known as *Nisshinjoma* (*Daily Exorcisms*); Hokusai had produced these in 1842–3, but the three could have simply become separated at some point from the others that in 1847 Hokusai and Ōi gave loosely bundled to the Matsushiro-domain samurai Miyamoto Shinsuke (1822–1878) when he visited them in Edo (see Haft 2017, 53); the Miyamoto *Nisshinjoma* drawings were formerly held in Obuse but are now in the collection of the Kyushu National Museum; and 4) a painting dated by Hokusai's signature to 1843, again with no indication when it arrived in Obuse. See Yura 1973; Yura 1974–6; Kubota 1989a, 7.

21 Also proposed by Yura Tetsuji; referenced in Kubota 1989a, 18. For a discussion of the demon painting, see Clark 2017a, 312, no. 208. It is not impossible, however, that Hokusai temporarily returned to Edo to meet Hokuyō. According to an anecdote circulating in Obuse, he interrupted his 1845 stay in order to collect Ōi in Edo and return with her to Shinano; recorded in Iwasaki 1933, 47.

22 Information derived from a draft list of Hokusai's letters prepared by Timothy Clark. Iijima 1893 preserves 12 letters in the form of transcriptions; others survive in photographs first published during the early 20th century; still others are more recent discoveries.

23 Transcribed with partial interpretation in Yashiro 1995, 27–8; transcribed with partial discussion in Kubota 2015, 134–5.

24 Kubota 2015, 134.

25 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 28, document 4.

26 Transcribed in Nagano-ken 1990b, section IV, 'Butai yatai sono hoka', no. 5, 271, document 1.

27 Cited in Takeuchi 2008, 49.

28 Transcribed in Nagano-ken 1990b, 271, document 2. Tenpō 15 was a *kinoe* dragon year.

29 Quoted with discussion in Kubota 2015, 136–7. Kubota notes that little better could be expected in the case of Ōi, who probably accompanied her father to Obuse in 1845, although no definite record of her presence there has been found.

30 For a discussion of the frames, see Clark 2017a, 306, no. 205; for a discussion of the Ganshōin panel, see *ibid.*, 304, nos 203–4, p. 304.

31 Nagano-ken 1989, 531.

32 Cited in Takeuchi 2011, 52.

33 Yamauchi 2015, 4.

34 Nagano-ken 1990a, section 1, 'Kaiga', 48, no. 35.

35 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 30, document 10; Yashiro 1995, 29; Kobayashi 1997, 182–3; Nagata 2003a, 8–9.

36 Kobayashi 1997, 184; Nagata 2003a, 9–10.

37 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 31, document 13; Nagata 2003a, 10.

38 Nagata 2003a, 10. The shrine also held exhibitions on other occasions during Hokusai's lifetime; see Kubota 1989a, 31, comment to document 13.

39 Quoted in Nagata 2003a, 11.

40 *Ibid.*

41 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 30, document 9; Yashiro 1995, 31, with brief summary.

42 *Kami-Takai-gun shi* (1914), quoted in Kubota 1989a, 18.

43 This version correlates with Hokusai's drawing practice as reported in Iijima 1999, 215–16. Version recorded in Katsuyama 1915, 219; also quoted in Kaneda 2011, 39. Katsuyama Chūzō (n.d.) was a shrine priest at Takamori shrine, Takayama-mura, Kami-Takai-gun, whose main worship hall (1848) was built and carved by Kamehara Wadashirō II (Tago 2001, 5).

44 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 31–2, document 14. Hokusai emerges again as a fiercely independent spirit in Iijima 1999, 212–14.

45 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 32, document 15.

46 *Ibid.*, 28, document 3; Kobayashi 1996b, 190; Takeuchi 2011, 53. Specialists have applied the terms *onami* (literally, 'male wave') and *menami* (literally, 'female wave') to Hokusai's Kanmachi panel paintings since at least 1915, as they appear in Katsuyama 1915, 219, without quotation marks or explanation, so must have already been generally accepted by then. In standard usage, *onami* and *menami* respectively refer to vigorously breaking waves and gently breaking waves. The *onami* panel has four competing wave crests set against two whirling currents, while the *menami* panel has two concentric wave crests set within a surrounding current. The art historical nomenclature may be intended to reflect this difference in composition. For an introduction to the panels, see Clark 2017a, 306, nos 206–7; for a focused study, see Takeuchi 2011.

47 Takeuchi 2011, 53.

48 Kubota 2015, 91.

49 Quoted in *ibid.*

50 Kubota 1989a, 8–9, and 22 n. 15.

51 Transcribed in *ibid.*, 32–3, documents 17, 18; and in Yashiro 1995, 30–1, 33. Based on the type of 'Katsushika' seal that Hokusai applied to both letters ('type 3', in Kubota's analysis), and Hokusai's mention of illness in the first letter, which seems to recall a reference to illness in a letter from Hokusai to Kamiyama Kumasaburō (a.k.a. 'Isai dai-sensei', dated by Nagata Seiji to the end of 1846), Kubota dates both Jūhachiya letters to the third month of 1847, and proposes that the Kanmachi festival float was completed the same year (Kubota 1989a, 15 and 17).

52 For anecdotes about Hokusai's spending habits, see Iijima 1999, 198.

53 Illustrated and discussed in Clark 2017a, 295, no. 193.

54 Kubota 1989a, 9.

55 Proposed by Kawasaki Shizan in the 1910s; quoted in Kubota 1989a, 8.

56 Kubota 1989b, 3–4.

57 Kaneda Isako, ‘Takai Kōzan kanshi senshū no o-toiawase ni tsuite’, e-mail message to Alfred Haft, 18 September 2020. The third poem is a philosophical paean to Hokusai, transcribed and summarised in Yashiro 1995, 28–9.

58 Transcribed in Kubota 1989a, 29, document 7, with discussion pp. 11–13.

59 See Iijima 1999, 149; Tinios 2015.

60 Transcribed in Kubota 1989b, 17–22, document 28. Kassai was an amateur artist who assiduously copied the illustrations in Hokusai’s *Santai gafu* (*Album of Drawings in Three Styles*; 1816); see Maruyama 2011, 18–20.

61 Transcribed in Kubota 1989b, 23, document 30, with discussion pp. 5–6.

62 Kubota 1989b, 6; Clark 2017b, 17.

63 The term occurs in this sense on a *kyōka surimono* designed by Utagawa Hiroshige (c. 1830) (BM 1957,0209,0.3), and on Hokusai’s print of land-surveyors (1848) (BM 1925,1016,0.2). It appears again twice in the memorial inscription on Tsukioka Yoshitoshi’s tombstone (fifth month 1898): in connection with a *shachū* dedicated to Yoshitoshi, and another dedicated to the *rakugo* performer San’yūtei Enchō (1839–1900) (transcribed in Iwakiri 2010, 210–11).

64 One of Iijima’s sources, a Mr Kurata, claimed that his family in Uraga owned ‘many’ paintings by Hokusai; and, according to Iijima, the art dealer and publisher Kobayashi Bunshichi owned 60 paintings (Iijima 1999, 158, 184).

65 Ibid., 239–305.

Chapter 4

Partners in the Studio: Reconsidering Ōi and Hokusai

Julie Nelson Davis

With her elbow resting on a box and her hand balanced on her pipe, painter Katsushika Ōi 葛飾応為 (c. 1800–after 1857?) watches as her father Hokusai crouches over his sketch (Pl. 4.1). Tsuyuki Kōshō 露木孔彰 (Iitsu III, d. after 1893), one of Hokusai's many students, drew this image from a memory of a visit he made in the early 1840s (about 1842 or 1843). Hokusai is painting, partly covered by the quilt of the brazier (*kotatsu*); he is shown as inspired to work despite his old age. Ōi waits, serving as attendant to her famous father. A sign on the rear wall informs potential clients that the pair will not entertain requests for fan paintings or illustrated albums. A pile of things tucked into the corner behind Ōi seems about to spill out into the room. Neither father nor daughter has tidied up. In composition and point of view, the drawing seems to suggest that Kōshō stood in front of father and daughter, as though eyewitness to the scene before him.

Kōshō gave this sketch to Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901) as material for his *Katsushika Hokusai den* (*Biography of Katsushika Hokusai*, 1893), the first study of the life and work of Hokusai (see also Sadamura essay, pp. 212–19). As the only image that depicts both Hokusai and Ōi, it has often served as shorthand for the relationship of father and daughter during Hokusai's later years: Hokusai as master painter, hard at work, and Ōi as loyal companion, ready to assist. The drawing has gained such wide currency that it was the source for dioramas at both the Edo-Tokyo Museum and the Sumida Hokusai Museum.

Yet, when Kōshō made this image of father and daughter, he was not standing before them; rather, he was sketching the scene after an interval of about half a century. At best this might represent a memory of what he saw, but more likely it was drawn as an imagined reconstruction of a visit to his teacher. At such a remove it cannot be granted the status of documentation. Instead, it more productively serves as an allegory of the artist, produced for a biography written for a Meiji-era audience. It becomes thus a different form of evidence, an image made on request for a later biography that described Hokusai as a great master with Ōi by his side. The past is cast to serve the concept of the artist in a later present.

By including her in the scene with Hokusai, the drawing acknowledges Ōi's presence in her father's final years. Yet it grants her no greater role than serving in attendance to him. Here, she only watches and waits. At the time when Iijima was writing his biography, Hokusai's work was already regarded as highly desirable on the international art market. Indeed, his life and work were being assessed within and against well-defined art histories, under revision both abroad and at home. Thinking about Ōi as a part of the Late Hokusai project requires that her life and work likewise be put into these larger histories of connoisseurship and reception and that we reconceive our methods and approaches accordingly. Among the most crucial tasks is to question the status of evidence, its provenance and purpose, regardless of its form, and to interpret it critically. Thus, when we assess an image or text (such as this sketch of Hokusai and Ōi), we need to attend to who made or wrote it, when it was produced, why it mattered and for whom: to think about the status of evidence as evidence, how it functioned, and how it was transmitted to the present. This



Plate 4.1 Tsuyuki Kōshō (Iitsu III, died after 1893), *Hokusai and Ōi in their Lodgings*, before 1893. Ink on paper, height 25.0cm, width 17.5cm. National Diet Library, Tokyo, WA 31-12

essay is an initial foray into these questions, part of a longer project that reconsiders Ōi within the realm of Late Hokusai.

Nothing that we know today of Ōi and Hokusai comes to us without having been part of a history of interpretation and assessment. Thinking about Ōi and Hokusai requires that both artists are returned to their context within the Edo art world and into a frame where they worked on commission for patrons and publishers as members of the Katsushika atelier as a small household business (*ie* 家). During his lifetime, Hokusai was included among the eminent ukiyo-e artists, regarded as a notable brush as well as a *kijin* or ‘eccentric person’. His name came to function like a ‘brand’, as book titles like *Hokusai manga* demonstrate (see also Tinios essay, pp. 71–88).

Ōi’s extant body of work suggests that she was appreciated during her lifetime for her artistic skill, receiving commissions for paintings and illustrated books, and regarded as worthy of note in the period. She also acted as a studio brush, assisting Hokusai as well as signing work under his name. In both capacities – as independent brush and as studio brush – Ōi would have been working in a manner consistent with practices at painting ateliers of the day. Yet, the drawing showing Ōi by her father’s side perpetuates an illusion that would have benefited the Katsushika atelier (and its brand): all work coming out of the studio was by his single hand. Putting Ōi back into a scenario where she is actively contributing and acknowledging her part in the Katsushika studio is crucial to the project of Late Hokusai.

Recasting Ōi as a partner in the Katsushika atelier also requires critical attention to how her contributions have been occluded and celebrated due to her gender. Over the past few decades Ōi has been taken up as an exemplary woman artist of the Edo period in art-historical studies and exhibitions. She has also been featured in a novel, a manga series, an animation based on the manga and more.¹ These revisions work to reframe Ōi as the exception to the question that Linda Nochlin asked in her essay of 1971: ‘Why have there been no great women artists?’² Nochlin’s question, now more than 50 years after it was asked, remains evergreen. In her response, Nochlin argued that the dearth of women artists in the canon cannot be assumed to come from inherent biological difference or lack of talent. Instead, it is due to the structural omission of women from training, from the practice of art, from appreciation in the art world and from the field of art history itself. In Nochlin’s reading, these mechanisms and elisions were enacted systemically, mobilised by and within institutions, as well as within wider social and economic structures. Such omissions have often been treated in the art-historical canon as though the lack of women artists is to be expected, and it seems all too typical that, regardless of place or time, local power structures usually confer the ‘standard’ as male. As recent efforts made through the #MeToo and Black Lives Matter movements demonstrate, forms of systemic, unconscious bias that still restrict people of talent in the present have likewise blinded our awareness of them in the past.

Turning the question around to highlight cases of specific women, or to shift the question to other creative forms

wherein women excelled, as a strategy to argue for ‘greatness’ does not rebut the question. As Nochlin wrote, ‘on the contrary, by attempting to answer it, tacitly reinforces its negative consequences’.³ Instead, it is the structural forms for defining ‘greatness’ – then and now – that need to be addressed, along with the kinds of bias that have served as gatekeeping. Nochlin referred in her essay to long-standing, romanticised concepts of the artist and of ‘genius’, too, that reinforced social and political systems along patriarchal and racial lines. These same points pertain to the renewed consideration of Ōi as well as of her contemporaries.

Without understanding how and why Hokusai has become renowned as a ‘genius’, reinserting Ōi as the example that proves the rule is not sufficient. Rather, we need to think about how ‘genius’ as a concept is and has been aligned with gender and imbricated in defining greatness. Too often definitions of genius and greatness become a form of circular reasoning, as Nochlin noted, where “the Great Artist”, of course, is conceived as one who has “Genius”. Genius, in turn, is thought of as an atemporal and mysterious power, somehow embedded in the person of the Great Artist.⁴ Women artists were rarely, if ever, granted ‘Genius’ or even equal stature to their male counterparts. Their names did not command equal share in the marketplace; few indeed make it to ‘blue chip’ status, even today.

Yet, some women came to achieve position in their respective art worlds. This status, however, was nearly always achieved through relationships with male artists. Nochlin observed the importance, even the necessity, of being aligned with a male artist:

... they all, almost without exception, were either the daughters of artist fathers, or, generally later, in the 19th and 20th centuries, had a close personal connection with a stronger or more dominant male artistic personality. Neither of these characteristics is, of course, unusual for men artists, either, as we have indicated above in the case of artist fathers and sons: it is simply true almost *without exception* for their feminine counterparts, at least until quite recently.⁵

Nochlin’s maxim holds true for nearly all women artists in early modern Japan, where the opportunity for instruction, time and space to work, as well as social status and connections in support of artistic practice, were conferred upon them through male association. Her most important point, that institutional structures – not individual talent – prevented many women from the profession (as well as others likewise regarded as somehow ‘lesser’), must be the target of our enquiry when we attempt to answer her question.

Bearing Nochlin’s observations in mind and returning to look at the drawing once more, Ōi’s presence in the scene is reliant upon the status conferred upon her by her famous father, just as were her opportunities to work as an artist. That Ōi has also now been brought so thoughtfully into more recent discussions of late Hokusai implicitly highlights how often she was excluded in the past. However, without exception, Ōi is framed as the daughter of the master. Unlike Hokusai’s other students – such as Teisai Hokuba (1771–1844), Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850), Gakutei (c. 1786–1868)

and so many others – Ōi does not emerge out of the shadow of Hokusai and the Katsushika atelier. Her genius, if she may be granted it, remains conditional. Her status is achieved by association, in ways consistent with her sister artists worldwide.

On writing Ōi's history: life and work

Taking Nochlin's point seriously, how do we undo the systemic biases that have granted Ōi space as a daughter-painter but not a larger place in the oeuvre of late Hokusai? How do we think about Ōi as both an individual and at the same time as part of the Katsushika studio itself? In my view, the late Hokusai oeuvre needs consistent and clear reassessment, along the lines proposed by Tsuji Nobuo and others decades ago, and so thoughtfully articulated by Timothy Clark in this volume (Clark essay, pp. 139–47).⁶ However, in the case of *every* work signed 'Hokusai' from his final two decades, we must go even further, acknowledging Ōi's place in the Katsushika studio from 1827 through to Hokusai's death in 1849. This means taking on board the concept that any design, whether it be an illustrated book, print, drawing or painting, may be the product of their two brushes working in collaboration, or even of *her brush alone*. Making Ōi an active part of the Katsushika atelier thus demands moving beyond the model of individual 'Genius' and reconsidering the question of mastery itself in early modern Japanese art.

Ōi's biography and work have been subject to scrutiny over the past several decades. Independent scholar Kubota Kazuhiro has written the most thorough study of Ōi to date, making close studies of her work as well as documents in support of a biography. Kubota subdivides the story of her life and work into five distinct phases of activity: her early life, c. 1801–23, when she lived in her parents' home and assisted in the studio; the period of her marriage to painter Minamizawa Tōmei, 1824–7; her return to the Katsushika household after her mother died, when Hokusai was using the Itsu name, 1828–33; her work with Hokusai during the period when he used the Manji name until his death, 1834–49; and her life after Hokusai's death, 1850–c. 1868. As Kubota notes, there are no records for Ōi's birth and death, but documents and her work suggest a life spanning nearly 70 years. With his goal being to write her biography, Kubota employs documents from her hand and makes comparisons with work by her father; he also folds in commentary by her contemporaries and relies heavily upon Iijima's reconstruction from 1893.⁷ However, issues of proximity and purpose for such documents need to be brought more fully into the discussion, giving weight to their accuracy, context and related matters.

As the example of the drawing demonstrates, who, how, when and why are critical points to consider when approaching documents, whether these be letters, paintings, friendly remarks or full-scale reconstructions. Here, these and other documents will be treated within their historical context, reading them with awareness of how they express period concepts of artistic merit, gender roles and more, and with attention to their proximity to their subject. In the passages that follow, I give attention to whether documents or works of art come from her hand directly as closest in

proximity, and work thereafter by degrees of connection, from those who knew her, or knew of her, or who were writing about her in later generations. This method casts light on how documents can also serve other rhetorical purposes; each must be approached with due scepticism.

Let us begin with her letters. Ōi, like so many other women of the period, probably wrote a lot of letters.⁸ Yet only three remain from her hand. Dating from the 1840s to the early 1850s, these reveal little about her intellectual life or her personality, but they do point to her role in the Katsushika studio. Indeed, the letters are rather matter-of-fact. Thinking about these letters in context demonstrates how much she was deeply engaged in the wider art world of her time.

In one undated letter, for example, she apologises to an acquaintance for her delayed reply to both a letter and follow-up note, writing that she has been away (see Frank Feltens' translation, p. 39, and **Pl. 2.7**). Ōi continues, saying she will be sending 'your *tehon*' (御手本) soon, no doubt in reply to a query about it. But to what is she referring? *Tehon* were model books, featuring pictures and text, and served instructional purposes. Some were manuscripts; others were published. Their purpose was to instruct readers on various practices. But what is *this tehon*? Is she saying she will send sketches for such a book (and from whose hand)? Or is she meant to be sending someone a printed book, perhaps one that they requested? She does not say. She closes rather breathlessly, 'in haste', adds a postscript thanking the correspondent for the chestnuts and, once more, writes, 'in haste'. In this brief letter, we can infer several things: her correspondent sent a letter, then after receiving no reply, sent chestnuts and a note; spurred by the gift, Ōi replies she is away but writes to thank the sender. It seems likely that at the heart of all this correspondence is the matter of the *tehon*, and so Ōi mollifies these queries with the promise that it will be in their hands soon. The addressee's name has been torn off, which seems rather curious, but leaves open the status and gender of the recipient; the chestnuts having been sent from Obuse may indicate that the recipient wrote from that distant village. Ōi signs with the name Miuraya, used during Hokusai's last decade, the 1840s. Although brief, the letter tells us that Ōi is busy tending to various affairs and maintaining contact with a valued correspondent, student or patron. What is not quite clear is whether she is sending this on behalf of herself or for the Katsushika household.

Another letter, also not dated, was sent in this same period to an acquaintance in Obuse, Shinano province. Ōi writes that she will soon be sending along a preparatory sketch for a painting of a beautiful woman, which the recipient, it seems logical to presume, has been hoping to receive. The letter continues with instructions on how to make the colour red (**Pl. 4.2**). Here, Ōi discusses the rather onerous process of preparing *shōenji*, a red pigment, and includes drawings of hands working with the material, as well as its appearance in a bowl. She describes the process as requiring a small amount of perilla oil, to which one would 'grind a bullet (*teppōdama*) about this size [referring to the circle drawn in the letter] to a fine powder and bury it in the ground for around sixty days'.⁹ She notes that it is a 'particularly difficult technique to explain in writing'.¹⁰ This



Plate 4.2 Katsushika Ōi (c. 1800–after 1857?), letter from Ōi to a person in Obuse, 1840s. Ink on paper, height 23.0cm, width 61.0cm. Private collection, Japan (Hokusaikan, Obuse)

document demonstrates Ōi's deep knowledge of materials used in her father's studio and closely aligns with the description of making oil-based pigments that appears in the Hokusai-signed painting manual *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848).¹¹ Notably, this illustrated book was issued just a year before Hokusai's death, when he was aged 88 (89 by the Japanese count). Although the overlap between her letter and the text of the *Ehon saishiki tsū* is limited to this description of *shōenji*, it seems reasonable to argue that Ōi would have contributed to the book given her extensive knowledge. Indeed, her input may have been more than previously acknowledged. Whether she wrote the text and designed the illustrations, or acted as her father's amanuensis or took the role of studio assistant in preparing the clean copy submitted to the publisher, remains an open question. Yet, putting this book on process into conversation with her work as well as his, comparing described techniques with those present in 'his' paintings, would no doubt advance our understanding of the materials used in their studio (and would probably assist in weeding out later forgeries).

The third letter from Ōi's hand informed Hokusai's student Kōsai Hokushin (1824–1876) of the death of her father on the 18th day of the fourth month, 1849. It is brief and to the point. As translated by Clark, it reads: 'Manji [Hokusai] was ill and treatment was to no avail. He died from his illness early this morning at the seventh hour. I wanted to quickly inform you of this situation.' [In smaller characters:] 'Funeral tomorrow, 19th day, fourth hour.'¹² As Clark notes, Ōi is likely to have sent many similar letters, for Hokusai's funeral was reportedly attended by about a hundred mourners. Yet, this is apparently the only example that remains extant. As a letter, it is concise, lacking much of the politesse and flourish that were so often features of women's letters. Her brevity attests to her familiarity with Hokushin as well as the necessity of sending the announcements with all due speed.

These texts display Ōi's mastery of period practices of letter-writing and also include a considerable number of Chinese characters. These features may not seem remarkable at first glance, but the letters deserve closer study. What might we learn, for example, by comparing her

letters with others written in the period? Or her hand with Hokusai's own? Might she have served as his scribe elsewhere? Much might be better understood by careful analysis of these and other texts. What is eminently clear from all three letters is that Ōi held a place of regard and respect within their network of artistic practitioners. Significantly they also demonstrate that she often represented the Katsushika atelier in its business matters.

Before turning to consider work signed by Ōi, let us look at notations made about her during her lifetime, a next level of proximity that includes remarks by colleagues and others. What can we learn of Ōi's reputation through these documents? In these, Ōi is usually called by the name 'Eijo' (栄女), or 'the woman Ei', a signature she sometimes used on her works as well as in letters. Yet, since she also often signed her paintings with the art-name Ōi, this has become the preferred name for her artistic career. The name 'Ōi' also links her once more to her father. Meaning 'loyal to Iitsu' or 'following Iitsu', this artistic pseudonym was constructed in reference to her father's art-name, Iitsu 為一, which he used from 1820 to 1834. In doing so, Ōi followed the period practice whereby students received art-names linking them to their teachers. The fact that so many contemporaries call her Eijo points once more to their placement of her as daughter first.

Artist Keisai Eisen (1790–1848) was acquainted with both Hokusai and Ōi, part of an extended network of ukiyo-e practitioners. Eisen adapted and updated the project of writing the history of ukiyo-e that was begun at the end of the 18th century. His variation, entitled *Mumei-ō zuihitsu* (*Master No-Name Miscellany*, 1833), included the following passage: 'His [Hokusai's] daughter Eijo is skilled at drawing and, following after her father, has become a professional artist (*eshi*) while acquiring a reputation as a talented painter.'¹³ By describing her as an *eshi* 絵師, literally a 'picture master', Eisen uses a term for those who had achieved the status of being recognised in the higher-status role of painter, rather than the term *gakō* 画工 ('picture artisan') that referred more often to illustrators for prints or books.

Takai Kōzan (1806–1883), a wealthy sake distributor, also acknowledged Ōi's skill with the brush and her role in

assisting her father and his famous name in his writings.¹⁴ Kōzan spent time in Edo from 1833 to 1836 when he apparently made Hokusai's acquaintance. He arranged commissions for Hokusai in Obuse, including two festival carts and a ceiling painting at the Ganshōin temple, and in 1844 and 1845 Ōi seems to have accompanied her father, now in his eighties, on several excursions to Obuse (in modern-day Nagano prefecture). Here, too, how much Ōi contributed to these commissions needs more consideration. (Hokusai's and Ōi's interactions with Kōzan and Obuse are discussed in detail in Alfred Haft's essay, pp. 43–57.)

A remark made by writer Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848) about Hokusai may (or may not) point to Ōi's contributions to illustrations to Bakin's novel, *Chūgi Suikoden ehon* (*Picture Book of the Loyal [Heroes] from the Tales of the Water Margin*), published in 1829. In a diary entry dated to the 21st day of the six month of the same year, Bakin wrote that 'the pictures are quite well done, but were somewhat different from Hokusai'.¹⁵ As these designs would have been made when Ōi was in the studio, perhaps the stylistic shift that is indicated in Bakin's response may have been due to Ōi having taken a significant role in the production.

Moving to the next level of proximity, considering other sources produced during Ōi's lifetime yields more information. Three works compiled by Saitō Gesshin (1804–1878), a city administrator and early historian, include notations about Ōi. Gesshin's writings are cited frequently in reconstructions of the period. Yet how he knew what he reports cannot be independently verified. It seems he often relied upon reportage from acquaintances, sometimes naming them, sometimes not. Gesshin added to the long-running project of writing ukiyo-e history, adding further information to manuscripts like Eisen's and others lists of practitioners mentioned above. His manuscript, *Zōho ukiyo-e rukō* (*Supplement to Various Thoughts on Ukiyo-e*, 1844), added considerable information to a document that eventually became the genre's foundation for its artistic canon. Here, Ōi is listed as Hokusai's third daughter, described as a skilled painter and illustrator, and as separated from her husband Minamizawa Tōmei (active 1804–30).¹⁶ It is important to note that this report was the first to comment upon her marriage and separation.

Turning to Gesshin's project on events in Edo and its conurbations from 1590 to his present, the *Bukō nenpyō* (*Chronology of Edo*), Ōi appears twice. The *Bukō nenpyō* came to comprise 12 volumes: the first eight were written over three years and cover the span from 1590 to its year of publication in 1848; and the subsequent four volumes take the story up to 1873 and were issued in 1878. Ōi is mentioned in the 1848 printing in the context of an event held in Tenpō 7 (1836) at which paintings were displayed, with examples by both teachers and students. Here, Hokusai's daughter is described as divorced, skilled at drawing pictures of women and at making *keshi-ningyō* dolls.¹⁷ Ōi features in the later volumes of *Bukō nenpyō* from the Meiji era in the entry about her father's death: 'daughter Eijo also continues drawing for many illustrated books'.¹⁸

Gesshin composed additional remarks about Hokusai and Ōi; these were written in 1848 for a memoir completed in 1862. Here, Gesshin acknowledges that he is basing these

upon remarks made by an acquaintance. These third-hand comments cannot be taken as testimony; rather, they are, like anecdotes, intriguing for what they suggest may have been a form of common knowledge about those described. Hokusai's well-being and continued artistic practice are points of comment. Kobayashi Tadashi previously reported on the following passage in which Ōi is described as like her father in her domestic habits as well as in her artistic ones:

Katsushika Hokusai used the names Raishin, Sōri, Shunrō, and Taito, along with others, but now he is called Iitsu. He turned eighty-nine this year, the first year of Ka'ei [1848], but his body is still healthy, and he can walk on his own. When he draws, he uses spectacles over his eyes. He still makes fine, detailed work. He has moved dozens of times. All these were rented houses, small and cramped. His youngest daughter Ei resembles her father in that she does not wash dishes after a meal, leaving them lying around without a care. She was married to ukiyo-e artist Nantaku [Minamizawa Tōmei], but being divorced, she lives with her father. She is about fifty years old. This daughter draws many of the block-ready drawings that appear under the name of Iitsu. Even when they receive fresh fish as a present, they find it too much trouble to cook and usually give it away to someone else. This account is based on stories told by Naruse Kichiemon.¹⁹

Here, in between comments about dirty dishes and gifts of fish, is embedded a remark that Ōi produced block-ready drawings under the signature of Iitsu. It is worth taking seriously the proposition that – if Gesshin's source was reliable – Ōi was doing more than make the final versions of sheet prints and illustrated books while she was residing with her father. She may very well have assisted with all work produced under Hokusai's many names. In doing so, Ōi would have worked according to period practices whereby assistants 'ghosted' work in the master's style. What is interesting in Gesshin's text is that her participation is treated like a known fact. The implication is that maybe much of what was produced during those twenty-odd years was made in collaboration.

How Ōi is presented in the Hokusai story shifts in the Meiji retelling. Iijima's biography of Hokusai of 1893 includes numerous mentions of Ōi throughout, along with a lengthy section dedicated to her. This account was written several decades after her known period of activity. Iijima employed many of the same texts reviewed above, yet his presentation of her adds so much, and with so little documentation, that his report needs to be placed at further remove. This means it must be evaluated scrupulously and with critical distance. It must also be placed in a modern context, when the concept of what it meant to be an artist as well as a woman had changed significantly.

One of the conventions Iijima employed in his narrative is to refer to Hokusai's third daughter as O-Ei 阿榮. Her father, by contrast, is referred throughout by his most famous art-name, but she is not granted the status of her art name of Ōi. Rather, as others before him had done as well, Iijima's rendering of her name as O-Ei keeps her cast under her personal name and in the role of daughter. Unlike students who trained with Hokusai who are described with their art names, she is thus not granted the same stature and respect as part of the Katsushika lineage.

Iijima also appears to have been the first to speculate about the source of her art-name of Ōi. He does not mention its actual meaning of ‘following’ Iitsu, a name that places her in the lineage. Instead, providing no evidence to support his conjecture, Iijima associates her name with the word often used to call someone – ‘oh～i’ – which is equivalent in English to ‘hey!’. He wrote, ‘When O-Ei lived with her father, she started calling him “oh～i, oh～i oyaji-dono”, or “hey, hey, old man”’, noting that this was also from the lyric of a song.²⁰ Ever since it appeared, this imagined exchange has been treated as a hallmark of their friendly family banter. Yet, the fact that this is where the notion makes its first appearance leads to the possibility that it may have been wholly invented by Iijima.

In Iijima’s telling Ōi was similar to her father in character and domestic habits. She is also described as a loyal companion to her father and acknowledged as an accomplished painter. In the following passage, where Iijima describes her as being as opinionated as Hokusai, he casts her as ‘masculine’. What is difficult to determine here is whether this is praise for her strength and capacity, or whether it is a point of critique, implicitly measuring her against changing expectations about ‘feminine behaviour’ in the Meiji era as well as European ones. Consider the following passage:

O-Ei’s 阿榮 temperament and her father’s were alike. She did not give attention to minor, unimportant matters. In that sense she was like a typical man. She also liked the way of bold righteousness [ninkyō 任侠]. She enjoyed simple, plain life, and did not feel ashamed to wear rough clothes and to have poor food. She bought cheap dishes from a ready-to-eat food store for three meals. Bamboo-sheath food wrappers piled up high around her sitting spot, but she did not seem to mind it.²¹

Ōi is characterised as ‘like a typical man’ as well as modest in her clothing and consumption. Her preference for buying ready-made food and leaving the wrappers all around may suggest that she was a bit careless in her spending and in tidying up. (Gesshin, we recall, made a similar remark.) Instead, Ōi sounds like a busy professional woman, more interested in completing her work and keeping the household profession profitable than in niceties, fashion or gourmet cooking. Indeed, if she were painting and designing prints, signing them under her father’s name, making sure commissions were filled and caring for her father, perhaps these remarks might be read as demonstrating her indifference to ‘minor, unimportant matters’. Yet, read with attention to its publication date of 1893, her lack of interest in the so-called domestic arts seems also to bear with it an implicit critique, particularly when considered within the context of changing expectations for wives and daughters; recall that the phrase ‘good wife, wise mother’ (*ryōsai-kenbo*) had by Iijima’s time become shorthand for Meiji ideals for women.

Iijima’s description accords with Gesshin’s accounts on several points: Ōi was the third of Hokusai’s daughters; she was a painter and maker of dolls; she married Minamizawa Tōmei, the son of a merchant family that specialised in perilla-seed oil, who was also a painter; and their marriage ended in divorce. Iijima speculates on the problems in this marriage, writing that since Tōmei’s paintings were not as

skilled as her own, ‘O-Ei constantly pointed out the shortcomings of his paintings and laughed at them’. Their divorce, he avers, was related to her having ‘a disposition similar to Hokusai’s’. She returned to live with Hokusai and never remarried, he further explains.²²

If Iijima’s source material were correct, the marriage was short-lived, lasting from about 1824 to about 1827. Perhaps not uncoincidentally, Ōi returned to care for her father at a critical moment in his long lifetime: Hokusai reportedly had a stroke in 1827 or 1828, after which his artistic prowess may have weakened, and Ōi’s mother, Hokusai’s second wife Kotome (‘The woman Koto’), died in 1828. An alternate narrative could be conjectured: might Ōi have elected to end the marriage in order to return to work beside her father? It seems fair to wonder.

Iijima adds that Ōi was practised in physiognomic analysis, employed Chinese herbal medicine for longevity, and made and sold miniature dolls. In contrast to her father, she is said to have enjoyed smoking tobacco as well as drinking sake (two habits that may also have been regarded as ‘unfeminine’ in a Meiji context). She moves house, survives a fire and travels with her father. Iijima shares the comments he received from writer Yomo no Umehiko 四方梅彦 (1822–1896): that he had commissioned Ōi to make a painting on silk and that she had her own pupils, including many daughters from merchant families.

Several remarks now ascribed to Hokusai are recounted in the biography. One of these third-hand statements about Ōi is often replicated as though heard directly from her father: ‘My pictures of female beauty are not comparable to those painted by O-Ei. Her pictures are finely done, using the right methods.’²³ Ōi is present in the biography when the doctor tells her that there is no cure for Hokusai’s final illness. Perhaps she was there, too, when, upon his deathbed, Hokusai expressed the wish that heaven grant him five more years to become a true artist.²⁴ Iijima’s text thus established what has become the more-or-less standard biography for Hokusai as well as Ōi, yet at such a distance, with so little that may be verified, it is crucial that this account, comprising hearsay evidence, framed in its historical context and at a remove, is appraised accordingly.

At the time Iijima wrote the biography, Hokusai’s name had become internationally known, and it was produced soon after the (similarly imagined) biography of Kitagawa Utamaro (c. 1753–1806) had appeared in print. The Utamaro volume was not in Japanese but in French, penned by critic and connoisseur Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896) in 1891, with much of its content provided by art dealer Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906).²⁵ With appreciation for Hokusai abroad so overheated at this time, it doubtless seemed as if his biography were at risk of being written beyond Japan.²⁶ Indeed, Siegfried Bing (1838–1905) commissioned Iijima to acquire information for a biography that Bing himself intended to write. Goncourt was also planning a biography of Hokusai and asked Hayashi for assistance; Goncourt writes in his diary that Hayashi declined out of respect to his dealer colleague Bing.²⁷ With so much at stake, it must have seemed imperative for Iijima to reclaim the act of writing Hokusai’s biography at home. Bringing Ōi into that conversation further established that

Japanese art included notable women artists in its past. Within this larger context, it becomes all the more evident that both the drawing and the biography functioned with a purpose for its time: to represent Hokusai as a genius artist, assisted by his loyal, talented daughter.

Thinking about the Kōshō drawing (Pl. 4.1) within this historical moment raises questions about Ōi's biography and collaboration with Hokusai, and reframes them within a context that had shifted over nearly half a century. By the late Meiji era this drawing would be participating in a concept of the artist that was becoming global: in that ideal, real masters were driven to paint, loyal assistants stood by and true creativity was sustained without concern for cash, cleanliness or order. Restoring Hokusai as one of Japan's great masters while acknowledging his daughter, Ōi, was a woman painter, in the 1890s likewise occurred at a moment when other women painters working in the European and American contexts had carved out a foothold in their own art worlds (albeit not on par with their male counterparts, but present in various sectors of the art world nonetheless). At home, claiming prowess for a woman painter dovetailed with Meiji artistic and literary canon-building more broadly, one in which Murasaki Shikibu (c. 973–c. 1014 or 1025) was hailed as the first novelist, for example.²⁸ Deploying tropes associated with mastery and genius, and granting space for a woman creator, thus served larger artistic discourses at home and abroad. Yet, the fact that the sketch granted one (male) hand the act of painting, while the other (female) was left idle, explicitly reinforced period mythologies about mastery in ways that conformed with concepts of gender roles and practices in the studio.

Reconsidering Ōi: hand and brush

Studying Ōi's work with the goal of seeing her hand as distinctly her own is challenging. The first task may seem straightforward: organise the extant oeuvre bearing her signature and determine her style. But if we take seriously the fact that she may have worked in collaboration with her father, we need to expand our approach to ask questions of works bearing Hokusai's signature: do a few, some or all bear signs of her hand? Might she have even been ghosting works under his signature? As the points made above indicate, resources that can be used to construct her life and work are limited. It may be tempting to measure the 'gender factor' by comparing Ōi to male artists of her time, particularly to Hokusai's other students, putting her total oeuvre against theirs. Yet her situation was radically different from theirs, since so much of Ōi's working career was spent in the Katsushika atelier. In that capacity, she would have been following the model used by all studio lineages and household businesses, working in service to the Katsushika atelier.

Ōi's occupation in the family business was one of many forms of work available for urban women; others found work as wage earners outside the home, had their own small businesses or were employed in other capacities.²⁹ Ōi and her sisters Miyo, Tatsu and Nao would have grown up assisting their father at his trade and in his workshop, and were expected to work for their husbands' households after they married. As mentioned elsewhere in this volume, their

brother Tominosuke fulfilled a familial obligation by apprenticing in the mirror trade, becoming a successful artisan (see Tazawa essay, pp. 17–31); this obligation meant he could not be made head of the Katsushika atelier. Trained by their father, side by side with his students, Ōi and her sisters would have become skilled in all the tasks important to being a painter, including preparing materials, making clean copies of designs for print and perhaps completing commissions. That two of them – Ōi and Miyo – married other artists might point to a wish that their husbands assume leadership, as was sometimes done; however, since both divorced, neither son-in-law took on that role.

Significantly, in selecting to sign her work as Ōi, this daughter employed an artistic name that derived from Iitsu, one of the numerous names used by her teacher-father. In doing so, she was following period practice. Hokusai's other students likewise adopted variants of his art-names, including Hishikawa Sōri (Sōri III), Hokuba, Hokkei and Iitsu III. She also used the 'Katsushika' (type 3) seal on some of her paintings, and the use of both name and seal signals Hokusai's support for her as a named member of his lineage.

To date, reclaiming space for Ōi in the Hokusai story has mainly focused on her oeuvre. What is glaringly evident is that her *acknowledged* works are too few for an artist of her calibre over a career that lasted more than 50 years. Ōi's oeuvre as currently constructed – and counted generously to include attributed as well as signed works – numbers only about a dozen paintings, two signed illustrated books, two attributed illustrated books, one more book illustration, a poem on a *surimono* and three letters. (Although this count, too, depends upon who is doing the counting; there are probably more letters and sketches that might be brought into the total.) Another painting signed 'Tatsu' is sometimes given to Ōi as well, although it is alternatively thought to be by her sister Tatsu.³⁰

Looking at the paintings and illustrated books, it is clear these were not trivial projects, but commissions that required considerable financial commitment by their producers. The quality of some Ōi-signed paintings, their large scale, visual complexity and use of high-quality pigments on silk, mounted as hanging scrolls, points to their status as expensive commissions. Just as I have ranked the textual evidence by proximity and verifiability, so, too, must the same process be used to scaffold the visual record. Work must be sorted by proximity and for authenticity, with the closest ring including materials in Ōi's hand: letters, drawings, paintings, illustrated books and other works that bear her signature. A subsequent ring would include selected paintings and illustrated books attributed to her hand, but here, as with all attributions, care must be taken in verification. It is also important to bear in mind the probability that a number of fakes and forgeries were produced after her lifetime. So far, this is more or less standard procedure.

To come to understand Ōi better means that we must take her role in the Katsushika atelier seriously. One approach is that advocated by Kubota Kazuhiro: to look for distinctive gestures that could distinguish her hand from her father's. However, with collaboration being the rule, not the

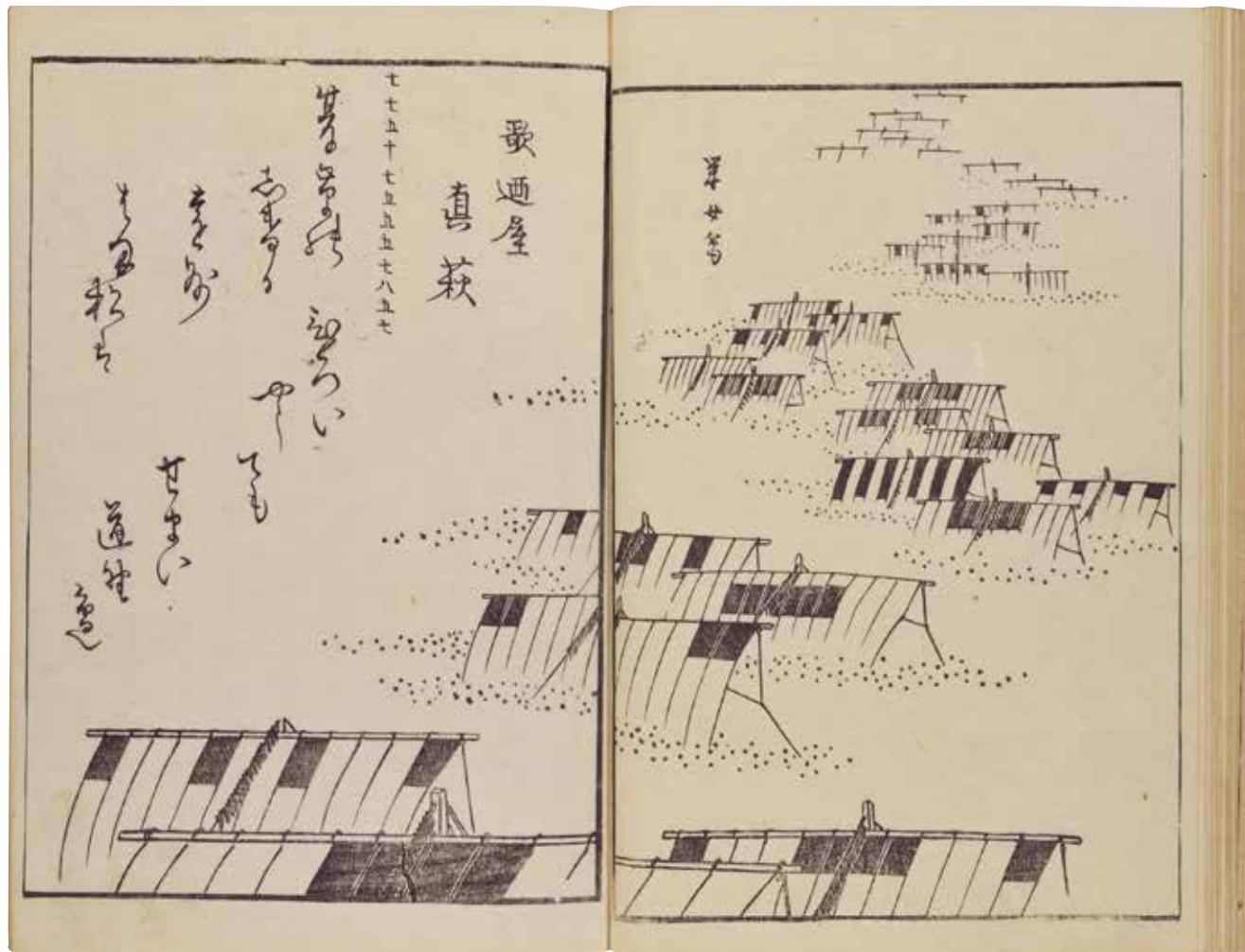


Plate 4.3 Ōi, 'Sailboats', from *Kyōka kunizukushi* (Crazy Verses: All of the Provinces), c. 1810, signed Eijo. Woodblock, height 22cm, width 15cm (covers), pages not numbered. British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.411 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

exception, in period ateliers, it may not be feasible to distinguish 'hands': for many reasons it would have been preferable (and perhaps necessary) to elide individual gestures. That is to say, Ōi could have mastered Hokusai's style: indeed, she would have needed to in order to sign images with his name. It seems even more than likely that she could have mimicked his hand if she were perpetuating the atelier brand. If Ōi functioned as her father's second brush, the question raised earlier must be confronted: what if all work appearing under the Hokusai signature after 1827 were made from or through their partnership? Taking this approach, and opening the question more broadly, Ōi's practice could be reconstructed within the established chronology for Hokusai, thus charting *their* collaborative enterprise.

Beginning with Ōi's production under her own signature in printed books, her earliest work is an illustration of sailboats on a misty day. This design appears in the anthology *Kyōka kunizukushi* 狂歌国尽 (Crazy Verses: All of the Provinces) and is signed 'Eijo' (Pl. 4.3). Featuring images from Hokusai and his students, the volume was published in 1810. If Ōi were born in 1801, she would have been about 10 years old in the Japanese count at the time of its publication. Although a rather simple composition, the drawing testifies to her training in the Katsushika studio alongside her

father's students, and by being included in a volume with them, that she was counted as among them. It has been suggested that Ōi contributed to a book of erotica entitled *Ehon tsui no hinagata* 絵本つひの雛形 (Picture Book Models of Couples), which may be possible, yet it is worth asking whether, if the proposed date for this work of 1812 is correct, Ōi would have yet had the reputation and skill as an illustrator to carry out such a commission just two years after her debut.

Ōi and Hokusai contributed one poem each to a *surimono* dated to 1835; showing a fisherman resting on a rock, with the note 'self-portrait' at lower right, this image is thought to have been designed by Hokusai. As John Carpenter has commented, the print shows the 'close working relationship' between father and daughter.³¹ Thinking more about Ōi as a poet, too – for she was known to have composed *senryū*, witty haiku poems – would further lead to a greater understanding of her participation in these creative networks.³²

Ōi was the sole illustrator for a much more sophisticated book, entitled *Onna chōhōki* (Treasury of Education for Women), for which she skilfully designed images of beautiful women (Pl. 4.4). With a preface dated to 1829 and a publication date of 1847 in the colophon, one question for this title is when Ōi would have supplied the images. Did the images



Plate 4.4 Ōi, 'Types of women', from *Onna chōhōki* (*Treasury of Education for Women*), 1847. Woodblock, height 25.0cm, width 18.0cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.558 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

come late in its production, or was it delayed? *Sencha tebiki no tane* (*A Concise Dictionary of Sencha*), an illustrated book commissioned by a tea producer, was published the following year, in 1848. Significantly, both were issued near the end of Hokusai's life, perhaps leading to the speculation that, by then, after so many years in the studio, she was being given due regard. These are the works for which secure dates exist, which may be used in future analysis for closer stylistic dating of her paintings, in comparison with her father's printed and painted oeuvre.

Turning now to Ōi's signed paintings, these are typically given to the period 1827–49. Closer studies of these works will assist with ordering them into a chronology, as well as perhaps with revisions in their dates, but it is equally important to interrogate the histories of these paintings and their status as objects of exchange. Some of them are widely reproduced and regarded as masterworks, demonstrating a high level of skill and years of training, appropriate for a leading member of Hokusai's studio; others need confirmation as coming from her hand and consideration within the larger international trade in the 19th century (including the possibility that some may have been forged) (see Clark essay, pp. 139–47; Hare essay, pp. 236–44). Certain works, such as *Lilies, Beauties with Butterflies, Woman at a Fulling Block, Mt Fuji through a Bamboo Forest* and *Three Women Playing Music* (all dating from 1820–50), depict

subjects that initially might seem as appropriate for a 'woman painter'.³³ However, since patrons in early modern Japan did not expect that women artists would work on specific subjects, it would be inappropriate to consider these as 'feminine' subjects.³⁴ Indeed, as Kobayashi Tadashi has written, when the signatures on paintings are covered in slide presentations, it is not possible to determine the gender of the painter based upon subject or style alone.³⁵

Two of Ōi's paintings are now considered masterworks, but both present such challenging views of their subjects that they in turn raise questions about patronage, purpose and place of display. *Yoshiwara at Night* represents a view rarely seen of the celebrated brothel district (PI. 4.5). Turning the indentured prostitutes who were so often shown as 'beauties', obscuring their faces with the lattice and making the clients into spectators, she does much to suggest the artifice and artificiality of the quarter. Who might have commissioned this dark and rather gloomy view and how it would have been used remain open questions.

Even more remarkable is the Ōi-signed *Hua Tuo Operating on Guan Yu's Arm*, provisionally dated to the 1840s. Its large size (140.2cm × 68.2cm) and high-quality materials (silk, mineral and other pigments) point to it as a special commission; bearing her name and the 'Katsushika' (type 3) seal, it was also clearly approved as a work from the studio. The subject derives from the Ming-dynasty novel *San'guo*



Plate 4.5 Ōi, *Yoshiwara at Night*, 1844–54. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 26.3cm, width 39.8cm. Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo

yanyi (Romance of the Three Kingdoms), published in Japanese as *Tsūzoku Sangokushi* from 1689 to 1692 as well as being subsequently dramatised.³⁶ It depicts the moment when General Guan Yu was being treated to remove poison lodged in his bone, the result of an arrow blow. As Rosina Buckland has suggested, an apt comparison may be made with the Hokusai-signed *Ehon Kansō gundan* (*Illustrated Military Tales of the Kingdoms of Han and Chu*, 1843), in which the brows, eyes, nose and even the turn of the head seem like a mirror image.³⁷ The description of the figures also compares favourably to others shown in paintings bearing the Hokusai signature from this period, testifying to the likelihood of Ōi's brush being present in these as well. These connections between subject and representation across media and hands likewise offer an opportunity to rethink their collaboration.

Beyond these signed paintings are several other works attributed to Ōi, including *Beauty with Cherry Blossoms* and *Chrysanthemums*. Showing a beauty at night writing a poem under the cherry blossoms, this painting has some of the Ōi hallmarks of using light and shadow with great effectiveness. Without a signature, however, this work needs closer attention and reconsideration as potentially by another member of the studio (or even that it may be a more modern work, as others have suggested). Similar questions are raised by *Chrysanthemums*. Other paintings are occasionally discussed as bearing Ōi's contributions. Her name has been added to drawings held in the Royal Ontario Museum and the Musée Guimet, Paris, and these, too, require closer study within the larger context of her oeuvre.³⁸ Beyond these

are other works formerly attributed to her and now reclaimed for her father. Much work might be undertaken to seek out Ōi's hand, as some have done, looking for 'tells' of the brush, for stylistic gestures such as tapered fingers or dramatic shading. However, in my view, seeking to separate hands and create distinct oeuvres with little or no overlap may not be possible. As partners in the studio, accustomed to working long hours together, either would have been able to mimic, or to work seamlessly with, the other.

Taking another look at the small quantity of images bearing Ōi's name suggests another factor worth considering. Perhaps the market for works by the daughter was limited in comparison with the one for those by the father. Hokusai's name and fame must have cast a large shadow. For publishers, there would have been greater profit in paintings, prints and book illustrations signed 'Hokusai'. It stands to reason that a painting signed by Ōi might have been regarded more as a novelty piece, as a commission that received more attention by being a rare and unexpected example from the hand of Hokusai's daughter. A practical solution for both artists in such a market would be to collaborate to achieve the highest return, in cash or in kind. For some readers of this essay, making this assertion – that Hokusai and Ōi would have taken profit into account – might seem to undercut selfless mastery or to take away from notions of genius and creativity. It need not.

Instead, it recognises that, like all others of their day, these artists worked within an art market where names and artistic brand mattered. If we open the possibility that much

of the late Hokusai oeuvre was brushed by Ōi – wholly or partly, with or without her father's instruction – we also open a world where, at least within the walls of their studio, Ōi was not limited by her sex or gender. We come to regard their collaboration as a corporate enterprise within a larger art world. Indeed, we might well wonder what would have happened had she been a son and not obligated like his first-born son to fulfil a family obligation. Would she have been allowed to ascend to the role of head of the Katsushika lineage? It seems more than likely – indeed, we can have little doubt she would have taken over the studio, had a larger oeuvre bearing her name and been given her full due as Hokusai's right hand in his old age.

Reading more closely one of Hokusai's letters to his publishers, dated to the second month of 1835 and known today through its quotation in Iijima's biography, is instructive in this regard. Previous translations of this passage have inserted pronouns, such as 'I', where there are none, and in doing so, they have asserted authorship where it is, in fact, less clear. The well-known passage that includes mention of Ōi might be rendered as:

Regarding the mid-sized book, *Shin hyakunin isshu* (New Edition of the One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets), your commission was to the daughter. However, after some consideration, it will be done by the old man. The above will be started next after the warriors. As for the painting fee, it will be based upon the old man's number of human figures.³⁹

The writer asserts that Hokusai will take the commissioned projects and negotiates the terms accordingly: note the fee to be determined by the number of human figures in the composition. Like so many other letters issued in partnerships or corporate structures, it may not have been written by Hokusai; given his valuable time, it may very well have been written by someone serving in the role of secretary. As reproduced in Iijima's text, the letter includes a small portrait of Hokusai, often assumed to be a self-portrait. Here, too, we should be sceptical: from whose hand this appeared (if it was indeed present in the original) is not clear. This letter was reportedly composed at the moment when the Katsushika studio was riding high on the success of *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*) and other projects. In that context it is significant that Hokusai is being given the lion's share of work: his name was the one that commanded the higher rate.

Scholar Saidiya Hartman offered a method she describes as 'critical fabulation' to bring theory and narrative to reinterpret gaps in the archive and in the histories of the transatlantic slave trade. Hartman's approach calls into question how history is interpreted, aiming to give voice to the voiceless and to offer alternative interpretations that show how the operations of colonialism and power continue to resonate in the present. Her method entails combining documents from the archives with imagined narrative to bring forward other possibilities, demonstrating how history and the archive are unstable, yet perpetuate structures of power.⁴⁰ Putting Hartman's method into conversation with Nochlin's observations underscores how art-historical biases have occluded women artists – and so many others – from the so-called 'canon'. Rereading a letter like the one above

with these points in mind, we can propose a scenario where the letter came from Ōi's brush (as well as ask whether many more 'Hokusai' letters were written by Ōi). This may not seem like much of a stretch, but in the act of acknowledging this possibility, we shift our frame of reference to confront how we too might have been beguiled by their claims of performance by a singular hand.

What happens if we look again at the Kōshō sketch and consider it as yet another kind of record, this time of a performance of Hokusai as master artist (Pl. 4.1), his loyal daughter at his side, promoting the Katsushika atelier? Reimagining it thus posits a scenario wherein the father and daughter acted out a scene of genius and vigour for an appreciative former student. This likewise calls for us to reassess our assumptions about the 'genius' painter (who has, by default, been configured as male). But this is not such a big leap. Performing genius makes pragmatic sense in a world where studio practices of the day profited from collaborations under the most famous name. There it would have been entirely typical for Ōi to serve as her father's assistant – and even as his 'ghost brush' – to perpetuate and promote the Katsushika atelier brand. To acknowledge that Hokusai and Ōi collaborated, even conspired, to retain that position in their art market requires us, as their interpreters, to recognise their mutual benefit in doing so.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, the novel Govier 2011; and Hinako Sugiura's manga series *Sarusaberi* (1983–7) and its treatment as an animated film of the same title (issued outside Japan as *Miss Hokusai*) in 2015.
- 2 Nochlin 1971.
- 3 Ibid., 24.
- 4 Ibid., 25.
- 5 Ibid., 38.
- 6 Tsuji 1994.
- 7 See, for example, Kubota 2015, 126–43.
- 8 Consider, for example, one of Ōi's contemporaries, Tsuneno, whose dozens of letters have been preserved; see Stanley 2020.
- 9 Translation by Matsuba Ryōko, in Clark 2017a, 301, no. 199.
- 10 Translation, Retta 1994, 244.
- 11 Ibid., 243.
- 12 Translation, Clark 2017a, 332, no. 225.
- 13 Cited in Kubota 2015, 127; translation from Kobayashi 2005a, 93.
- 14 Kubota 2015, 134–6.
- 15 Ibid., 133, citing the *Bakin nikki* (no page given).
- 16 Saitō 1844, opening 176. Also cited in Kubota 2015, 127.
- 17 Kaneko 1968, 118. Also cited in Kubota 2015, 126.
- 18 Kaneko 1968, 117.
- 19 My translation here relies upon the modernised adaptation of the original passage used by Kobayashi, with reference to Carol Morland's published translation; see Kobayashi 2006, 11; original source is Saitō Gesshin, *Suiyo sōko* (睡余操觚), 1862, manuscript, National Diet Library, Tokyo.
- 20 Iijima 1893, 2:62; trans. Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), part 2, section 26 (O-Ei).
- 21 Iijima 1893, 2:63; trans. Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), ibid.
- 22 Iijima 1893, 2:62; trans. Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), ibid.
- 23 Iijima 1893, ibid; trans. Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), ibid.

24 Iijima 1893, 1:67; trans. Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), part 1, section 46 (Hokusai's passing).

25 Goncourt 1891.

26 Inaga 2003, 93.

27 See Kato 2020, 16.

28 Shirane and Suzuki 2000.

29 See, among others, Yokota 1999, 153–67.

30 Kobayashi 2005a, 100–1, and Carpenter 2008, 159, attribute this painting to Tatsu; Kubota 2015, 130, attributes it to Ōi, using an alternate signature.

31 Carpenter 2008, 160.

32 Kern 2018, lvi.

33 See Kubota 2015.

34 Fister 1988.

35 See Kobayashi 1995.

36 Kai 2017.

37 Buckland and Govier 2020.

38 Ibid.

39 My translation in consultation with Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), part 1, section 39 (letter 1). See also the discussion of this letter in Kobayashi 2003, 78.

40 Hartman 2008, 11–12.

Chapter 5

The Publisher Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō) and the Hokusai 'Brand'

Ellis Tinios

The Hokusai 'brand' in book illustration was the product of astute marketing, wilful misrepresentation, blatant plagiarism and great art. Titles from the brush of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) were the hottest property in art book publishing in 19th-century Japan.¹ Such was the appetite for his work that some publishers even reissued art books by his pupils in his name. He was also in demand as an illustrator of fiction, poetry anthologies and educational texts.² Judged by any standard Hokusai's books are remarkable. No other Japanese artist produced as rich, varied and powerful a corpus of images for reproduction in book format. Few other Japanese artists' books remained in print for as long as his. No other artist's books were disseminated as widely as his were. Art books assumed a major role in the formation of Hokusai's reputation in his lifetime; posthumously they played a significant role in his recognition and appreciation both inside and outside Japan. His book illustrations attracted notice in Europe and North America well before his colour woodblock prints or paintings. After the latter became more widely known, interest in his books did not abate. It is, therefore, appropriate to characterise the Hokusai oeuvre in book form as a highly marketable brand, one that has been eagerly consumed by a global audience.

Canny publishers were central to the success of the Hokusai brand, and none more so than the Nagoya-based Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō). Over a period of 70 years, three consecutive heads of the firm played varying roles in defining and promoting the brand.³ Their shifting engagement with the artist and his books forms an important strand in this essay. Constructing a full publication history of the books Hokusai created in the second half of his life, from 1812 to 1849, is fraught with difficulties: documentary evidence is sparse; bibliographic data is often absent from the books themselves; and what is provided must be used with caution. Nevertheless, the discovery in recent years of preparatory drawings and finished block-ready drawings by Hokusai for several books that were never published has provided us with a better understanding of book production.⁴ In addition, renewed study of Hokusai's surviving correspondence with publishers, and the linking of letters to specific books, has illuminated the degree to which the artist engaged with the production process.⁵

Hokusai's career as a book artist falls into two parts. In the first, he concentrated on illustrated poetry anthologies (mainly *kyōka ehon*) and works of fiction (*kibyōshi* and then *yomihon*). In the second, which spanned the last four decades of his life, his chief concern was with creating didactic books, which encompassed instruction manuals/copybooks for artists, artisans and amateur painters, as well as illustrations for texts that formed part of the core school educational curriculum. In addition, Hokusai created a small number of books that existed solely for their illustrations. The most notable of the latter was *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*). Asano Shūgō offers a compelling explanation of Hokusai's shift to art books in his fifties: 'Rather than endlessly making neat block-ready drawings from rough preparatory drawings by another author, he wanted to control the whole process himself. In old age, Hokusai was determined to carry through his own ideas, in his own way.'⁶

The first ten volumes of *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai's Sketches*) were pivotal in Hokusai's redirection of his energies. Their early publication history is relatively straightforward: they represent a joint venture undertaken between 1814 and 1819 by Tōhekidō in Nagoya and Shūseikaku (Kadomaruya Jinsuke) in Edo. A shifting constellation of other firms in Edo, Kyoto and Osaka acted as co-distributors. (The partnership between Tōhekidō and Shūseikaku persisted into the 1830s for the publication of *Hokusai manga*, *Part XI* and *Part XII*, the first two of a projected ten further *Hokusai manga* volumes.) Before the publication of *Hokusai manga*, *Part I* in 1814, initially issued as a stand-alone work by just Tōhekidō, Hokusai had created only two modest instruction manuals for aspiring artists and craftspeople: *Ono ga bakamura mudaji e-zukushi* (*Drawings by the Fool Ono Composed of Elements of Characters*, 1810) and the first part of *Ryakuga hayaoshie* (*Quick Guide to Rough Sketching*, 1812). Furthermore, Hokusai's name had not figured in the titles of any of his books before 1814. It is likely that it appeared in *Hokusai manga* because Tōhekidō originally published what became the first *manga* volume as one in a suite of three stand-alone books in identical format, each of which bore the name of the artist responsible for its contents in its title: *Bunpō soga* (*Bunpō's Rough Sketches*), *Keisai soga* (*Keisai's Rough Sketches*) and *Hokusai manga*. The period in which *Hokusai manga*, *Parts I–X* appeared also saw the publication by these and other publishers of a number of varied and distinguished single-volume books from the artist. Those titles included *Hokusai shashin gafu* (*Hokusai's Album Drawn True to Life*, 1814), *Santai gafu* (*Album of Drawings in Three Styles*, 1816), *Hokusai gakyō* (*Hokusai's Models for Painting*, 1818), *Hokusai gashiki* (*Hokusai's Drawing Method*, 1819) and *Hokusai soga* (*Hokusai's Rough Sketches*, 1820), among others. Slightly later came *Ippitsu gafu* (*Album of Single-Stroke Drawings*, 1823), and two remarkable design books for craftspeople, *Imayō sekkin/kushikiseru hiinagata* (*Modern Designs for Combs and Tobacco Pipes*, 1823) and *Shingata komonchō* (*Book of New-Style Small Patterns*, 1824). By 1820, thanks to this outpouring of publications, the Hokusai brand was firmly established in the mind of the book-buying public. In that year, Hokusai celebrated his 61st birthday (*kanreki*). To mark that milestone, he took a new name, Iitsu 'one again'. However, 'Hokusai' was by now so widely known that after the name change he employed the signature 'Saki no Hokusai aratame Iitsu hitsu' (from the brush of Iitsu, formerly Hokusai). Neither he nor his publishers wanted potential buyers to doubt for a moment the identity of the artist.⁷

Ill health and other personal challenges probably constrained Hokusai's productivity in the later years of the 1820s, but they do not explain a publisher's failure to issue a book for which Hokusai had completed all the block-ready drawings. In 1828 Eijudō (Nishimuraya Yohachi), an Edo-based publisher, issued the first volume of a richly illustrated, three-volume edition of a popular educational text, *Ehon teikin ōrai* (*Illustrated Home Precepts for Children*). In the back matter of that volume, the publisher recorded the name of the blockcutter, Egawa Tomekichi (active 1820s–30s). He was the most skilful blockcutter of the age; Hokusai preferred him above all others.⁸ The publisher also listed the second and third volumes as 'forthcoming' (*kinkoku*, literally

'soon to be cut') in the same back matter. He never published those volumes. Was Eijudō beginning to doubt the book's profitability? Did the high level of skill required to cut the fine detail of Hokusai's designs into printing blocks – and the concomitant high fees required by the blockcutter – raise production costs to an unacceptable level?⁹

Hokusai gafu (*Hokusai's Picture Album*) provides another example of interrupted production, and also a remarkable case of block reuse. This book is based on the printing blocks cut for two of Hokusai's most imposing and complex works of the late 1810s, *Hokusai gashiki* and *Hokusai soga*.¹⁰ These two titles were, exceptionally for the period, in 'large book' (*ōhon*) size rather than the smaller and less costly 'half-sheet' (*hanshōbon*) size that had by the 1810s become the norm for art books. Tōhekidō's proprietor Katano Yoshinaga (active 1797–1836) cut down all but one of the printing blocks from *ōhon* to *hanshōbon* size.¹¹ Care was taken when reducing the blocks to avoid obviously truncating figures but inevitably the cropping cramped a number of the designs (compare **Pls 5.1** and **5.2**). The publisher had fresh blocks cut for a further 20 designs so that each of the projected three volumes would consist of a two-page preface printed on an unnumbered folio (*chō*) followed by 20 numbered folios (40 pages) of images. Yoshinaga issued the first volume of *Hokusai gafu* in the early 1830s. He advertised the second volume as 'forthcoming' in a notice incorporated into a colophon found in the earliest printing of *Hokusai manga*, *Part XII*, which was published on the 2nd day of the first month, 1834. The only date in *Hokusai gafu* itself, 1849, appears at the end of the preface to the third volume. Yoshinaga undertook the reformatting and repackaging of *Hokusai soga* and *Hokusai gashiki* with the artist's consent, as demonstrated by Hokusai's providing the additional designs needed to fill out the projected three volumes.¹²

It was Yoshinaga's successor, Katano Yoshinori (active 1836–58), who finally brought the project to completion in 1849, some 15 years after it had been launched, with the publication of the third volume as part of a three-volume, unified colour-printed edition. *Hokusai gafu* includes some of Hokusai's most original and evocative book designs. It proved a hit with the book-buying public, and was among the items the government sent to the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1867. While *Hokusai gafu* is encountered today in public and private collections around the world, Hokusai scholars have tended, undeservedly, to neglect it.¹³

Between 1830 and 1836, the septuagenarian Hokusai designed his most distinguished print series and some of his most extraordinary books. Nonetheless, publishers' apparent uncertainty as to the viability of publishing Hokusai books persisted in a period of growing economic and social dislocation.¹⁴ Thus, Tōhekidō and Shūseikaku jointly published *Hokusai manga*, *Part XI* by 1833 and *Part XII* at the beginning of 1834 respectively, and advertised *Hokusai manga*, *Part XIII* as forthcoming in the back matter of the earliest printing of *Hokusai manga*, *Part XII*.¹⁵ (Some 15 years were to pass before *Hokusai manga*, *Part XIII* finally appeared in c. 1849, with Tōhekidō as the sole publisher.) In the mid-1830s four publishers joined together to produce the technically demanding three-volume *Fugaku hyakkei*, commissioning Egawa Tomekichi to oversee the cutting of

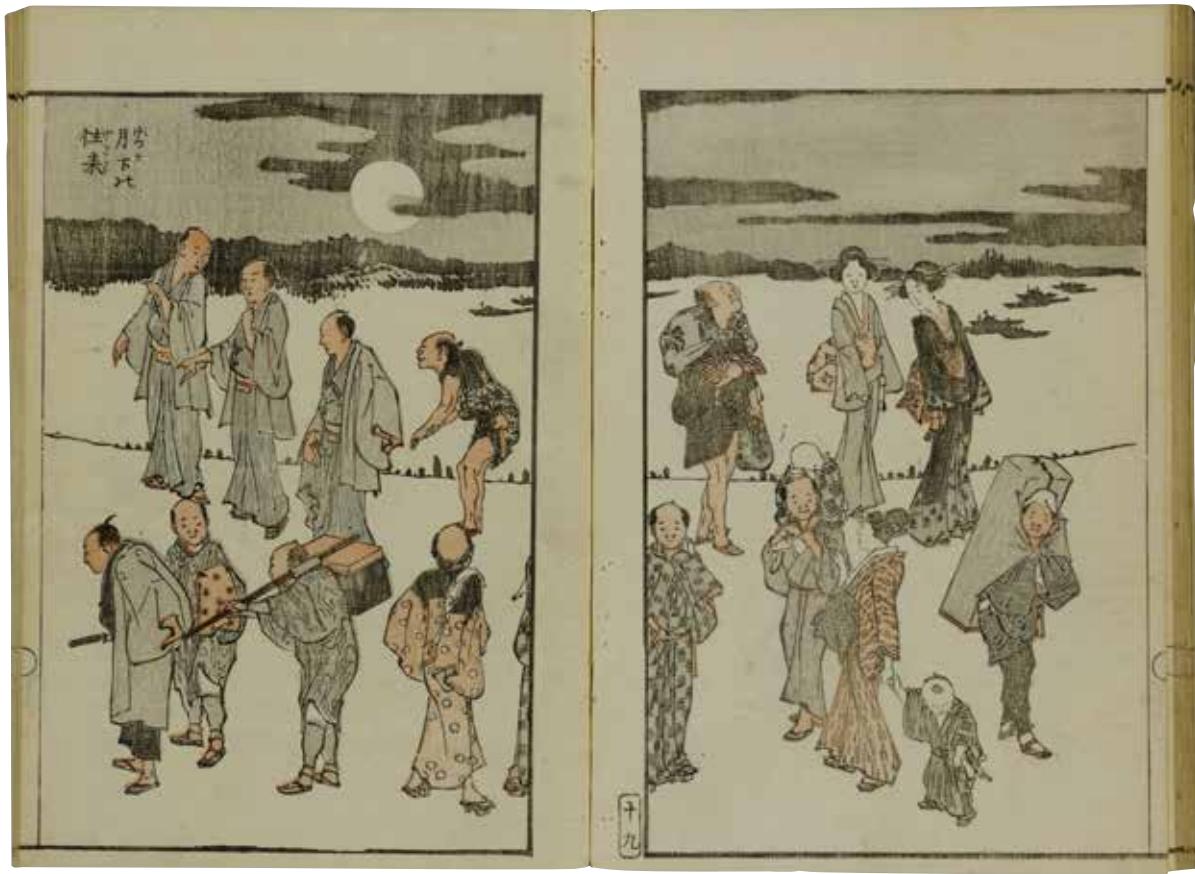


Plate 5.1 Hokusai, 'Promenading by moonlight', from *Hokusai soga* (*Hokusai's Rough Sketches*), 1820. Colour woodblock, height 26cm, width 17cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1915,0823,0.87

Plate 5.2 Hokusai, 'Promenading by moonlight', from *Hokusai gafu* (*Hokusai's Picture Album*), vol. 3, 1849. Colour woodblock, height 23cm, width 16cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1939,0524,0.28.3



the printing blocks. They terminated the project after cutting the blocks for and issuing the first two volumes in 1834 and 1835 respectively.¹⁶ (In this instance, too, 15 years passed before the third volume was published, with Tōhekidō again the sole publisher.) Publishers also held back on a number of other titles for which Hokusai had completed the block-ready drawings. Other titles that were put on hold for 15 or more years included *Ehon kobun Kōkyō* (*Illustrated Old Text Classic of Filial Piety*), *Ehon Wakan no homare* (*Illustrated [Heroes] of High Renown of Japan and China*) and *Ehon Tōshisen/gogon zekku* (*Illustrated Tang Poetry in Five-Character Quatrains*). In the early to mid-1840s, Hokusai was engaged in the production of block-ready drawings for the encyclopedic *Banmotsu ehon daizen* (*The Great Picture Book of Everything*),¹⁷ and he supervised the completion of the block-ready drawings for the warrior book, *Dai Nihon shōgun ki, shoshū* (*Record of Shoguns of Great Japan, First Part*),¹⁸ neither of which were ever cut into printing blocks.

Whatever the vicissitudes suffered by individual publishers, a group of impressive books illustrated by Hokusai were, nonetheless, published under the imprint of various combinations of firms in the mid-1830s. These included *Tōshisen ehon, gogon ritsu* (*Selected Tang Poetry Illustrated: Poems in Eight Lines of Five Characters Each*, 1833), *Ehon Chūkyō* (*Illustrated Classic of Loyalty*, 1834), *Ehon Senjimon* (*Illustrated Thousand-Character Text*, 1835), *Katsushika shin hinagata* (*Katsushika's New Models*, 1836), *Tōshisen ehon, shichigon ritsu* (*Selected Tang Poetry Illustrated: Poems in Eight Lines of Seven Characters Each*, 1836), *Wakan, Ehon sakigake* (*Illustrated Warrior Vanguard of Japan and China*, 1836) and *Ehon Musashi abumi* (*Illustrated Stirrups of Musashi*, 1836). In the last decade of his life, he saw far fewer new titles into print, although he continued to produce block-ready drawings for the never-published *Banmotsu ehon daizen*.

In 1836 Katano Yoshinaga (Tōshirō II) died and his son Katano Yoshinori (Tōshirō III) succeeded him as head of Tōhekidō. From the 1810s Yoshinaga had collaborated with Shūseikaku and other Edo publishing houses to promote *Hokusai manga* and other art books by Hokusai, playing an important role in establishing the Hokusai brand. After 1836, in response to changed circumstances, Yoshinori diverged significantly from his father's business model. For reasons unknown, Yoshinori never worked alone or with others to commission and publish fresh Hokusai books. Instead, he set about buying outright the blocks for most of Hokusai's art books from Shūseikaku, Seirindō (Nishimura Yūzō), Eijudō, Sūzanbō (Kobayashi Shinbei) and the other firms that had worked with his father, with the intention of issuing those books under the Tōhekidō imprint alone. Edo publishers were prepared to relinquish their interest in numerous fine books; Yoshinori had the means at his disposal to purchase the blocks and, apparently, the confidence that he would turn a profit from them. Perhaps the economic and social dislocation of the second half of the 1830s had a greater impact on Edo-based firms than on Tōhekidō in Nagoya.

It has been assumed that when Yoshinori acquired the sole rights to *Fugaku hyakkei* from his partners, he took control of the printing blocks for all three volumes.¹⁹ However, if the consortium was under financial pressure, it is unlikely that it

invested in cutting the printing blocks for the third volume when there was no immediate prospect of using them. The block-ready drawings for all three volumes of *Fugaku hyakkei* were surely completed between 1833 and 1835. Hokusai demanded that Egawa Tomekichi be engaged to cut the blocks for the book. As noted above, Hokusai had worked closely with Tomekichi for over a decade and regarded him as the only blockcutter he could rely on fully to realise his intentions. There is no doubt that Tomekichi closely supervised the team cutting the blocks for the first two volumes; the name of the cutter responsible for each block appears in the outer margin (*hashira*) of the book.²⁰ In a letter, Hokusai expressed his delight with their work.²¹ Only one blockcutter is named in the third volume: Egawa Sentarō (active 1830s–50s), Tomekichi's pupil and successor, who had worked on the first two volumes of *Fugaku hyakkei* under Tomekichi. He well understood how to cut Hokusai's block-ready drawings. It is unlikely that Sentarō would have been the only blockcutter identified as responsible for the blocks for the third volume had they been cut at the same time as the blocks for the first two volumes. It is far more likely that Tōhekidō acquired the block-ready drawings for the third volume in the mid-1830s, and engaged Sentarō to cut the blocks for that volume in the late 1840s.²² Yoshinori was then able to publish the first complete edition of *Fugaku hyakkei* in c. 1850. For unknown reasons he did not do this before Hokusai's death.

In the case of *Ehon teikin ōrai*, another multi-volume book whose publication was disrupted, the colophon in the first volume, published by Eijudō (Nishimuraya Yohachi) in 1828, names Egawa Tomekichi as the blockcutter and announces that the second and third volumes would be 'cut soon'. However, as noted above, at that point Eijudō abandoned the project. The *hashira* in the first volume identifies the publisher as Eijudō. In the complete three-volume edition of this book, which appears exclusively under the Tōhekidō imprint, 'Eijudō' remains in the *hashira* of the first volume, but the *hashira* in the second and third volumes identify the publisher as 'Eirakudō' (Tōhekidō). This indicates that the cutting of the blocks for those volumes was commissioned by Tōhekidō. Because of the consistent quality of the block-cutting in all three volumes, it is likely that Egawa Sentarō was engaged by Tōhekidō, at an unknown date, to cut the blocks for the second and third volumes from Hokusai's block-ready drawings that had been prepared for – but never used by – Eijudō in the late 1820s.

Why were *Ehon teikin ōrai* and *Fugaku hyakkei* abandoned by their original publishers? When did Tōhekidō acquire the rights to them? When did Tōhekidō publish the first complete edition of *Ehon teikin ōrai*? Did Tōhekidō publish the first two volumes of *Fugaku hyakkei* at any point before producing the complete edition of c. 1850? Why did it take Tōhekidō so long to publish the third volume of *Fugaku hyakkei* and *Hokusai manga, Part XIII*? Why, for that matter, did the publication of *Hokusai gafu* drag on for nearly two decades? There are currently no definitive answers to any of these questions.

The publication history of *Ehon/Tōshisen gogon zekku*, which finally appeared in 1880, provides us with an irrefutable instance of block-ready drawings being retained

for an extended period before being used. The block-ready drawings for this book were produced by Hokusai for Sūzanbō in the mid-1830s. The firm held onto them and finally, in 1879, engaged the blockcutter Ōtsuka Tetsugorō (active c. 1879) to put them to the use for which they were intended.²³

The original colophons for many of the books Yoshinori had acquired unequivocally identify the illustrations as 'from the brush of Katsushika Hokusai, an artist from the Eastern Capital', but add that he worked in collaboration with assistants, who are identified as 'collating pupils' (*kyōgō monjin*).²⁴ Naming these men, identifying their relationship to Hokusai and describing their function so prominently in the colophons of no fewer than 18 books that Hokusai saw into print between 1814 and 1824, alerts us to the fact that they played a significant role in their production, and that Hokusai wished to acknowledge that fact. They would have assisted in selecting, transcribing, copying and assembling the master's designs. However, Hokusai surely exercised close artistic control over the entire process. His pupil-collaborators made creative contributions to the finished product without diluting Hokusai's inimitable style. Hokusai was still comfortable with such an arrangement 30 years later. In a letter written in 1842 (National Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden) he offered a group of 40-year-old drawings to a publisher, commenting that if suitably collated (*kyōgō*) they could form the basis of a 'Hokusai' book (see **Pl. 0.4**).²⁵ Yoshinori replaced these original colophon sheets with sheets that bore advertisements for other titles available from the firm, with nothing more by way of bibliographic data than the shop name (*yagō*), Eirakuya Tōshirō, followed by the address of the main premises in Nagoya and, in some cases, the address of the firm's branch (*demise*) in Edo. This information was presented in a narrow column down the left edge of the replacement sheets. Yoshinori thus omitted the names of the firms that had collaborated in the initial publication of the books, the years in which the printing blocks had been cut and the names of the collating pupils.²⁶ The latter were presumably removed because Yoshinori sought to efface anything that might diminish Hokusai's stature as the sole creator of these books. He also sought to obscure the fact that the books he was offering for sale were being printed from blocks that had been cut decades earlier. In these ways, Yoshinori systematically obscured the circumstances surrounding the origins of the Hokusai books he now possessed. In other notorious cases he went even further, engaging in outright fraud.

Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850), who had studied with Hokusai and had been one of his 'collating pupils', provided landscapes depicting the 53 post stations of the Tōkaidō (East Sea Road) for a privately commissioned poetry anthology, *Kyōka tōkan ekirō no suzu* (*Comic Verse as Bells along the Stations of the East Sea Road*, 1830). The landscapes were designed to accommodate *kyōka* poems. Shortly after the publication of the anthology, Tōhekidō acquired the printing blocks. Immediately, the poems and the *hashira* title were excised from these blocks. A preface purportedly written by Takai Ranzan (1762–1839) was added, as were two introductory illustrations: a single-page view of the Tōhekidō premises in Nagoya with the characters

'Tōhekidō shosai' (Tōhekidō bookshop) prominent on a half-curtain (*noren*) hung across the shopfront; and a double-page view of Nihonbashi in Edo, the starting point of the Tōkaidō road. These inserted images look to be 'in the manner of' rather than actually by Hokusai. Finally, the book was renamed *Dōchū gafu* (*Album of Scenes along the Highway*) and brazenly sold as a book illustrated by Hokusai.²⁷ Hokkei's landscapes for the poetry anthology are never less than competent, the figures in the foreground often animated; however, the removal of the poems disrupted the overall balance of the compositions. It is difficult to believe that Hokusai would have countenanced the reattribution of these illustrations to himself. Nonetheless, such was the strength of the Hokusai brand that the book proved a bestseller, appealing both to a home and, later, to a foreign audience. From the 1870s, European and North American tourists and collectors purchased it with alacrity, and copies are now encountered in many collections around the world.²⁸

Two further ersatz 'Hokusai' books were published by Tōhekidō shortly after the artist's death: *Hokusai gaen* (*Hokusai's Garden of Pictures*) and *Hokusai ringa* (*Hokusai's Copy Book*). *Hokusai gaen* was published in three volumes. The first volume has some claim to authenticity since it was printed from the blocks cut for *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu* (*Album of Casual Drawings by Old Man Manji*, 1843), with some omissions and additions.²⁹ The second and third volumes, however, consist of a mix of pages that originally appeared in *Hoku'un manga* (*Hoku'un's Sketches*) and another, currently unidentified book that was not illustrated by Hokusai.³⁰ *Hokusai ringa* also appeared in the early 1850s. It is nothing more than a retitled reprint of *Hokkei manga* (*Hokkei's Sketches*). The title slip on Tōhekidō's Edo-period printings of this book describes it as 'first volume'. No further volumes ever appeared. In Meiji-era printings, 'first volume' was removed from the title slip. Both of these books became fixtures in Tōhekidō's lists from the 1850s onwards. In 1912 the Kyoto publishing house Unsōdō issued a catalogue that included both works, along with *Dōchū gafu*, among its 16 'canonic' Hokusai titles.³¹

The reassignment of books by Hokusai's pupils to Hokusai continued into the Meiji era. For example, *Nichiren shōnin ichidai zue* (*Illustrated Biography of the Revered Nichiren*, 1858) and *Kannongyō ryaku zukai* (*Teachings of Kannon Illustrated*, 1862), which were illustrated by Hokusai's pupil, Katsushika Isai (1821–1880), were both marketed as books illustrated by Hokusai when reprinted in the Meiji era. The Meiji publishers simply replaced the character 'I' (為) in Isai in the printing blocks with the character 'Hoku' (北) to effect the reassignment.

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Between 1836 and his death in 1849, Hokusai was involved to a greater or lesser extent in the production of a small group of other varied titles: *Wakan inshitsu den* (*Lives of the Hidden Protectors of Japan and China*, 1840), a moral text; (*Ehon hayabiki*) *Nagashira musha burui* (*Illustrated Quick-Reference Alphabetised Catalogue of Warriors*, 1841), a compact visual encyclopedia of mythical and historical Chinese and Japanese warriors; *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu* (*Album of Casual*



Plate 5.3 Hokusai, Poets Ichirō Koji (right) and Kan Kyōbō (left), from *Shūga hyakunin isshu* (*Elegant One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets*), 1848. Woodblock, height 18cm, width 12cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi0851. Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University

Drawings by Old Man Manji, 1843), a disparate collection of images, not all of which were by Hokusai; *Ehon Kanso gundan* (*Illustrated Military Tales of the Kingdoms of Han and Chu*, 1843 and 1845), a *yomihon* (a multi-volume historical romance with sporadic double-page illustrations) that recounts the civil war leading to the unification of China under the rule of the Han dynasty;³² *Shaka go-ichidaiki zue* (*Illustrated Life of Shakyamuni*, 1845), the life of Buddha recast as a *yomihon*, the illustrations for which were prepared a decade earlier; and *Shūga hyakunin isshu* (*Elegant One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets*, 1848) (Pl. 5.3) and *Zoku eiyū hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, a Sequel*, 1849). With regard to the last two titles, Hokusai contributed the introductory images (*kuchi-e*) and the first 20 of the 100 portraits in each.³³ Finally, he oversaw the production of *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848), a book in which he set out to provide instruction in all aspects of the art of painting.

Ehon saishiki tsū was issued jointly by some of the most prolific publishers/distributors of prints and popular fiction in Edo and Osaka.³⁴ The book was sold at a relatively low price so that, in line with Hokusai's expressed wishes, it could reach a wide audience. The cost of production was brought down by its the modest proportions, *chūhon* (medium size) rather than the more usual *hanshōbon* (half-sheet size),³⁵ by printing it in line only, without extra sets of blocks to print light tints as was customary in the *manga* and so many other of his art books, and by reducing the page count by combining Hokusai's text with his images on each page, in the manner of popular illustrated fiction (*kusazōshi*). The constraints within which *Ehon saishiki tsū* was produced in no way diminish its tremendous artistry or impact (Pl. 5.4). Hokusai intended the book to run to four volumes; he only lived long enough to prepare the first two.

Yoshinori did not participate in any capacity, in any of the publications of the 1840s. Is this a sign that Hokusai had severed all relations with Tōhekidō? For his part, as we shall see, Yoshinori had certainly not abandoned the Hokusai brand.

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Immediately after Hokusai's death, Katano Yoshinori sprang into action, assuming a particularly prominent role in posthumously promoting his books. He published *Hokusai manga, Part XIII*, followed by *Hokusai manga, Part XIV*,³⁶ the first completed edition of *Fugaku hyakkei*, and the first complete edition of *Hokusai gafu*, followed by the dodgy *Hokusai gaen* and *Hokusai ringa*. In the 1850s Yoshinori maintained an extensive list of art books, primarily by Hokusai, but also by a number of other artists.³⁷ With few exceptions, he did not add fresh commissions to his list but, rather, assiduously promoted what he already had. To this end, he supervised the production of a fresh edition of *Fugaku hyakkei* some 25 years after the initial publication of the first two volumes of that book. This edition was distinguished by the use of modified grey blocks, and an additional set of blocks cut to add pink to each design (see Pl. 5.7).³⁸

When Katano Yoshinori (善教, Tōshirō III) died in 1858, he left a solid legacy to his heir Katano Yoshinori (善功, Tōshirō IV, 1845–1895), who was then only 14. It is not known who guided the young man in his early years, but it is clear that the firm continued to nurture its legacy of art books. Tōhekidō's promotion of its Hokusai titles in fine, uniform editions resulted in four of them being selected for inclusion in the display of Japanese manufactures at the Universal Exposition held in Paris in 1867.³⁹



Plate 5.4 Hokusai, 'Moorhen' (right) and 'Golden pheasant' (left), from *Ehon saishiki tsū (Illustrated Essence of Colouring)*, vol. 1, 1848. Woodblock, height 18.4cm, width 10.8cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi1549. Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University

With the 1875 amendment of the Publishing Ordinance of 1869, the concept of copyright (*hankēn*) was established in Japan. Yoshinori wasted no time in asserting copyright over the books in his lists. *Fugaku hyakkei* was registered in 1875, and the complete *Hokusai manga* series in 1878. Yoshinori capped the latter with *Hokusai manga, Part XV*, which was first published in that year. In his preface to that volume he claimed: 'My deceased father made a contract with the master to complete this series in fifteen volumes.'⁴⁰ He goes on to explain that he felt it a filial duty to 'complete' the set. He reveals a stronger motive than filial piety when he observes, 'And now all kinds of foreign visitors have come over to our shores, widely loving and praising the master and collecting his works.' There was money to be made from a further *manga* volume. Explaining the genesis of the *Part XV*, Yoshinori claims that 'the illustrations were but half completed ... when the master died ... it was most providential to discover more of the master's sketches among the scraps at the bottom of a chest. These have been added to the illustrations of the incomplete book and are now published as Volume Fifteen.'⁴¹ In fact, two-thirds of the illustrations in this volume derive from Hokusai's *Denshin gakyō* (*Transmitting the Heart, Minded to Paint*), which was first published in 1818 and reissued by Tōhekidō as recently as 1858.⁴²

Ever with an eye to the foreign market, in 1880 Yoshinori assembled a special boxed edition of *Fugaku hyakkei* that included a fourth volume in Western binding published in London. In that volume the British scholar Frederick Victor Dickins (1838–1915) provided an introduction to the book, along with translations of the prefaces to each volume, and descriptions of the illustrations.⁴³

Shortly after Yoshinori had produced his uniform editions of *Hokusai manga* and *Fugaku hyakkei*, Sūzanbō in

Tokyo sought to profit from the evident appetite for books by Hokusai by publishing in 1880 the above mentioned *Ehon/Tōshisen gogon zekku*, a book of Tang dynasty poetry for which Hokusai had prepared the block-ready drawings some 40 years earlier. In a Sūzanbō catalogue issued in 1891 it is claimed, 'Thus far already several thousand copies [of this book] have been ordered and exported for sale abroad'. The publisher urges anyone who 'wants to export abroad to make a great profit' to consider adding this book to their stock.⁴⁴

Katano Yoshinori died early in 1894. His immediate successor died within a year, and the latter's successor retired in 1902. It was in this period of instability that the firm sold the printing blocks to the *Hokusai manga* and many other art books to Unsōdō, a dynamic, Kyoto-based publishing house. Unsōdō cut new sets of printing blocks as needed and is still printing Hokusai titles in the 21st century, to feed the ever-growing global appetite for the Hokusai brand.⁴⁵

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The Hokusai brand was developed largely through the business acumen of three successive heads of Tōhekidō over a period of some 80 years. Each pursued a different approach but all had as their goal the commodification of Hokusai and, of course, the maximising of their profits. By the 1840s, the firm had acquired a near monopoly of the printing blocks for the art books Hokusai had produced in the second half of his life, and it kept those titles in print in uniform editions over 40 tumultuous years that spanned the fall of the shogunate and the first stages of Japan's entry into the modern world. Tōhekidō's long-term commitment to Hokusai reflects the appetite of the domestic market for his books. Hokusai was never ignored in his homeland; it did

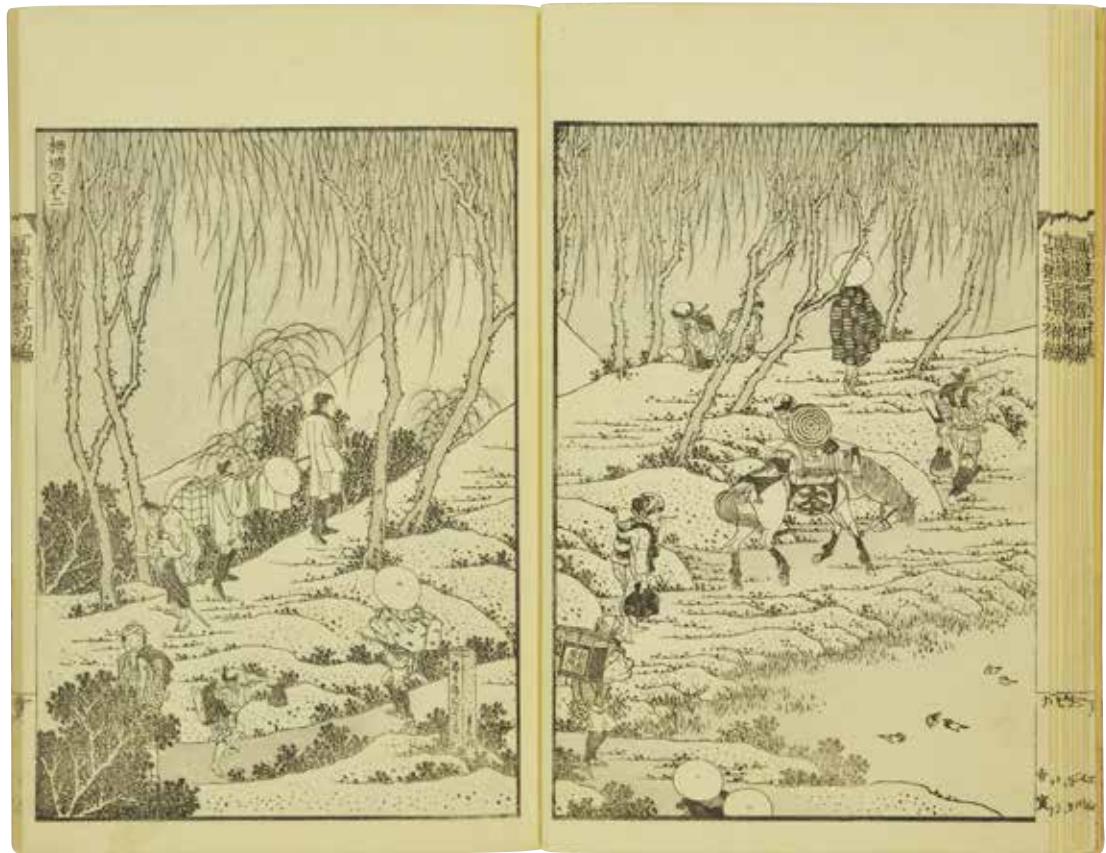
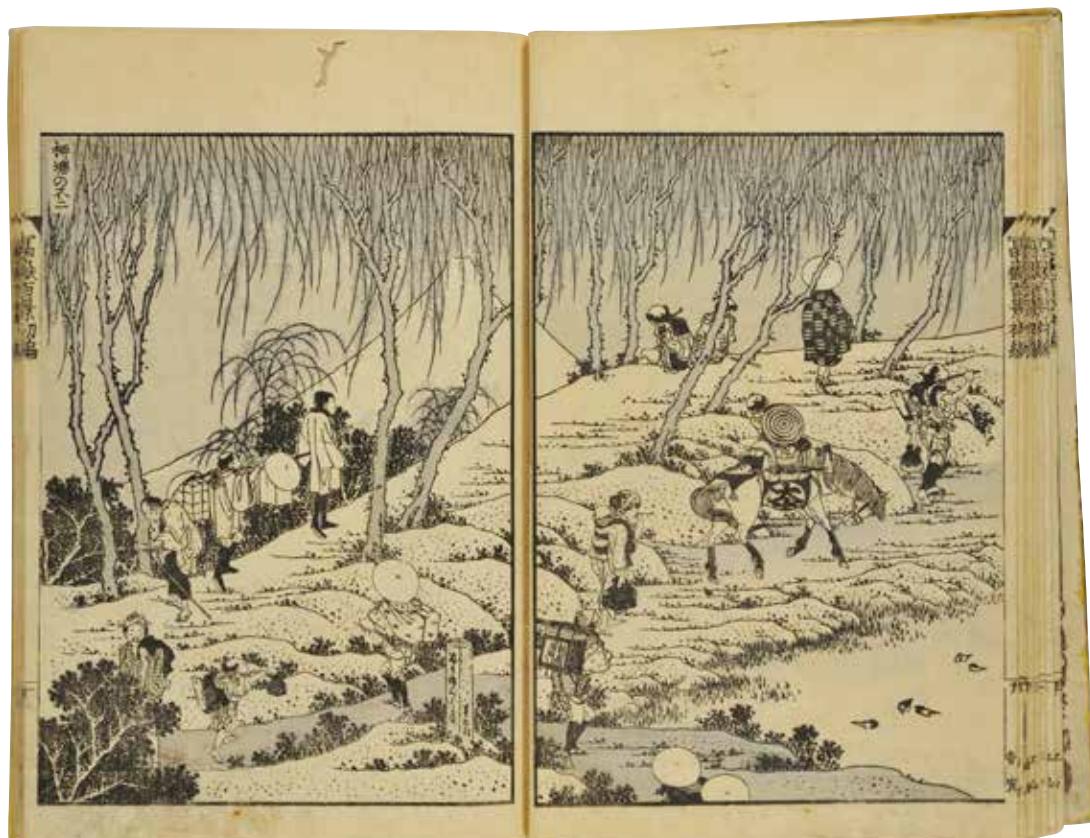


Plate 5.5 Hokusai, 'Willow embankment Fuji' (*Ryūtō no Fuji*), from *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*), vol. 1, Eijudō 'Falcon feather' edition, 1834. Woodblock, with grey, height 22.3cm, width 15.6cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.454.1 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

Plate 5.6 Hokusai, 'Willow embankment Fuji' (*Ryūtō no Fuji*), from *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*), vol. 1, first Tōhekidō edition, c. 1850. Woodblock, with grey, height 22.3cm, width 15.6cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi0381. Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University



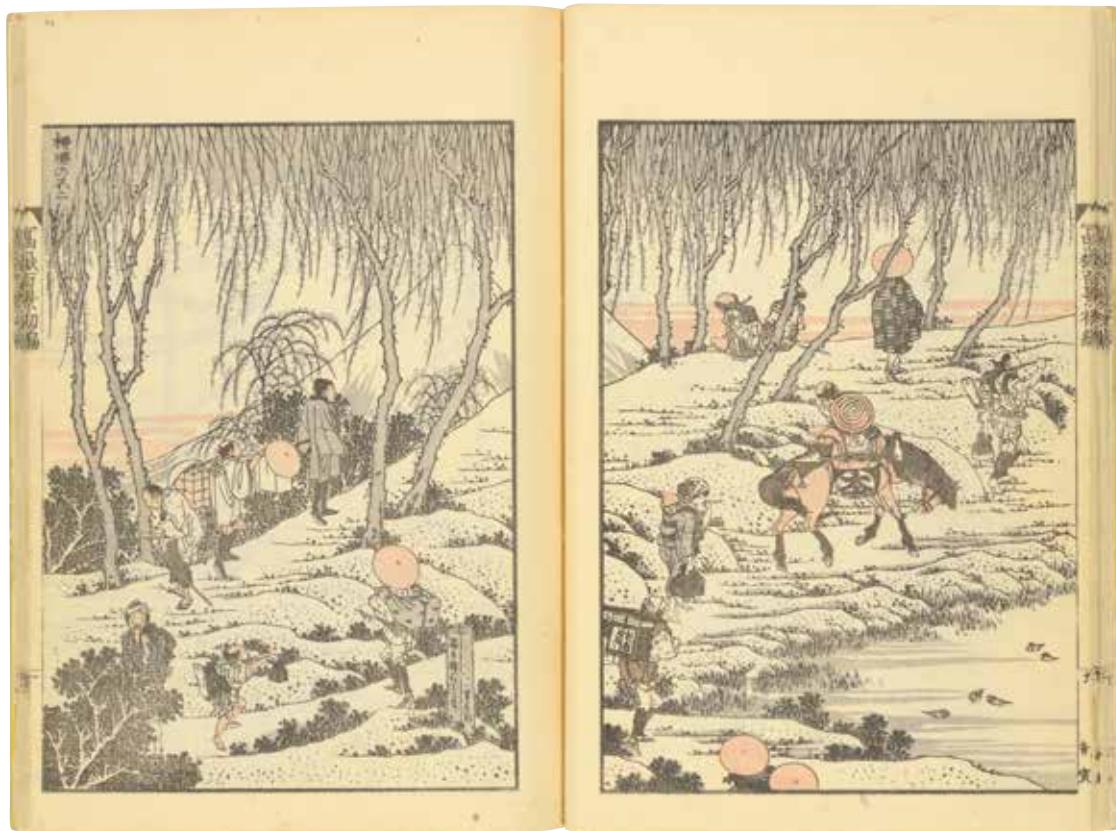
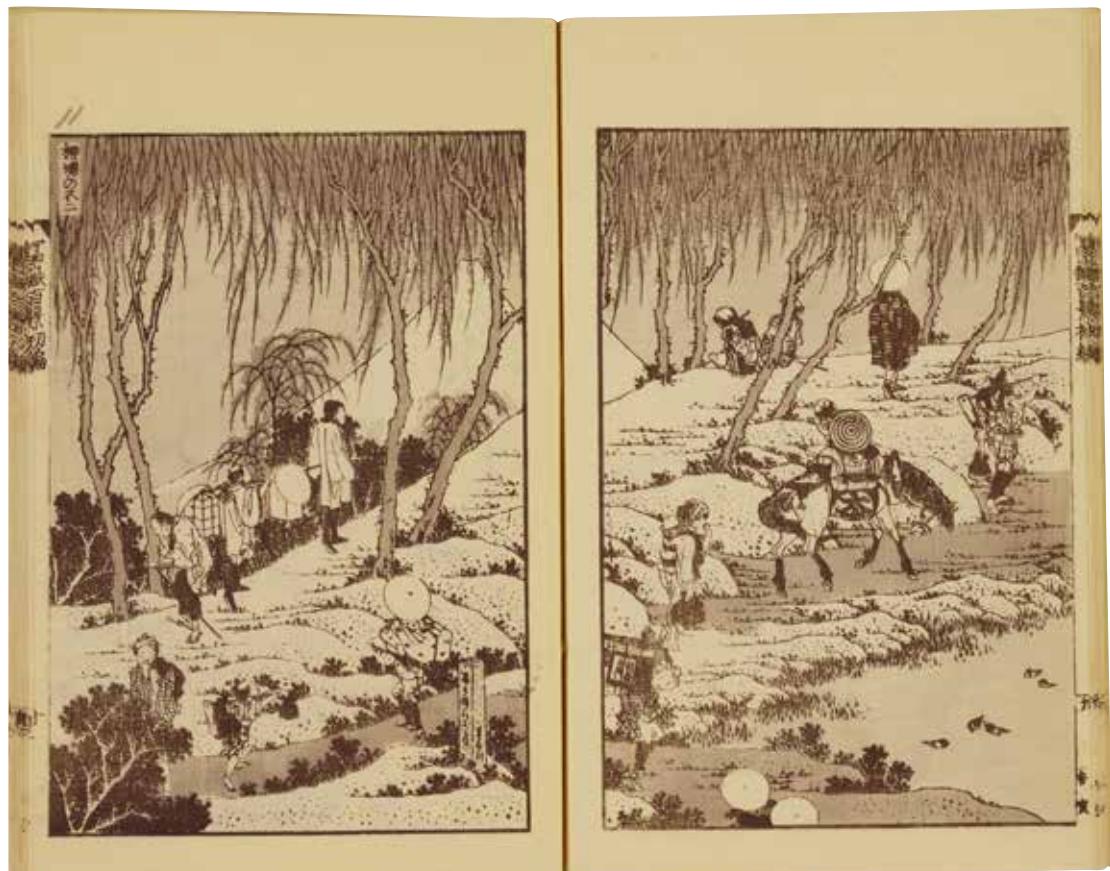


Plate 5.7 Hokusai, 'Willow embankment Fuji' (*Ryūtō no Fuji*), from *Fugaku hyakkei*, vol. 1, Tōhekidō 'pink' edition, no later than 1858. Woodblock, with grey and pink, height 22.3cm, width 15.6cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi1440. Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University

Plate 5.8 Hokusai, 'Willow embankment Fuji' (*Ryūtō no Fuji*), from *Fugaku hyakkei*, vol. 1, Tōhekidō Meiji-era edition, 1875. Woodblock, with grey, height 22.3cm, width 15.6cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi1410-01. Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University



not take European enthusiasm for his art to awaken Japanese audiences to his genius. Through Tōhekidō's efforts, Hokusai's books were readily available at the very time when European and North American artists, connoisseurs and collectors were discovering the arts of Japan. Today, all across Europe and North America in museums, libraries and private collections, you will invariably encounter Tōhekidō's various late Edo and Meiji-era printings of *Hokusai manga* and *Fugaku hyakkei*, as well as *Hokusai gafu* and *Dōchū gafu* and many other titles. Thanks to Tōhekidō, Hokusai's key art books – along with some dross – came to be distributed widely throughout the world.

The high volume of production required to meet demand for Hokusai books led to an inevitable dulling of the artist's original vision. Late impressions from worn printing blocks no doubt brought delight to many generations in Japan and the West, but they offer no more than a pale reflection of what Hokusai intended. Perhaps it is not appropriate to apply the standards of Western print connoisseurship – with its obsessive concern with states and impressions – to what were popular, commercial, mass-produced commodities. If you did not know the first, superb 'falcon feather' edition of the first two volumes of *Fugaku hyakkei* of 1834 and 1835, you might relish Tōhekidō's edition of c. 1850. Unaware of that edition, you might be pleased by the printing with added pink of c. 1858. And finally, even a good Meiji-era impression can be enjoyed on its own merits (Pls 5.5–5.8).

Notes

- 1 By 'art book' I refer to titles that appear under the heading *gafu edehon* 画譜絵手本 (picture albums and copy books) in catalogues issued by Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō). One such is *Owari Tōhekidō zōhan gafu-edehon mokuroku* 尾張東壁堂蔵板画譜絵手本目録 (Catalogue of Picture Albums and Copy Books [Printed from] Blocks Owned by Tōhekidō of Owari Province [Nagoya], c. 1849), which is reproduced in **Table 2**. Roughly speaking, *gafu* and *edehon* purport to offer instruction to aspiring artists. Most have suffixes such as *manga*, *gafu* or *soga* in their titles, and they usually lack significant texts. Nearly all of the books Hokusai illustrated between 1814 and his death in 1849 were in *hanshōbon* 'half-sheet' size (covers approximately 23 × 16cm). Matthi Forrer's groundbreaking study *Eirakuya Tōshirō, Publisher at Nagoya* (1985) provides a starting point for the study of Hokusai and Tōhekidō. I thank Matsuba Ryōko for sharing, over many years, her insight into Hokusai's art and career, and for her critical reading of an early draft of this essay. I also thank Timothy Clark, Christian Dunkel, Alessandro Bianchi and Jonathan Clements for their probing comments and suggestions.
- 2 The titles of the latter almost always began with 'ehon' 絵本, which may be translated as 'an illustrated X'.
- 3 Firm name *dōgō* 堂号: Tōhekidō 東壁堂; shop name *yagō* 屋号: Eirakuya 永楽屋; hereditary proprietor's name: Eirakuya Tōshirō 永楽屋東四郎. The firm was founded in 1776. Katano Yoshinaga 片野善長 (Tōshirō II) headed the firm from 1797 to 1836; Katano Yoshinori 片野善教 (Tōshirō III) from 1836 to 1858; and Katano Yoshinori 片野善功 (Tōshirō IV) from 1858 to 1894.
- 4 Asano 2017.
- 5 Tinios 2015.
- 6 Asano 2017, 40.
- 7 Hokusai continued to employ the prefix 'formerly Hokusai' (*saki no Hokusai* 前の北斎) when he later, in 1834, adopted the name 'Manji, Old Man Crazy to Paint' (*Gakyō rōjin Manji* 画狂老人).¹⁴
- 8 Among the Hokusai books for which Egawa Tomekichi cut the printing blocks are *Imayō sekkin hinagata* (1823), *Ehon teikin ōrai*, Part I (1828), *Tōshisen ehon*, [Part VI] (1833), *Ehon Tōshisen*, [Part VII] (vols 2, 4 and 5, 1833), *Hokusai manga*, Part XII (1834), *Fugaku hyakkei*, Parts I and II (1834 and 1835), *Katsushika shin hinagata* (1836) and *Ehon Musashi abumi* (1836). In the 1820s Tomekichi also cut blocks for works of popular literature (*kusazōshi*). One of the most notable of these was *Shōhon jitae* (1819–31), written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842) and illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865).¹⁵
- 9 At some point, Tōhekidō acquired Ejidō's printing blocks for the first volume, and the block-ready drawings for the second and third volumes. He brought the project to completion c. 1850. The blockcutters who worked on the last two volumes are not named. Tōhekidō offered the book for sale first in three volumes, and then as a work in one volume. See Appendix 1, p. 263.
- 10 Tōhekidō took over the printing blocks for *Hokusai gashiki* and *Hokusai soga* from a consortium of six publishers in Edo, Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka, who had jointly issued those titles in 1818 and 1820 respectively.
- 11 The page size was reduced from 26cm × 18cm to 23cm × 16cm, a decrease of approximately 20 per cent. The excluded block, which bore an image of a pheasant being attacked by a snake, could not be employed in *Hokusai gafu* because cropping that block would have decapitated the bird.
- 12 Stylistically, it is likely that Hokusai's daughter Ei 菓 (art-name Katsushika Ōi 葛飾応為, c. 1800–after 1857¹⁶) played a role in the production of these supplementary illustrations. I thank Matsuba Ryōko for bringing this possibility to my attention.
- 13 For the full list of books sent to Paris, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Bijutsu-bu 1997, 9. Jack Hillier does not even mention *Hokusai gafu* in his substantial monograph; see Hillier 1980.
- 14 The same also appears to have been the case with Hokusai's print series, but they lie beyond the purview of this essay.
- 15 *Hokusai manga*, Part XII is an outlier. It differs from all the rest of the *manga* series in that it is devoted entirely to comic and satiric subjects replete with visual puns, and illustrations of popular sayings. In addition, it was printed in line only without the pink and grey tints that were the norm for all the rest of the *manga*. It is the author's view that it was intended as a stand-alone volume, like *Chūgi Suikoden ehon* (Picture Book of the Loyal [Heroes] of the Water Margin, 1829), but was co-opted into the *manga* series.
- 16 The four publishers listed in the colophons that appear in the earliest printings of the first two volumes of *Fugaku hyakkei* are (reading from right to left): Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekidō); Kadomaruya Jinsuke (Shūseikaku); Nishimura Yohachi (Ejudō); and Nishimura Yūzō (Seirindō).
- 17 Timothy Clark has proposed that the 178 block-ready drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (published in Thompson 2016), and the set of 103 block-ready drawings titled *Banmotsu ehon daizen zu* acquired by the British Museum in 2020, form part of a single project (Clark 2021). The latter may be viewed in the British Museum's Collection Online ([britishmuseum.org/collection](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection)), and in more detail in the British Museum ResearchSpace: <https://hokusai-great-picture-book-everything.researchspace.org/resource/rsp:Start>.
- 18 Asano 2017a.
- 19 In this context 'rights' means acquiring the printing blocks and/or

the block-ready drawings for a book. In the Edo period ‘copyright’ resided in the possession of the printing blocks. The view that the key-blocks for the third volume were cut in 1835 is described as a ‘growing consensus’ in Clark 2017a, 276.

20 The *hashira* (literally ‘pillar’) is the vertical blank space that separates the two pages printed onto each folio (*chō*). The folios are folded in half down the centre of that space, printed side out, and bound at their open ends to make a book. Publishers often included in the *hashira* the title of the book, the volume number, sheet number and the name of the firm. In this instance, exceptionally, the name of the blockcutter was also recorded in it.

21 The letter does not survive; it is only known in Iijima’s transcription published in his 1893 biography of Hokusai. In that transcription, Hokusai praises the block-cutting in ‘all three volumes’ of *Fugaku hyakkei*: 富嶽百景之本、初編迄三編まで彫ハ一丁にても見落し等無御座候間認候 *Fugaku hyakkei no hon, shohen yori sanpen made hori wa itchō nitemo miotoshi nado naku gozasōrō aida shitatame sōrō* (‘With regard to the cutting of the book *Fugaku hyakkei*, from the first through the third volume, there are no omissions even on a single sheet’; Iijima 1893, 1:54). There are several instances of faulty cutting of the grey blocks in the third volume that Hokusai would not have tolerated. In addition, Iijima states that the third volume of *Fugaku hyakkei* was first published in 1835 (Iijima 1893, 2:31). There is no evidence whatsoever for an 1835 printing of that volume. Iijima’s transcription of the letter is likely to be inaccurate.

22 Tomekichi apparently died in the late 1830s; Sentarō was still active in 1850. For examples of Sentarō’s work at that time, see Hokusai’s *Ehon Wakan no homare* and *Ehon Kōkyō*, and the poetry anthology *Kyōka tamuke no hana*, which was illustrated by Hokusai’s pupil Katsushika Isai. All three titles were published in 1850 from blocks newly cut by Sentarō.

23 Timios 2020.

24 *Kyōgō monjin* 校合門人. The basic meaning of *kyōgō* is ‘to collate texts’. The names of the collaborators vary from volume to volume.

25 Clark 2017a, 287, no. 184. *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu*, which was published in 1843, the year after the date of the letter, may well be the product of such editing. It contains at least one image by another artist without any indication that it was not by Hokusai.

26 It was not standard practice in Edo-period publishing to replace the entire colophon. Usually, the new owner of the blocks simply replaced the name of the original publisher(s) with his own. Sometime he also added the year in which he had acquired the printing blocks (*kyūhan* 求板), leaving the ‘year of production’ (*kannen* 刊年) unaltered. The latter recorded the year in which the blocks for the book had been cut. The *kannen* is usually also the year of the book’s first printing. The dates of subsequent printings were very rarely indicated in the Edo period. See Suzuki and Timios 2013, 55.

27 Hokusai enjoyed a close and productive working relationship with the author and scholar Takai Ranzan for over a decade. Did Ranzan knowingly take part in this deception? Much of the publishing history of *Dōchū gafu* is obscure. The earliest edition has the words ‘Tōhekidō shosai’ on the *noren* in the first added illustration, and it carries a Tōhekidō list on the inside back cover that records *Hokusai manga*, Part XIII as ‘forthcoming’. That information dates the first appearance of *Dōchū gafu* to around 1834. Shōkadō (yagō Matsuya Zenbei, Nagoya) took over the printing blocks almost at once. *Dōchū gafu* does not appear to have remained with Shōkadō for very long. The printing blocks then came into the hands of Kōgetsudō Bunsuke (Nagoya). In the Kōgetsudō printing the words ‘Tōhekidō’ on the *noren* in the first illustration had been removed, just leaving *shosai* ‘bookshop’. The *noren* remains thus in all subsequent printings of the book. *Dōchū gafu* had appeared on Tōhekidō lists printed in the first half of the 1830s but not in any subsequent Tōhekidō list. Further, no copies identifying Tōhekidō as publisher of *Dōchū gafu* can be dated securely between 1835 and the 1870s. In the 1870s, copies of *Dōchū gafu* carry lists of publishers/distributors on the inside front cover in which Katano Tōshirō occupies pride of place at the end of the list of names. I will not speculate on the rapid handing over of the printing blocks from Tōhekidō first to Shōkadō and then to Kōgetsudō, or the disappearance of the title from Tōhekidō’s lists. For more details, see Appendix 1, pp. 265–6, and Forrer 1985, 11 ff.

28 The blocks ended up with the Kyoto-based firm Unsōdō, where they were still being used to print *Dōchū gafu* – as a book by Hokusai – into the 20th century. In an Unsōdō catalogue dated 1912, the book enjoyed pride of place immediately after *Hokusai manga* and *Fugaku hyakkei*, see Table 4. As recently as 2015, an American book dealer described a copy of *Dōchū gafu* for sale on his website as ‘one of the loveliest of Hokusai’s books’.

29 Three sheets were removed from the beginning of the book-block and three were added to its end; other additional, minor changes were made when *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu* was repurposed as the first volume of *Hokusai gaen*. The original colophon, which carries the date 1843, was retained but the name of the publisher was changed. The new preface is falsely (?) dated to 1832. *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu* itself is problematic. Some images in it had previously appeared in books illustrated by other artists such as Yanagawa Shigenobu (1787–1833).

30 See Forrer 1985, 183. Forrer names *Gōso gafu*, which he attributes to Keisai Eisen, as the second source. The existence of a book with that title cannot be confirmed.

31 For this Unsōdō list, see Table 4.

32 On stylistic grounds, I believe it likely that Hokusai’s daughter Ōi played a significant role in the production of the illustrations for this book.

33 The other portraits in these volumes were contributed by leading ukiyo-e artists, including Utagawa Kuniyoshi, Utagawa Kunisada, Yanagawa Shigenobu and Utagawa Sadahide. Hokusai’s portraits may be those referred to in a letter of the mid-1830s regarding a commission for a book about 100 poets that was not published at that time (Iijima 1999, 146). Two further instalments of this series were issued after Hokusai’s death. Hokusai is identified as contributing *kuchi-e* to the first of those, *Giretsu hyakunin issyu* (*One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Intensely Righteous Poets*, 1850). Hokusai’s pupil Katsushika Isai contributed the *kuchi-e* to the second, *Kijin hyakunin issyu* (*One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Eccentric Poets*, 1852).

34 The three Edo-based publishers involved in the publication of this book, Kinkōdō (Yamaguchiya Tōbei), Sūzanbō (Kobayashi Shinbei), and Kansendō (Izumiya Ichibei), also participated in the publication of *Shūga hyakunin issyu* and *Zoku eiyū hyakunin issyu*.

35 The page size was reduced from 23cm × 16cm to 18.5cm × 11cm, a decrease of 45 per cent.

36 Hillier wrote, ‘Volume 14 contains drawings of a more finished, less spontaneous nature than the typical *Manga* sketches, and though the drawings on which the woodcuts were based may have been considered authentic at the time we view them more critically today’ (Hillier 1980, 100). It is possible that the block-ready

drawings for this volume were worked up by a follower of Hokusai from his final drafts. This *manga* volume deserves more sympathetic consideration.

37 See **Table 2**.

38 The colourised edition of *Fugaku hyakkei* provided the basis for some of the wood engravings in Oliphant 1859 and Osborn 1861.

Lawrence Oliphant, personal secretary to Lord Elgin, and Sherard Osborn, a captain in the Royal Navy, were in Japan in August and September 1858, which makes 1858 the latest possible date for the publication of the colourised edition. Colourisation was a serious miscalculation. In Tōhekidō's 1875 edition, the pink blocks were dispensed with, and the original grey blocks reinstated. The complete colourised edition is available in facsimile in Hokusai 2020.

39 Sixty titles were sent to Paris. Twelve were art books; four of the latter were by Hokusai. They were *Hokusai manga*, *Hokusai gafu*, *Hokusai ehon* and *Ehon Musashi abumi*. The identity of *Hokusai ehon* is not clear. In light of its later fame, the absence of *Fugaku hyakkei* is noteworthy; see also note 13.

40 Yoshinori's grandfather initiated the publication of further *Hokusai manga* volumes c. 1830. Through the 1840s, advertisements indicated that the series would run to 20 parts. Subsequently, Yoshinori's father, in an advertisement devoted entirely to books by Hokusai that was widely used in the 1850s, indicated that *Hokusai manga* would run to 15 parts.

41 Translation from Michener 1958, 30.

42 Lane 1989, 310, notes that the Nagoya artists Oda Kyōsai and Numata Gessai II provided supplementary illustrations. The publisher signalled his role in the production of this volume by adding the 'surtitle' (*tsunogaku* 角書) 'edited by Katano Tōshirō' (*Katano Tōshirō henshū*) 片野東四郎編輯 to the title slip. The surtitles on the other 14 *Hokusai manga* read 'transmitted from the gods; [shared with] open hands' (*denshin kaishu*) 伝神開手. A set of the three wrappers used for this edition are in the Bodleian Library (Nipponica 124 a–c). They reveal that the 15-volume set was offered for sale in three bundles of five volumes each. Yoshinori may have created the 15th volume in order to be able to sell the set in three equal bundles. I am grateful to Alessandro Bianchi for bringing these wrappers to my attention. See Tinios 2022c.

43 A boxed copy of the four volumes making up this edition was consulted in The Leeds Library (CC80754). Frederick Victor Dickins had a varied career as British naval surgeon, barrister, orientalist and university administrator. Dickins's texts are reprinted in Hillier 1958. All the images in *Fugaku hyakkei* are reproduced in this publication, but regrettably they are all 'flipped' so that the book could be 'read' from left to right.

44 The publishers' blurbs are translated in Tinios 2020, 29–41.

45 In 2017 Unsōdō printed 150 sets of *Hokusai manga*. Personal communication from Hayamitsu Teruko to Scott Johnson, conveyed by Johnson to the author.

Tables 1–4: Establishing the canon of Hokusai's later illustrated books

Through the greater part of the 19th century, the Nagoya publisher Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō) defined and assiduously promoted a canon of books produced by Hokusai in the last four decades of his life. The firm also reassigned books by Hokusai's pupils to the master, and included them in its Hokusai canon. Tōhekidō's promotion of the Hokusai brand played a significant role in shaping perceptions of the artist in Japan and around the world.

In the mid-1830s Tōhekidō set about acquiring sole ownership of the printing blocks for as many Hokusai's art books as possible, as well as the blocks for books by his pupils Totoya Hokkei and Tōnansai Hoku'un, and others. Once in full control of those printing blocks, the publisher systematically removed basic bibliographic data from them such as the dates of the cutting of the printing blocks (*kannen*) and, in the case of Hokusai's books, the names of the 'collating pupils' (*kyōgō monjin*) who had assisted him in preparing the volumes for publication. The original colophons were replaced with no more than the name and address of the firm. The excision of bibliographic information from the printing blocks along with the loss of the firm's archives has made it impossible to reconstruct with any precision the full publishing histories of many significant Hokusai books.

Tōhekidō printed a number of lists (*zōhan mokuroku*) devoted to the 'picture albums and copy books' (*gafu edehon*)

available from the firm. Most comprised a single page that was pasted onto the inside front or back covers of the firm's publications. When lists extended over two or more pages, they were bound in at the end of the book-blocks. Some lists were updated by modifying the printing blocks before they were finally superseded by new lists printed from freshly cut blocks.

A 10-page list, *Owari Tōhekidō seihon ryaku mokuroku* (*An Abridged Catalogue of Books Produced by Tōhekidō of Owari* 尾張東壁堂製本略目録), which covers all genres, was used by Tōhekidō in the 1840s. It reveals that some art books were available on standard- or superior-quality paper, while most of the illustrated books (*ehon*) could be purchased with or without colour. These variant editions are not mentioned in the shorter lists presented here. For a copy of this longer list, see *Shinpan kaisei kosen karoku* 新版改正古銭価値 in the Berlin State Library: https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN3308100045&PHYSID=PHYS_0001.

The first three lists transcribed below were published by Tōhekidō before 1834, c. 1849 and in 1878 respectively. The observations appended to each transcription highlight their significant features. The fourth list occupied pride of place at the head of an 82-page catalogue issued in 1912 by Unsōdō of Kyoto. That firm had acquired many of the printing blocks accumulated by Tōhekidō. This Unsōdō list demonstrates the persistence of the canon established by Tōhekidō.

Table 1 尾張東壁堂蔵板目録 永楽屋東四郎 名古屋本町通七丁目 (before 1834) **Owari Tōhekidō zōhan mokuroku Eirakuya Tōshirō Nagoya Honmachi-dōri 7-chōme (Catalogue of [publications from] blocks owned by Tōhekidō of Owari province, Eirakuya Tōshirō at Honmachi-dōri 7-chōme, Nagoya)**

Printed on one folio folded to form two pages of back matter in the books in which it appears.

Date: before 1834. This transcription is based on an example bound in an early printing of *Hokusai manga*, Part XI (Ebi0607).

Contents: 26 titles, eight of which were by or attributed to Hokusai.

The artists' names within square brackets in the second and sixth columns have been added by the author.

First page of the catalogue

[Title]	[Artist]	[No. of vols]		[Title]	[Artist]	[No. of vols]
北斎漫畫 Hokusai manga	北斎画 Drawn by Hokusai	全十冊 10 vols		光琳漫畫 Kōrin manga	[立林何帛編] [Tatebayashi Kagei. ed.]	全一冊 1 vol.
同拾壹編 Ditto, Part XI	同画 Same artist	全一冊 1 vol.		北雲漫畫 Hoku'un manga	[葛飾北雲] [Katsushika Hoku'un]	全一冊 1 vol.
北斎画式 Hokusai gashiki	同画 Same artist	全一冊 1 vol.		文鳳麿画 Bunpō soga	[河村文鳳] [Kawamura Bunpō]	全一冊 1 vol.
北斎麿画 Hokusai soga	同画 Same artist	全一冊 1 vol.		蕙斎麿画 Keisai soga	[北尾政美] [Kitao Masayoshi]	全一冊 1 vol.
絵本両筆 Ehon ryōhitsu	同画 Same artist	全一冊 1 vol.		月樵麿画 Gesshō soga	[張月樵] [Chō Gesshō]	全一冊 1 vol.
戴斗画譜 Taito gafu	同画 Same artist	全一冊 1 vol.		狂画苑 Kyōga-en	[月光亭墨懶] [Gekkōtei Bokusen]	全一冊 1 vol.

[Title]	[Artist]	[No. of vols]		[Title]	[Artist]	[No. of vols]
三體画譜 Santai gafu	同画 Same artist [Hokusai]	全一冊 1 vol.		絵本孝經 Ehon Kōkyō	[北尾政美] [Kitao Masayoshi]	全一冊 1 vol.
一筆画譜 Ippitsu gafu	同画 Same artist	全一冊 1 vol.		同嘶山科 [Ehon], Hanashi Yamashina	[蘆辺田鶴丸] [Ashibe Tazumaru]	全五冊 5 vols
名家画譜 Meika gafu	[Various artists]	全一冊 1 vol.		同春の錦 [Ehon], Haru no nishiki	[not identified]	全二冊 2 vols
福善斎画譜 Fukuzensai gafu	[丹羽章甫] [Niwa Shōho]	全五冊 5 vols		同尔波桜 [Ehon], Niwa-zakura	[not identified]	全一冊 1 vol.
浮世画譜 Ukiyo gafu	[溪斎英泉] [Keisai Eisen]	全一冊 1 vol.		同大江山 [Ehon], Ōeyama	[歌川国丸?] [Utagawa Kunimaru?]	全一冊 1 vol.
豊国年玉筆 Toyokuni toshidama hitsu	[歌川豊国] [Utagawa Toyokuni I]	全一冊 1 vol.		同曾我物語 [Ehon], Soga monogatari	[北尾政美] [Kitao Masayoshi]	全一冊 1 vol.
絵本今川 Ehon Imagawa	[沼田月斎] [Numata Gessai]	全一冊 1 vol.		同咲分勇者 [Ehon], Sakiwake yūsha	[北尾政美] [Kitao Masayoshi]	全一冊 1 vol.

Observations:

- In the final edition of this list, which is presented here, the title *Shōnin kagami* 商人鑑, advertised as by Hokusai but apparently never published, was cut from the printing block and replaced with *Hokusai manga, Part XI*. With that emendation, this list remained current up to 2nd day, first month, 1834, the publication date of *Hokusai manga, Part XII*.
- At some point, another title, *Eisen gashi* 英泉画史, which appears also never to have been published, was cut from the printing block and replaced with *Ehon Imagawa* 絵本今川 (1821). This two-volume *Ehon Imagawa* was edited by Koyama Shuntei 小山駿亭 and illustrated by Numata Gessai 沼田月斎. (It is incorrectly listed here as being in one volume.) It should not be mistaken for Hokusai's *Ehon onna Imagawa*. *Shōnin kagami* and *Eisen gashi* need not have been excised from the printing blocks at the same time.
- *Hokusai soga* and *Hokusai gashiki* make a last appearance in this list. In the early 1830s Tōhekidō had the printing blocks for those two books cut down for reuse in printing *Hokusai gafu*.
- No book with the title *Taito gafu* appears in *Kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*.
- Much of *Hoku'un manga* was based on *Hokkei manga*. The latter is not on this list. In the 1850s Tōhekidō fraudulently reassigned both *Hoku'un manga* and *Hokkei manga* to Hokusai as *Hokusai gaen* and *Hokusai ringa* respectively.
- *Ukiyo gafu* and *Keisai soga* are still being presented as complete in one volume. The former was later expanded to three volumes; the latter to five volumes.
- The *Ehon Kōkyō* listed here is the one-volume edition illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi. It is not to be confused with the two-volume *Ehon Kōkyō* published by Sūzanbō with illustrations by Hokusai. Hokusai completed the block-ready drawings for that book in 1834; it was not until 1850 that Sūzanbō commissioned Egawa Sentarō to cut the blocks and finally published the book.
- *Ehon Ōeyama* may be *Ōeyama no u gosairei banzetsu*, which was illustrated by Utagawa Kunimaru and published in 1826.

Table 2 尾張東壁堂蔵板画譜絵手本目録 (c. 1849) Owari Tōhekidō zōhan gafu edehon mokuroku (Catalogue of picture albums and copy books [published from] blocks owned by Tōhekidō, Owari province)

Printed on a half-folio pasted onto the inside front covers of the books in which it appears.

Date: c. 1849. This transcription is based on an example found in an early printing of *Keisai soga Part IV* (Ebi1262).

Contents: 16 titles, five of which were illustrated by Hokusai.

[Title]	[Title]	[Title]
福善斎画譜 Fukuzensai gafu	文鳳庵画 Bunpō soga	武勇魁団会 Buyū sakigake zue
金氏画譜 Kinshi gafu	渓斎庵画 Keisai soga	同式編 Ditto, Part II
一筆画譜 Ippitsu gafu	同式編 Ditto, Part II	光琳漫画 Kōrin manga
英勇画譜 Eiyū gafu	同三編 Ditto, Part III	北渓漫画 Hokkei manga
浮世画譜 Ukiyo gafu	同四編 Ditto, Part IV	北雲漫画 Hoku'un manga
同式編 Ditto, Part II	同五編 Ditto, Part V	北斎漫画 Hokusai manga
北斎画譜 Hokusai Gafu	神事行燈 Shinji andon	絵本庭訓 Ehon teikin ōrai
同中編 Ditto, Vol. 2	同式編 Ditto, Part II	同中編 Ditto, Vol. 2
同下編 Ditto, Vol. 3	北斎女今川 Hokusai onna Imagawa	同下編 Ditto, Vol. 3

Observations:

- This list focuses almost exclusively on art books. The six ‘illustrated books’ (*ehon*) on the previous list were omitted. (*Ehon* here indicates books that consist of a substantial text with illustrations.) While *Hokusai onna Imagawa* and *Ehon teikin ōrai* are both *ehon*, they were, no doubt, added to this list because of the exceptionally high quality of the illustrations Hokusai provided for them.
- The art books on the previous list omitted from this one are *Ehon ryōhitsu*, *Santai gafu*, *Taito gafu*, *Meika gafu* and *Toyokuni toshidama hitsu*.
- All of the art book titles in this list match exactly the art book titles listed in a 14-page catalogue bound into the backs of Tōhekidō’s 1840s reprints of *gōkan* originally published in the early 1810s. In that catalogue extensive blurbs are provided for each title (see Ebi1454).
- Additional parts of *Ukiyo gafu*, *Keisai soga* and *Shinji andon* are listed. Eventually those titles would run to three parts and five parts respectively.
- Hokusai gafu* and *Ehon teikin ōrai* are each recorded as complete in three volumes. The preface in the third volume of *Hokusai gafu* is dated 1849; the second volume of *Ehon teikin ōrai* carries the date 1848.
- Hokusai gafu* was printed from the cut down blocks of *Hokusai gashiki* and *Hokusai soga*, with the addition of 20 further designs by Hokusai and/or, possibly, his daughter Ōi.
- Buyū sakigake zue* was illustrated by Keisai Eisen (1797–1848).
- Hokkei manga* and *Hoku'un manga* are both still listed. Before 1858, Tōhekidō reassigned them to Hokusai as *Hokusai ringa* and *Hokusai gaen* respectively.
- The absence of *Fugaku hyakkei* from this list is puzzling.

Table 3 東壁堂製本画譜目録 (1878) *Tōhekidō seihon gafu mokuroku* (Catalogue of picture albums produced by Tōhekidō)

Printed on a half-folio pasted onto the inside front covers of the books in which it appears.

Date: 1878. This transcription is based on an example found in an early printing of *Hokusai manga, Part XV* (Ebi1203).

Contents: 24 titles, 10 of which are by or attributed to Hokusai.

[Title]	[Title]	[Title]
北斎漫画 Hokusai manga	北斎臨画 Hokusai ringa	神事行燈 Shinji andon
北斎富嶽百景 Hokusai Fugaku hyakkei	北斎画図 Hokusai gazu	張替行燈 Harigae andon
北斎画譜 Hokusai gafu	浮世画譜 Ukiyo gafu	狂画苑 Kyōgaen
北斎画苑 Hokusai gaen	武勇魁図絵 Buyū sakigake zue	英泉画譜 Eisen gafu
北斎新雛形 Hokusai shinhinagata	英勇画譜 Eiyū gafu	浮世絵手本 Ukiyo edehon
北斎一筆画譜 Hokusai ippitsu gafu	光琳漫画 Kōrin manga	副善斎画譜 Fukuzensai gafu
北斎庭訓往来 Hokusai teikin ōrai	文鳳龜画 Bunpō soga	金氏畫譜 Kinshi gafu
北斎女今川 Hokusai onna Imagawa	蕙斎龜画 Keisai soga	尾張名所小景 Owari meisho shōkei

Observations:

- This is Tōhekidō's final list. 'Hokusai' has been added as a prefix to each of the titles by or falsely attributed to him.
- The presence of 'First volume' (*shōhen*) on the title slip of *Hokusai ringa* (actually *Hokkei manga*) indicates that it was planned as a work in several volumes. No further volumes of *Hokusai ringa* were ever produced.
- *Hokusai gaen* consists of three published volumes. The first volume is actually *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu* (with modifications). The second and third volumes are made up of pages taken from *Hoku'un manga* and a further volume the identity of which has not been confirmed.
- *Hokusai gazu* is actually *Hoku'un manga* reassigned to Hokusai.
- The three volumes of *Ehon teikin ōrai* are here being sold bound in a single volume.
- *Buyū sakigake zue* was illustrated by Keisai Eisen; *Eiyū gafu* was illustrated by Hasegawa Mitsunobu.
- *Harigae andon* is an alternate title for Ōishi Matora's *Soga hyakubutsu*.
- *Kyōgaen* was illustrated by Suzuki Rinshō (Sokensai).
- *Owari meisho shōkei* may be *Owari meisho zue*.

Table 4 美術書肆 芸艸堂 京都市寺町通二条南 第十八回改正 美術図書目録 明治四十五年 (1912) *Bijutsu shoshi Unsōdō, Kyōto-shi Teramachi-dōri Nijō minami, daijūhachi-kai kaisei, bijutsu tosho mokuroku, Meiji yonjūgo-nen* (Fine Art Bookshop Unsōdō, Kyoto City, Teramachi-dōri south of Nijō, Catalogue of Art Books, 18th corrected edition, Meiji 45 [1912])

First page of this 82-page catalogue.
Contents: 16 titles, all by or attributed to Hokusai.

[Advert]	
再刻新刊出来	Recut and newly published
北斎漫画	Hokusai manga
木版著色和製	Woodblock multicolour Japan-made
奉書刷本	Books printed on <i>hōsho</i> paper
全五十冊	Complete in 15 volumes
正價金式拾圓 小包料金参拾六銭	Fixed price 20 yen Parcel post 36 sen

一代の畫傑 葛飾北斎が意に任せ筆に遊び描写するどこの山水人物鳥獸蟲魚草木堂閣など百般の器財に至るで手
状万能奇を盡し妙を極む北斎が近畫界の第一人たる所以
を知らんと欲せば漫画一部を繙くに知かず。

[Transcription and translation of this catalogue
continues on the following page]

The eminent painter of the age, Katsushika Hokusai, trusting his ideas to his brush, playfully depicts everything from landscapes, human figures, birds and beasts, insects and fish, grasses and trees, temples and palaces, to the hundred kinds of utensils. Hokusai's skill and versatility are utterly amazing, they overflow with wonder. If you are desirous of knowing why Hokusai was the leading artist of recent times, all you need to do is peruse some of his manga and you will have the answer.

北斎名畫全集
Hokusai meiga zenshū

Complete Collection of Hokusai's Renowned Pictures

[Title]	[No. of vols]	[Price, postage]		[Title]	[No. of vols]	[Price, postage]
富嶽百景 Fugaku hyakkei	全三編 3 vols	正價金參圓 Fixed price ¥3 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		北斎畫譜 Hokusai gafu	全三編 3 vols	正價金參圓 Fixed price ¥3 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
道中畫譜 Dōchū gafu	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		北斎畫苑 Hokusai gaen	全三編 3 vols	正價金參圓 Fixed price ¥3 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
三體畫譜 Santai gafu	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		北斎臨畫 Hokusai ringa	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
一筆畫譜 Ippitsu gafu	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		北斎新雛形 Hokusai shin hinagata	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
傳心畫鏡 Denshin gakyō	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		北斎女今川 Hokusai onna Imagawa	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
和漢の營 Wakan no Homare	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		庭訓往來 Teikin ōrai	全三編 3 vols	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥2 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
武藏鑑 Musashi abumi	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>		花鳥畫傳 Kachō gaden	全二編 2 vols	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥2 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>
絵本魁 Ehon sakigake	全一編 1 vol.	正價金壱圓 Fixed price ¥1 小包拾式錢 Parcel post 12 <i>sen</i>				

Observations:

- *Hokusai manga* is given pride of place among Hokusai's books. Unsōdō does not hesitate to announce that the *Hokusai manga* it is offering for sale has been newly printed from recut blocks.
- This Unsōdō list includes three titles that never appeared on any of the Tōhekidō lists. They are the three warrior books: *Wakan no homare*, *Musashi abumi* and *Ehon sakigake*. The warrior books are presented here as three distinct publications. It appears that they were initially conceived as three parts of a single work.
- For *Hokusai ringa* and *Hokusai gaen*, see earlier observations.
- *Kachō gaden* was illustrated by Hokusai's pupil Taito II. Its two volumes were first published in 1848 and 1849 respectively.
- For the complex publishing history of *Dōchū gafu*, which is almost entirely a book by Hokkei, see above, p. 75, and Appendix 1, pp. 265–6.

Part 2: Thought

Chapter 6

The Buddhist World of Hokusai: Lotus Practices and the Religious Frenzy of Urban Edo

Lucia Dolce

The 1893 biography of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) by Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901) portrays the artist as interested in Buddhism and engaged in different types of devotional activity. In particular, it repeatedly points out that it was known to his contemporaries that Hokusai was ‘a believer of Buddhism, who joined the Nichiren school, deeply venerated Nichiren [1222–1282] and every now and then went to worship at the sacred places related to Nichiren, [such as the temples] Ikegami Honmonji and Horinouchi Myōhōji’.¹ According to the information collected by Iijima, Hokusai kept a statue of Nichiren in his house, studied Buddhism with a Buddhist scholar and habitually recited a dharani from the *Lotus Sutra*, the main scripture of the Nichiren school. Other deities in which he put his trust, such as Myōken, were also deities venerated in Nichiren temples.²

While it is not easy to assess how reliable all the details of Iijima’s account are, the art-names that Hokusai took throughout his career and some of his works, especially those produced in his late years, indeed suggest that Hokusai had developed a spiritual connection to the *Lotus Sutra*, Nichiren and the deities of this Buddhist tradition. Was Hokusai an eccentric believer, as it is hinted in Iijima’s account? What did it mean to be a ‘Nichiren believer’ in the late Edo period and in an urban setting such as the city of Edo? What would Hokusai’s life as a Hokke (法華) devotee have implied? This essay sets out to recover the atmosphere of religious Edo, probing the cults and places associated with the Hokke school (as today’s Nichiren school was called in premodern times), in search of further evidence for Hokusai’s Buddhist concerns.

Religious Edo

Edo-period Japan has often been characterised as a secular society. Yet, historical, literary and artistic sources amply demonstrate that Buddhism, in both its institutional and popular dimensions, developed exponentially throughout the period. By the time Hokusai was active, Buddhism had become entrenched in the life of Japanese people as it had never been before. This is spectacularly displayed in the life of the city of Edo. Religious frenzy is the term that best conveys the presence of Buddhism in Edo: crowds of devotees and monastics; a creative mix of ritual practices; a multiplicity of objects and voices, recounted and documented in written records, plays, paintings and prints. Women and men, old and young, rich and poor: all flocked to temples and shrines to pray for a wide range of benefits, told the stories of the deities venerated, paraded them in procession and checked the calendar to know which karmic connection they might celebrate and glean benefits from on each day of the month and of the year. Religion was palpable across the city. There were about one thousand temples and shrines in Edo in the late Edo period.³ Popular urban temples were embedded in the fabric of society and temple visits and pilgrimages, expositions of sacred images, founder anniversaries provided copious occasions on which Edo dwellers could participate in the sacred landscape of the city and pray for good health and fortune.

Many of the deities celebrated and invoked had their place of origin in the provinces and some might have been connected to agricultural rites. However, once they were transferred to



Plate 6.1 Saitō Gesshin Yukinari (author, 1804–1878) and Hasegawa Settan (illustrator, 1778–1843), ‘Eshiki liturgies at Horinouchi Myōhōji temple’ (*Horinouchi Myōhōji eshiki*), from *Toto saijiki* (*Record of Annual Observances in the Eastern Capital*), vol. 4, 3 recto, 1838. Wood-block, height 23cm, width 16cm (covers). British Museum, London, 2001,1124,0.1, funded by Brooke Sewell Bequest

the capital, their primary appeal was the immediate, efficacious benefits that they could bestow on those who worshipped them: to repel diseases, to avert calamities and to elude malignant spirits were the key ingredients of Edo religiosity. Life was a risky affair in a large city and danger had to be exorcised in every possible way. More than from estates and family sponsors, in the late Edo period the wealth of temples in Edo came from casual offerings (*saisen*) and the sale of amulets,⁴ tangible tokens to assure that the protective power of the deity worked on the petitioner’s behalf.

Today Kannon, tomorrow Shichimen: Edo’s religious calendar

Toto saijiki (*Record of Annual Observances in the Eastern Capital*), compiled in 1838 by Saitō Gesshin Yukinari (1804–1878) and illustrated by Hasegawa Settan (1778–1843), provides extensive evidence of this religious effervescence (P1. 6.1).⁵ A veritable record of how urban dwellers criss-crossed the city to engage with their gods, the work can be read as a liturgical almanac of Buddhist Edo. The examples that follow show how popular karmic connection days (*ennichi*) dotted the year. The 3rd day of the first month was the day to pay respects to the memory of the tenth-century monk Gansan Daishi (Ryōgen, aka Jie Daishi, 912–985), famous for protection against illness and bad luck: a popular cult at

Kan’eiji, the most important shogunate-sponsored temple in Ueno. The first horse day of the second month (an auspicious zodiac day) was when rice god Inari was to be visited, and this became a children’s festival. The second month also saw celebrations of the Buddha’s passing, marked by the hanging of large paintings of his parinirvana (*nehanzu*): temples with famous scrolls painted by renowned artists, such as those of the Kano or Hasegawa schools, were especially visited on the 15th of the month. The 21st day of the third month was *mieku*, devotions on the memorial day of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, 774–835), while the 8th of the fourth month was *kanbutsue*, the Buddha’s birthday. On the 18th of the fifth month, the temple at Zōshigaya celebrated a great festival for the female deity Kishimojin. The 10th of the seventh month occasioned an all-night pilgrimage dedicated to the bodhisattva Kannon, which was said to be equivalent to 46,000 days of devotions (*sennichi mōde*). *Segaki* liturgies, performed to prevent hungry ghosts from returning to this world, fell in the middle of the seventh month: the service at Rakanji (Ryōgoku Ekōin) was extended and especially popular.⁶ The eighth month was *higan*, when practices that benefited the dead were conducted at all Buddhist temples. In the ninth month, a special blessing month (*kitō getsu*) like the first and the fifth,⁷ Hokke temples, in particular, were crowded: Kishimojin celebrations were on the 18th day; and

those for another female deity, Shichimen, on the 19th. On the 28th, King of Wisdom Fudō's karmic day, Ryūsenji in Meguro (commonly known as Meguro Fudōson) attracted great crowds and many people stayed at the temple, for this was quite far from the centre of Edo proper. Autumn was known for memorial days of founders and eminent monks. Liturgies for Tenkai (1536–1643) were celebrated in Ueno in the tenth month, as were those for Nichiren across town (PI. 6.1). Shinran's (1173–1263) memorial day (*hōonkō*) was in the eleventh month, which saw Higashi Honganji thronged with worshippers. There were also star festivals in this month at shrines and temples, and in Hokke temples blessings focused on the bodhisattva Myōken were performed. Thus, some seasons were busier than others and some months were characterised by a particular type of ceremony: for instance, the months devoted to special blessings, mentioned above. In addition to karmic days, annual events are recorded that involved an entire neighbourhood, such as the three big Edo festivals (*matsuri*): in the third month, Asakusa's *sanja gongensai*; in the sixth month, *sannōsai* at Hiei shrine; and in the ninth month, Kanda's *myōjinsai*. Further, there were activities that did not take place on specific days but were typical of certain months: the circuit pilgrimages that took place in the first week of the year (such as that to the *shichifukujin*, the seven lucky gods) or in the second month (visits to six Amida buddhas, or six Jizō bodhisattvas) are a case in point. Finally, as if the many temples of Edo were not sufficient, city dwellers undertook longer journeys to see their gods at their original sites: much visited were places easily reached from the city by boat and road, such as Naritasan Shinshōji in Narita, promoted by kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō I, or Benzaiten Shrine in Enoshima; further afield, the sacred mountainous areas of Ōyama, Mt Fuji and Mt Minobu.

Seeing the buddhas, making the sacred visible

Buddhist institutions catered to people's needs by making their capital and resources more visible than ever. Temples commissioned artists to recount the lives of their eminent monks in beautifully illustrated tales. Guidebooks and prints legitimised their status as 'sacred places' (*reijō*), conveying the miraculous accomplishments of their deities and locales. A great flood of images was produced of the deities of the vast Buddhist pantheon, the illustrious buddhas of the major scriptures, as well as a host of minor gods that had become popular due to the specific benefits they offered. Temple communities organised veritable advertising campaigns for their icons (*honzon*), so that more people would be attracted to visit the sites that housed such images. Religious events were also occasions on which to display the temple's artistic assets, both religious and secular. For instance, the seventh month was *obon*, when the rites for the dead were conducted, but it was also known as the month for the annual airing of temple treasures (*mushiboshi* or *kazeire*), a means to legitimise Buddhist sites through the visual display of their material history.⁸ Lay supporters, organised in confraternities or religious fellowships (*kōjū* 講中), contributed to the visualisation of Buddhism by sponsoring many of the temple activities, and concomitantly partaking of their benefits. In fact, sponsorship of religious artefacts and religious

practices, by all social classes and genders, was an extensive enterprise in the city of Edo (as it had been in Kyoto perhaps only in the Muromachi period [1336–1573]).

An important activity to make the sacred visible and trigger expectation of potential benefits was the exhibition of a deity's icon (*kaichō* 開帳), particularly if it was usually hidden from sight or resided in a faraway place. There were two types of such display: an exhibition in the home temple in Edo (*igaichō* 居開帳), or the exhibition of an image brought from another temple elsewhere (*degaichō* 出開帳, literally 'away from home'). This was a devotional viewing, recalling the exposition of an icon in the Catholic Christian tradition, which included bringing the effigy in procession on a named day. Celebrations for the display of an image could last as long as two months, to make the effort worthwhile. This was especially the case for *degaichō*, for which permission had to be requested from the shogunate and organisation was complex. A series of events were typically associated with the exhibition: liturgical performances, such as multiple recitations of texts with many monks performing for several days in a row; art-related events, from the display of temple treasures to performances by invited artists; and wider cultural events, such as *jōruri* puppet plays or kabuki theatre. Hokusai himself is known to have painted a gigantic image of Bodhidharma during a *kaichō* of the Kannon icon at Otowa Gokokuji in Edo, in 1804 (see PI. 1.5).⁹ Gokokuji, a Shingon temple founded at the end of the 17th century by the fifth shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709) on behalf of his mother, by the 18th century had become famous for its lottery and for the religious 'entertainment space' within its precincts, which included a miniature replica of Mt Fuji.¹⁰

Considering its economic dimension, it is clear that from the temple side the exposition of an icon was primarily a fundraising event which generated entrance fees and donations to the host temple. In fact, *degaichō* often coincided with periods when repairs were needed to buildings or other material assets. From the Edo inhabitants' perspective, however, these were momentous occasions on which to enhance karmic connections and to benefit from the rewards that physical closeness to efficacious images could yield.

Hokusai and the practices of the Hokke school

Against this background, how can we recover Hokusai's beliefs and explore the nature of his connections to Hokke Buddhism?

Individual Buddhist schools had their own liturgical calendar, focused on days and deities that were of special significance in the history (actual and symbolic) of the school and reflected by its ritual practices. Hokke temples were held to be among the 'trendiest' (*hayari-dera*) in town. Thus, the deities that had emerged in the Edo period as devotional foci of the school ended up occupying an important place in the liturgical calendar of the entire city, beyond particular adherence to the teachings of this form of Buddhism. Four main deities were celebrated in Edo Hokke institutions: Kishimojin, the bodhisattva Myōken, Shichimen and Nichiren himself.¹¹ I shall explore here the last three, for these are relevant to a consideration of Hokusai's beliefs. While the central place given to Nichiren as the founder of



Plate 6.2 'Bodhisattva Myōken', from *Zuzōshō* (*Anthology of Buddhist Icons*), section on 'Tenbu' (Heavenly deities) 1. Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, height 28.6cm, 13th–14th century (this manuscript). Important Cultural Property, Shōmyōji temple, Kanagawa (loaned to Kanagawa Prefectural Kanazawa Bunko, Yokohama 484, 1–6)

the school is obvious, Myōken and Shichimen are otherwise considered to be minor deities at the margins of the Buddhist pantheon. Yet, their worship, originally confined to specific geographic areas, expanded during the Edo period and the two deities became crucial to the identity of the Hokke lineages, linked as they were to episodes in Nichiren's life and to places where he had been active in eastern Japan.

Myōken

Of the many different names that Hokusai used in his lifetime, at least two, Hokusai Tokimasa 北斎辰政 (literally, 'the dragon of the northern studio') and Taito 戴斗 ('receiving the Northern Dipper') expressed Hokusai's devotional interest in the deity that in Japanese Buddhism had come to personify the Pole Star (*hokkyokusei* or *hokushin*) and the Northern Dipper (*hokuto*), a deity known in Japan as the bodhisattva Hokushin, Sonshōō or, more often, Myōken.¹² In his old age, Hokusai also depicted the first star of the Northern Dipper in a dramatic painting.¹³

Myōken had a glorious pedigree in Japanese religious history as guardian of rulers and the state, as well as protector from natural calamities. It was an important star deity in esoteric Buddhism, with diverse iconographic renditions attested in many ritual manuals of the early medieval period. Of particular note is the iconography that associates the deity to a dragon, portraying it standing on one leg on a dragon, atop a cloud, in a similar manner to the water deity Suiten (Pl. 6.2).¹⁴ Its worship was adopted into the Hokke school in the early medieval period, in connection with sponsorship by Chiba Tsunetane (1118–1201), lord of Shimōsa province (today's Chiba prefecture). This led to the construction of small halls dedicated to Myōken within the precincts of Hokke temples. A new iconography of the deity befitting a warrior clan was also created, which presented Myōken in the guise of a young boy dressed in armour, holding a sword in his right hand, while his left hand makes a gesture of command, his index and middle fingers pointing upwards (Pl. 6.3).¹⁵

This is the form of Myōken enshrined at Hossōji, in modern Katsushika ward: the halo decorated with seven circles alludes to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper; a tortoise and a snake at its feet recall the *genbu*, the mythical animal that stands for the northern direction in Chinese cosmology. Popularly known as Yanagishima Myōkendō, Hossōji perhaps was the most famous of the Myōken halls in Edo. It was established in 1492 as an affiliated temple (*matsuji*) of a temple in Chiba and later became the centre of widespread worship: 'Come, come to pray at Myōkensama', intoned a popular song. Iijima's biography of Hokusai attests that the artist was a frequent visitor to this site and notes that he drew an image of the 'epiphany tree' (*yōgō no matsu*) in its precincts.¹⁶ In fact, the temple is depicted in many views of the city, and diverse illustrations focus on a tree that stands in front of the worship hall, rather than the hall itself. A design of 1863 from Utagawa Hiroshige II's (1826–1869) series *Edo meishō zue*, for instance, portrays it as a giant pine about 9m high just outside the *torii* gateways on the approach to the main worship hall.¹⁷ Hokusai's drawing, which he sketched as a young artist while he used the name Shunrō, also puts the tree in the foreground, as if metonymically standing in place of the hall, which is not depicted at all (Pl. 6.4). Two women and a young man converse in front of the pine, its holy nature conveyed by a sacred rope (*shimenawa*) and the fence that encloses it, on which hangs a box for offerings (*saisen*). The prominence given to the tree in these depictions of the hall reflects, I would argue, an important devotional aspect of the cult of Myōken in Hokke temples. The text of the gazetteer *Edo meishō zue* reminded its readers that the tree was known as the place where the deity manifested (*yōgō*). (This same passage is inscribed on the Hiroshige II print mentioned above.) Myōken was said to have descended here, giving the tree its popular name of 'falling star pine' (*hoshikudari no matsu*).¹⁸ According to the temple origin narrative, one day the monk Nissen dreamt of the bodhisattva. Having heard that when the Northern Star appeared in a dream the pine at Yanagishima became

mysteriously illuminated, he went to Yanagishima, set up an altar and started reciting the *Lotus Sutra*. Halfway through the scripture, the pine suddenly emitted a bright light: a glittering star was on a branch, which revealed itself to be the bodhisattva Myōken, a sword in the right hand and a wish-fulfilling jewel in the left.¹⁹ This legend not only provided the background for Hokusai and other artists' depictions of Yanagishima Myōkendō, but also furnished a precise link to Nichiren. One episode in Nichiren's hagiographies tells of a falling star, shining miraculously on a plum tree in the garden of a local samurai's residence, where Nichiren was kept under guard awaiting exile.²⁰ Later, this star would be identified with Myōken, making the focus on the tree at Yanagishima another way of remembering Nichiren's miraculous life.

Hokke temples celebrated Myōken's karmic connection day three times a month, on the 1st, 15th and 28th days. Furthermore, one extra day every month was dedicated to the deity's 'descent' (*kōrin nichi*), and on this occasion those visiting the shrine would gather around the tree. Both *Edo meisho zue* and *Tōto sajiki* report an increase in visitors to the hall on each connection day.²¹ Especially in months recorded as a 'blessing month', Myōken's statue would be displayed, prompting even more people than usual to visit. The monthly karmic days were also characterised by the performance of a liturgy known as the 'ten-volume dharani', during which monks recited the spells included in the 'Dhāraṇī' chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* at very high speed. Devotees, too, were encouraged to repeat the dharani a thousand times to fulfil their wishes at this hall. As we shall see, this practice was performed over and over again on the karmic days of other Hokke protective deities, confirming its exorcistic and apotropaic role.²²

As a star deity, Myōken subsumed the function of astral bodies other than the Pole Star, such as an individual's personal star (the star that determined one's destiny) and was thus invoked to increase good fortune and prolong life. Hokusai, too, according to Iijima's biography, prayed for long life at Yanagishima.²³ He had made a vow to make a pilgrimage there for 21 days and it was after completing this vow, while he was returning home, that the artist was struck by lightning, an event said to have changed his fortunes. Another particular purpose often mentioned in Edo-period sources was the healing of eye diseases, a benefit that draws on both esoteric Buddhist beliefs and the very ideograms that compose Myōken's name, *ken* 見 being the character for 'seeing' (*miru*).

Shichimensan

Shichimensan myōjin is the female deity of the homonymous 'Mountain of Seven Peaks' situated behind Mt Minobu, in today's Yamanashi prefecture. The Minobu area was a place of great significance for the Hokke school, for there Nichiren spent the last years of his life and there was his grave.²⁴ Perhaps less known today, Minobu was among the most important pilgrimage sites of the Edo period. Most pilgrims reached it from Edo via the Kōshū kaidō highway. A striking documentation of the pilgrimage is a triptych woodblock print of 1863 by Hiroshige II that depicts Hokkeshū confraternities crossing Shinōhashi bridge over the Sumida



Plate 6.3 Kitao Masayoshi (Kuwagata Keisai, 1764–1824), *Bodhisattva Myōken and Two Deva Kings*, early 1800s. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, height 84cm, width 29.5cm. British Museum, London, 1881,1210,0.39.JA (ex-collection William Anderson)



Plate 6.4 Hokusai (Shunrō), 'Picture of Myōkendō worship hall, Hossōji temple, Yanagishima' (Yanagishima Hossōji Myōkendō no zu), from the series *Elegant Points around the Eastern Capital* (Fūryū tōto hōgaku), c. 1785–7. Block-ready drawing, ink on paper, height 18.9cm, width 25.7cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.5087–1910

River in Edo, and setting out for Minobu (Pl. 6.5). Each group carries emblems or papier mâché icons inscribed with the name of their guild and featuring a model of an important object of worship for Hokke followers. In the foreground of the centre sheet there is an image of Shichimensan, carried by a 'women's guild', followed by a 'two-deity guild' with an image of Nichiren exorcising spirits.

Shichimensan was first incorporated into the cultic activity of Hokke Buddhism as the tutelary deity of Mt Minobu. Nichiren's hagiographies recounted the wondrous encounter of the founder with the deity. One day Nichiren climbed to the summit of Mt Minobu and, seated on a rock, started preaching to a group of followers. A beautiful young woman joined the group and listened attentively to his sermons. Because one of his followers felt uncomfortable with her presence, Nichiren addressed the woman and commanded her to disclose her true identity. The woman asked for some water and as soon as Nichiren sprinkled it onto her, her body suddenly turned into an enormous seven-headed dragon, revealing itself to be the deity of the mountain. The deity vowed to protect Minobu and Nichiren's followers. It also pledged to prevent calamities caused by water, fire and weapons.²⁵ Sectarian traditions drew on the story to transform the sites where this episode took place into sacred spots that pilgrims could visit: the rock on which Nichiren preached, for instance, which would come to be known as the 'dharma-wheel rock' (*hōrin seki*). Shichimensan acquired importance in its own right, and when the base of Hokke communities shifted to Edo, several Minobu-affiliated temples (*matsuji*) across the city adopted the deity and built dedicated halls, often connected to a pond, as was common with dragons and other water deities. Among the most important sites were Saikyōji in Oshiage, Shōgakuji in Asakusa Shinteramachi, Kōmyōji in Komagome, Yanaka's Zuirinji and Ichigaya's Shugyōji. The image of Shichimensan at Saikyōji was said to be the same

as that enshrined in Minobu, while it was claimed of the one at Takada (today's Takadanobaba) Ryōchōin that it had been made from the same wood as the statue in Minobu.²⁶ Origin tales (*engi*) of the deity were compiled and printed several times in the Edo period. Even as they focused on the icon of a specific temple in Edo, for instance Ryōchōin, and proclaimed the miraculous deeds of the deity, the narrative reiterated the connection with the original site of worship in Minobu. These tales were conveyed or distributed to devotees during celebratory events for the deity, or when the statue of Nichiren was taken to Edo from Minobu, an occasion on which the icon of Shichimensan was also displayed. Shichimensan was the first deity to be exhibited by the Hokke temples: the earliest *kaichō* at a home institution took place in 1733 at Hōzenji in Ōkubo.²⁷ In addition, origin tales linked Shichimensan and Myōken by suggesting that Shichimen was one of the stars of the Northern Dipper, or that the Dipper was considered its 'original essence' (*honji*), a connection probably triggered by the number seven: the seven stars of the Dipper, the seven peaks of Mt Shichimen and the seven dragon heads of the deity.

During the Edo period the episode of the miraculous apparition of the deity at Mt Minobu was illustrated in various media. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861) recorded it in a colour woodblock print series of 1835 dedicated to Nichiren's life, *Concise Illustrated Biography of Monk Nichiren* (*Kōsō ichidai ryakuzu*) (Pl. 6.6). The image depicts Nichiren seated behind a desk in a formal setting furnished with the paraphernalia and decorations of a temple. The deity is shown at the moment of its transformation into a dragon, in front of a frightened audience who start back from the hall.²⁸ These motifs set by the hagiographic tradition are reiterated by Hokusai in a late painting of 1847, a dramatic and dynamic composition that seemingly transposes the assembly into the sky. It portrays Nichiren, still and concentrating on the sutra that he holds open, indifferent to



Plate 6.5 Utagawa Hiroshige II (1826–1869), *View of Shinōhashi Bridge and Crowds on a Morning Pilgrimage to Mt Minobu (Minobusan asamairi gunju Shinōhashi no kei)*, 1863. Colour woodblock, triptych, height 36.2cm, width 74.7cm. Tokyo Metropolitan Edo-Tokyo Museum

the gigantic dragon that surrounds him and causes such alarm among his followers (Pl. 6.7). The assembly that crouches huddled in awe in the empty space suggests the violence of the emotion generated by the sudden transformation.

Kuniyoshi, himself a Hokke believer, had produced his print series as a temple commission to commemorate the 600th anniversary of Nichiren's death. More research is needed to understand whether Hokusai's painting was sponsored by a temple or by a private believer. A few hypotheses may be put forward here, taking into account the form that the Shichimensen cult took in the city of Edo.

In Edo, worship of Shichimensen appears originally to have been linked to the shogunal house, in particular to its women. A 1717 version of the origin tale *Shichimen daimyōjin engi*, compiled by Ryōchōin's abbot, attests the multiple connections at this site.²⁹ Shichimensen was venerated by the wet nurse of the fourth shogun, Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641–1680), while the shogun himself is said to have kept an image of the deity as his protective icon (*mamori honzon*). Further, the temple received patronage from the women of the inner shogunal quarters (*ōoku*). The cult of Shichimensen in the inner quarters began with Lady Oman (1580–1653), concubine of the first shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616), who is said to have climbed Mt Shichimen, even though the mountain was normally out of bounds to women. The women of the inner quarters favoured exorcistic blessings (*kaji kitō*) and requested many talismans for protection against poisons, insects, eye disease and other problems, for which Shichimensen offered excellent remedy. Shogunal regulations forbade the inhabitants of the inner quarters from visiting temples other than the shogunal ones, Zōjōji in Shiba and Kan'eiji in Ueno. However, records of the palace supply evidence that they often summoned Ryōchōin's abbot to the palace to perform exorcistic prayers.³⁰ Could Hokusai have painted Shichimensen to the commission of such elite women?

By the late Edo period, Shichimensen had become popular among townspeople. At one point there were in the Takada district of Edo 18 exorcists (*kitōshi*) to serve the burgeoning needs of city dwellers. According to *Tōto sajiki*, on the 19th day of every month, Shichimensen's karmic day, large confraternities devoted to the practice of the *daimoku* (the recitation of the title of the *Lotus Sutra*) gathered in Oshiage to recite and listen to sermons. In the first, fifth and ninth months, the blessing ritual months, liturgical reading (*tendoku*) of the 'Dhāraṇī' chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* took place and the icon of the deity was displayed, as seen above in the case of Myōken.³¹ Hokusai might have produced the painting for one of these confraternities.

Outside of the city, Shichimensen was also invoked as a dragon god for rainmaking. This cult probably started around the lakes that are located near the top of Mt Shichimen, but it expanded together with the worship of Shichimensen across the countryside. A custom developed during the Edo period of climbing Mt Shichimen when rain was needed and getting water from one of the seven lakes near the top of the mountain.³² In the Noto peninsula a statue called *amagoi no Shichimen* ('Shichimen who brings rain') was cherished.³³ This benefit, if not the origin of Hokusai's work, may explain the devotional purpose to which the painting was put. Now loaned to the Tokyo National Museum, the painting was previously preserved at Myōkōji, a temple in Koga city, in today's Ibaraki prefecture, where it was known as the 'rainmaking icon' (*amagoi honzon*). A narrative about the image – a rare case of an origin story for a painted image, much more usually created for statues – tells that whenever the painting was unrolled and hung, it had the efficacious power to bring rain.³⁴ Undoubtedly this use was triggered by the motif of the dragon, associated to rainmaking; indeed, there are other examples of Buddhist images used for this purpose because they depicted dragons.³⁵

But is Hokusai's painting about Shichimen or celebrating Nichiren?



Plate 6.6 Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861), 'Manifestation of the Shichimen deity at Mt Minobu in the ninth month, 1277' (*Kenji sannen kugatsu Minobusan Shichimenjin jigen*), from the series *Concise Illustrated Biography of Monk Nichiren* (*Kōsō ichidai ryakuzu*), 1835. Colour woodblock, height, 25.1cm, width 37cm. British Museum, London, 2008,3037.12106, given by the American Friends of the British Museum (Prof. Arthur R. Miller Collection)

Nichiren, the founder

The cult of the founders was another cultural intersection where popular belief met sectarian Buddhism in Edo. Of all the eminent monks who were celebrated as initiators of a school or lineage, or as important figures in a school's history, Nichiren seems to have been the most popular, especially in the later Edo period. If one considers the exposition of an icon to be a metric of popularity, the regular *degaichō* of Nichiren's effigy suggests this: statues from Okunoin and the Kobutsudō in Minobu travelled to Edo 10 times between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries. Nichiren was lauded as one of the 'four heavenly kings' of Edo *degaichō*, second only to Kannon.³⁶

An important input to the cult of a founder came from temple sponsorship of the representation of his life in biographical narrative (*soshiden*), often illustrated, as well as in paintings, prints and even in performances. For instance, starting with a work by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724), several plays were written to recount episodes in Nichiren's life (*Nichirenki mono*) and performed as *jōruri* puppet theatre, kabuki theatre and *rakugo* storytelling.³⁷ These served the propagation agendas of the sectarian establishment and provided entertainment on the occasion of a *kaichō* or an annual festival.³⁸ Nichiren's dramatic life – a succession of exiles, ambush, life threats – undoubtedly lent itself to the Edo taste for wondrous events around disastrous happenings: episodes such as light that stopped the sword that was going to behead Nichiren, or the apparition of Shichimensan, were significant evidence of the power of

invisible forces. These episodes, as we have seen with Shichimensan, could be connected to the protection offered by specific deities, which in turn were invoked for a variety of practical benefits. In fact, hagiographic narrative emphasised such benefits together with the extraordinary deeds of the founder, more than any abstract principles of faith. Visual representations of the lives of eminent monks drew on medieval models (such as illustrated handscroll paintings), but the sheer multiplicity of media available in Edo allowed for an exceptional circulation of such stories. We have seen an example in Kuniyoshi's exquisite colour woodblock print series, *Kōsō ichidai ryakuzu*. Other formats existed, such as less expensive, often uncoloured, paper scrolls that grouped together important events from the life of the founder. These could be acquired by pilgrims and followers to be taken home after a temple visit (Pl. 6.8).³⁹

The second significant factor in the popularity of Nichiren was the performative dimension of his cult. Nichiren's 'founder pilgrimage' (*soshi mōde*) was an important moment in Edo's religious life. The main one took place around the 10th day of the tenth month, close to the memorials for Nichiren's demise on the 13th day of the same month. There were 10 famous places in Edo for the cult of Nichiren, known as the 'ten great [temples for] the founder' (*Edo no jū dai soshi*). Of these, three temples are recorded in *Tōto saijiki* as particularly popular for the *oeshiki*, the extravagant procession to mark the anniversary of Nichiren's demise: Ikegami Honmonji, Horinouchi Myōhōji and Jōonji. Interestingly, all three sites of Nichiren's cult

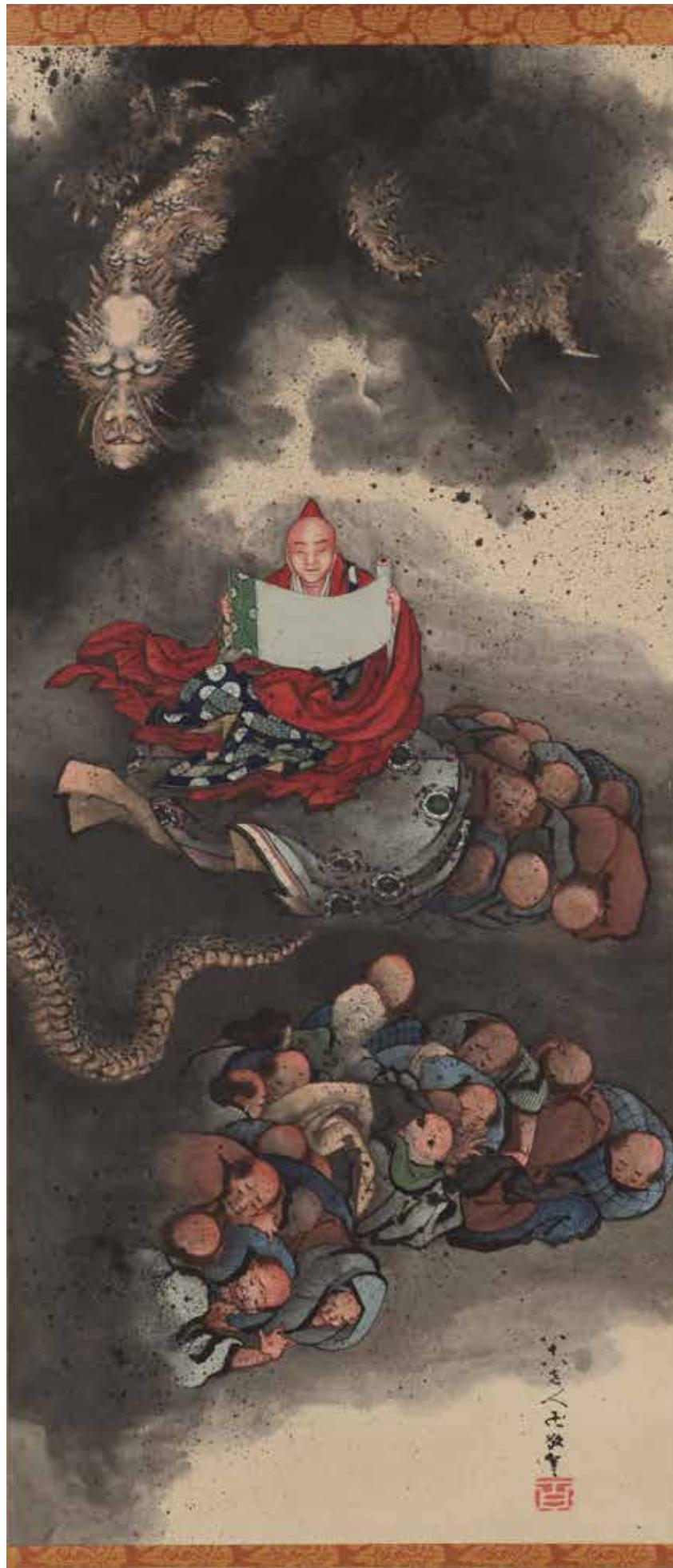


Plate 6.7 Hokusai, *Monk Nichiren and the Seven-Headed Dragon Deity of Mt Minobu*, 1847. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 132.3cm, width 59.3cm. Myōkōji temple, Koga (loaned to the Tokyo National Museum)

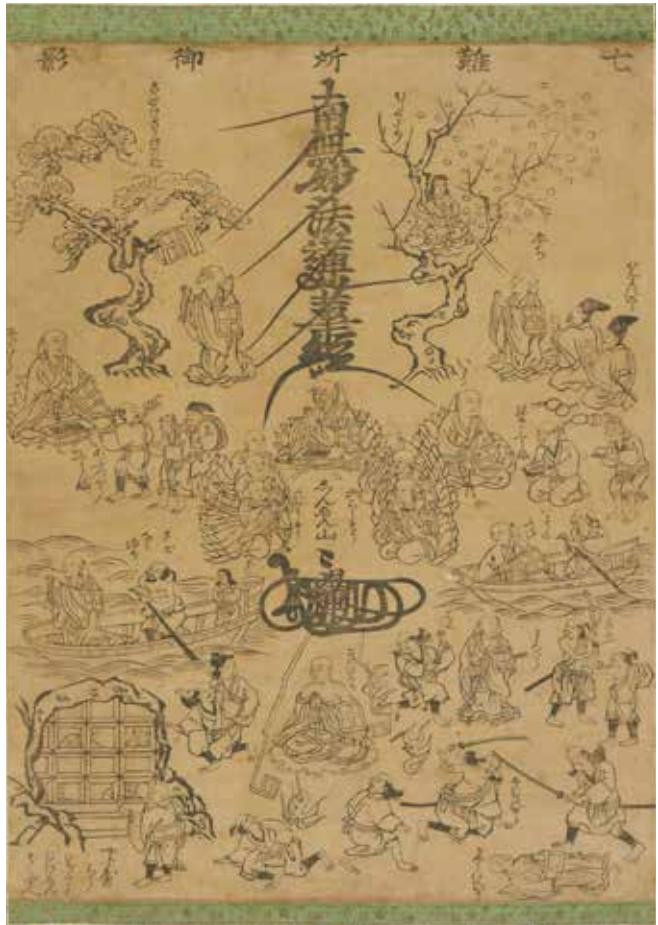


Plate 6.8 Artist unknown, *Portrait of Nichiren at the Sites of the Seven Hardships (Shichinansho miei)*, 1835. Woodblock print mounted as a hanging scroll, height 48.7cm, width 33.4cm. Harvard-Yenching Library Cambridge, MA (Bruno Petzold Collection, 12748915)

have a close connection to Hokusai. We have already encountered Ikegami and Horinouchi in Iijima's biography as places that Hokusai used to visit. It is therefore worthwhile to explore these temples more closely.

Honmonji, in Ikegami (today's district in Tokyo), was perhaps the most famous, as it was the temple established on the site where Nichiren passed away.⁴⁰ The *oeshiki* here, the first to have been held, was depicted in many versions of the gazetteer *Edo meisho zue*. Devotees attended to enjoy chanting, receive blessings and view the image of Nichiren, a wooden statue said to have been carved on the seventh anniversary of his death. Even more, the *oeshiki* was an occasion to experience and share the drama of Nichiren's life through physically being in the space where his last moments unfolded, to see the pillar on which he rested his head or the cherry tree that blossomed at his death despite it being autumn.⁴¹

In the late Edo period other sites, perhaps less known today, became popular for the cult of the founder. One such temple was Horinouchi Myōhōji in today's Suginami ward of Tokyo. One illustration in the *Tōto sajiki* shows crowds gathering to listen to the liturgies for the *oeshiki* (Pl. 6.1). Banners in the temple precincts bear names of the confraternities such as the so-called 'confraternity of the thirteenth day' (*jūsannichikō*), the thirteenth day being the 13th of the tenth month, the day of Nichiren's passing. Other banners indicate connections to samurai women and sake

shops.⁴² The temple was widely represented in popular prints. Hiroshige, for instance, dedicated two views in two different series to depicting pilgrimages to the founder there.⁴³ Hokusai, too, recorded the pilgrimage in a printed book illustration that linked Horinouchi to Zōshigaya, another important Hokke temple in Edo.⁴⁴ The temple was renowned for the benefits that a wooden statue of Nichiren it enshrined could grant. Such was its power that 'every day, windy or rainy, cold or hot, noble and lowly from the city and the countryside visited it'.⁴⁵ Although Myōhōji originally had no relation to Nichiren, the statue had been moved there in the Genroku era (1688–1704). Said to have been carved by his disciple Nichirō (1245–1320) when Nichiren was exiled in Itō in Izu province, it was regarded as a veritable image of Nichiren who, on seeing it, had rejoiced and consecrated it himself, pronouncing it imbued with his spirit and empowered to benefit all beings for a long time to come.⁴⁶ A story also circulated of a talisman that Nichiren had given to a sick fisherman in Itō, whose powers had cured him. The statue was said to afford protection from diseases and heal sickness, and thus the temple became a miraculous spot (*reijō*) for the cult of Nichiren, here known as 'the founder who guards against evil' (*yakuyoke osossama* 除厄けおそさま [お祖師さま]).⁴⁷ A pilgrimage to Myōhōji could have been the occasion when Hokusai acquired the statue of Nichiren that his biographer recounts the artist always kept in his house (see Pl. 4.1).

Horinouchi Myōhōji was also famous for its liturgical assembly for one thousand recitations of the *Lotus Sutra* (*hokke senbue*) that occurred in the seventh month.⁴⁸ This liturgy lasted more than a week, from the 18th to the 27th day of the seventh month, with dozens of monks reciting the entire *Lotus Sutra*. It was initially established by the 16th head priest, Nisshō (n.d.), in 1766, probably to collect funds for the restoration of various buildings. It attracted great crowds from near and far and eventually all Edo confraternities are said to have flocked to Myōhōji. The temple was also the first stop on the pilgrimage route to Mt Minobu along the Kōshū kaidō highway.⁴⁹

The practices for which Horinouchi Myōhōji was known and the benefits that its icon bestowed provide another link to Hokusai. Among the temple holdings is a large votive painting (*ema*) by Hokusai's leading pupil, Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850).⁵⁰ Dated 1821, the *ema* inscribes the *daimoku*, 'Namu myōhōrengekyō', surrounded by a group of people, one figure holding a brush in his mouth (Pl. 6.9 and cover). Art historians have suggested that this figure may be Hokusai himself, with the group representing Hokusai's family and disciples. According to Naitō Masato, the *ema* might portray some sort of ceremony, which Hokusai might be leading.⁵¹

Yet the context of the *ema* is crucial to understanding its content. Votive tablets were offered at a temple as the material evidence of a request for practical benefits or to show gratitude for a benefit received (as with Catholic Christian ex-votos). Because of the specialisation of sacred sites, *ema* might include elements that identified the temple where the benefits were bestowed. In Hokkei's example the *daimoku*, depicted rising from the clouds flanked by sun and moon – a common iconographic motif in devotional paintings of the Hokke school – serves at once as a signifier for the Myōhōji through



Plate 6.9 Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850), *Augury Appears to an Old Man* (*Rōō kizui no zu*) (?*Portrait of Hokusai*), 1821. Votive painting (*ema*), ink and colour on wood, height 120cm, width 196cm. Myōhōji temple, Tokyo. Photo: 2003

the practice for which the temple was known, that is, the recitation of the *Lotus Sutra*, and as evidence of the efficacious outcome of its recitation. The composition thus makes the *ema* a kind of ‘miracle image’ (*reigen zu*), in which a wondrous apparition of the *daimoku* (perhaps triggered by the person with the brush who has written the characters?) engenders hope in its devotees. The gathered people, their hands raised in prayer, appear to give thanks for the man to the right (facing the image) of the figure with the brush, who was probably healed by the power of the *daimoku*. Recitation of the *daimoku* was the primary practice of lay devotees who attended the liturgical assemblies at Myōhōji, as well as at other Hokke temples. In fact, Hokke confraternities were often called *daimoku-kō* – and in some areas *senbu-kō* – because they would repeat the *daimoku* one thousand times. In the precincts of Myōhōji several stone pillars inscribed with the *daimoku* (*daimoku sekito*) were erected, each bearing the names of the confraternities from various parts of central Edo that financed it. On the basis of these contextual elements one can suggest that the *ema* attests to a collective practice and its efficacy. The group of devotees could be members of a *daimoku* confraternity, which might have included Hokusai and Hokkei. The healing power of the practice is fundamental here. As recorded in *Edo meisho zue*, Myōhōji was also well known among the people of Edo for a talisman called *ohari gofū* 御張御符, distributed to those who visited the temple. It was believed that if a person who was ill received this talisman and affixed it on the wall or on a pillar by their bedside, they would recover completely by the 21st day.⁵²

The last of the three great temples famous for the cult of Nichiren in Edo is Anryūzan Jōonji in Asakusa. Known as ‘Dobudana’s founder’ (*Dobudana no ososhisama*), Dobudana being the popular name of Asakusa, this temple enshrined a

statue of Nichiren that was brought from Kyoto in 1594 when the temple was established through the sponsorship of Oman no kata (Ieyasu’s concubine, mentioned above). The statue was celebrated as having been made by Nichiren himself, as *Edo meisho zue* recounts in detail.⁵³ According to temple tradition, it was here, having seen this statue, that Hokusai painted a portrait of Nichiren (Pl. 6.10).⁵⁴ Hokusai depicted Nichiren against a dark background as if he were sitting on a rock suspended in the empty space, reading a scroll of the *Lotus Sutra*. The invocation to the title of the *Lotus Sutra*, ‘Namu myōhōrengekyō’, is inscribed in red at the top right corner, followed by the dedication, ‘Nichiren daibosatsu’ (The Great Bodhisattva Nichiren). Painted around 1811, it was consecrated by Anryūzan Nichiyō (d. 1840), the resident priest who would carry out reconstruction of the temple after it had been destroyed by repeated fires. Nichiyō’s name is in fact inscribed at the bottom of the painting, together with his handwritten seal (*kaō*). Only two portraits of Nichiren by Hokusai are currently known: the painting of Nichiren and Shichimen discussed earlier and this image, originally held at Anryūzan Jōonji (now at the Hikaru Museum in Takayama). While the portrait of Nichiren and Shichimen is a much larger painting (132.3cm × 59.3cm), appropriate for a congregation commission, the Jōonji portrait is small and intimate (40.6cm × 20.3cm), its size suggesting a personal devotional object. The painting was probably commissioned by a devotee who would then have donated it to the temple, or by one of the temple monks, maybe Nichiyō himself, with whom Hokusai seems to have enjoyed close relations.

Epilogue: Buddhist Hokusai

Exploring the city of Edo while putting its gods and its temples at the centre reveals the extent to which Hokusai’s

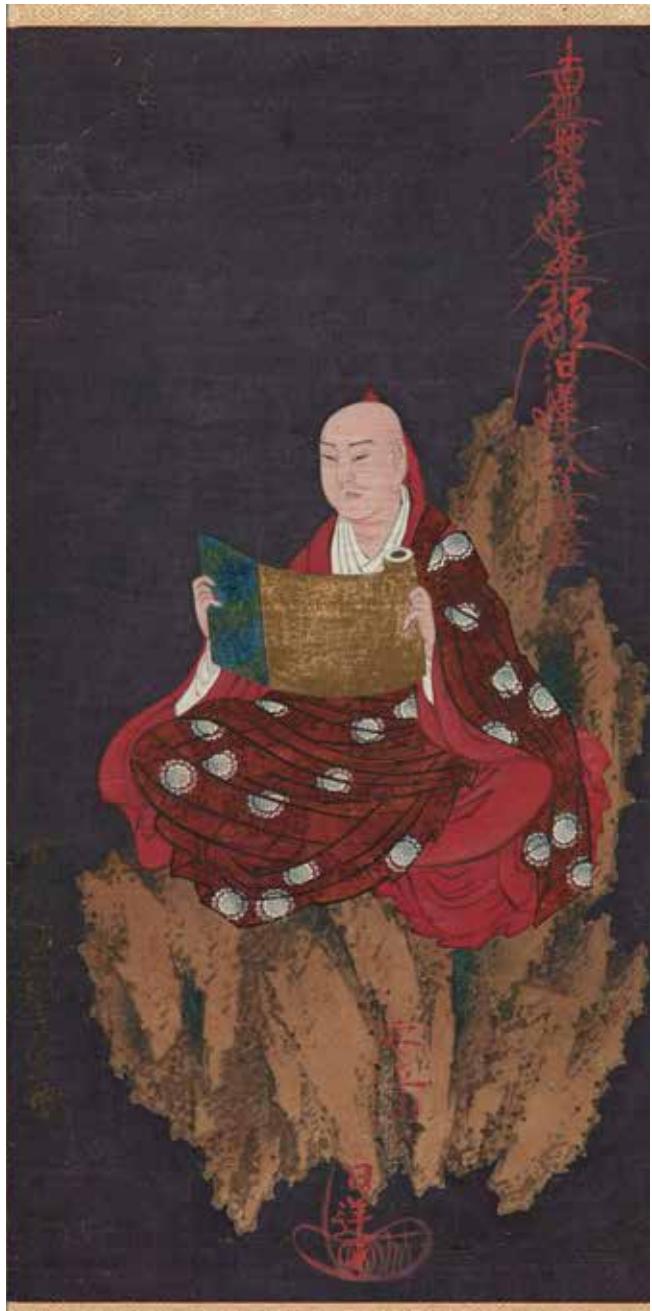


Plate 6.10 Hokusai, *Monk Nichiren*, c. 1811. Hanging scroll, ink, colour, gold and gold leaf on paper, height 40.6cm, width 20.3cm. Hikaru Museum, Takayama

life and artistic production were intertwined with Edo's sacred spaces and partook in the performative dimension of Edo religion, the movement(s) created around religious figures and the meaning produced by ritual actions.

Perusal of representative practices of the Hokke school in the late Edo period helps us visualise what form Hokusai's beliefs in Nichiren might have taken. For all that the artist was a lifelong devotee of Nichiren, the founder appears little in the production of Hokusai: there are only two portraits of the holy man. It has even been suggested that Hokusai did not use woodblock prints to depict Nichiren and Nichiren-related subjects because these were too popular a medium, not appropriate for the depth of his belief.⁵⁵ Yet, what can be retrieved of Hokusai's engagement with Buddhism shows that his interest in Hokke practices was articulated in diverse actions, which resonated with and reflected back the

practices of his contemporary Edo dwellers. From visits to specific temples on dedicated days to keeping a statue of Nichiren at home as a *jibutsu*, from the belief in the efficacious deeds of the Northern Dipper deity to the apparition of Shichimen, the reliance on the *daimoku* and the repetition of apotropaic utterances, Hokusai's artistic and devotional practices document his personal faith as well as the popularity of specific forms of Hokke beliefs, which Hokusai shared with many of his fellow citizens.⁵⁶ Other aspects of Hokusai's production that could not be discussed here, such as his depictions of Shōki, the epidemic god, or the drawing of daily exorcistic images (*nisshinjoma*; see **Pls 13.3, 15.3**), also resonate with broader trends in Edo's religious life.

The context of Hokusai's works brings to the fore the significance of the materiality of Buddhism: statues that produce miraculous effects, votive tableaux that attest to the intervention of the divine, viewing images, receiving blessings, buying talismans. Probing the origins of Hokusai's subjects makes clear that temples and shrines populated Edo gazetteers and visual illustrations of the city not because they were cultural assets, but because they played a crucial role in alleviating the anxieties of life and assuring Edo citizens of the presence of invisible forces that could help out. Concurrently, the material dimension of Buddhism points to the sponsorship of religion, which took on a grand scale in the Edo period: institutions, monastic and lay, and individuals, from the elite to the lower classes, contributed to the production and the maintenance of the material sacred. Without disregarding the individuality of Hokusai as an artist, it is thus indispensable to query how his paintings came to be conceived, who commissioned them, how well known the subject was and how these works were eventually used. Hokusai rendered intense emotions in his representation of the sacred, which may well be witness to his own faith. But one should not dismiss that the production of a Buddhist image in Edo Japan may also reflect the instructions of a sponsor.

The collective dimension of religious life in Edo needs more attention than it is often given. We should consider the possibility that Hokusai's devotional life was explicated as a member of a religious fellowship. Did Hokusai belong to a confraternity, as many Edo dwellers did? And if so, could that have been a confraternity devoted to Myōken? Or perhaps a *daimoku-kō*, as suggested by Hokkei's votive painting? Hokusai's beliefs in Nichiren were not apparently a family tradition, as attested by the fact that Hokusai's mortuary temple, Zuikiran Seikyōji in Moto Asakusa, was not a Hokke temple.⁵⁷ Hokusai might have been one of the many 'one-life Lotus' (*ichidai hokke*) believers of Edo, who were not officially registered at a Hokke temple as parishioners (*danka*), according to the system imposed by the government, but became devotees on their own (rather than inheriting the affiliation), perhaps after witnessing the efficaciousness of the exorcistic blessings for which Hokke temples were famous, or the miraculous powers of the *daimoku*.⁵⁸

Thus, the image of Hokusai that emerges when we take into account the forms in which Buddhism expressed itself and was practised in Edo is the image of an urban dweller who participated fully in the religious landscape of Edo. His

was the pious life of a large city full of temples, deities and propitiatory deeds, buzzing with ritual actions recorded in gazetteers and illustrated in woodblock prints, a city that produced and distributed knowledge of the sacred in a continuous intersection of words and images, in an economy of the holy that yielded wealth and health to those who enacted it.

Notes

- 1 Iijima 1893, 2:11; Iijima 1999, 203.
- 2 Iijima 1893, 2:11–13; Iijima 1999, 203–8.
- 3 Hur 2000, 96–7.
- 4 Nam-lin Hur has demonstrated this for Sensōji in Asakusa, where more than half of the income in 1800 was from *saisen*. Hur 2000, 14–22.
- 5 British Museum, 2001-1124.0.1, all pages digitised at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2001-1124-0-1 (accessed 25 February 2022). See also Yamaji 2008. Nakao 1999, 184–91, includes useful charts of all Buddhist yearly events and of the monthly *ennichi*, as well as lists of rituals related to the zodiac days and multi-temple pilgrimages (*junrei*).
- 6 Depicted in *Tōto saijiki*. At the same time Ekōin was the site of a famous Fudō *degaichō*, also depicted in *Tōto saijiki* and woodblock prints.
- 7 These three months were originally dedicated to precepts (*saikai*) and were thus known as *saigetsu*.
- 8 These are also illustrated in *Tōto saijiki*, vol. 3, 3 recto. On temple airing in English, see Levine 2005, 226–54.
- 9 Gazetteers report that the painting was 18m tall and that Hokusai and his disciples used a broom and buckets full of ink to paint it. In 1817 Hokusai depicted another large Daruma in Nagoya, at the precinct beside Hongan-ji's Nagoya Betsuin.
- 10 Graham 2007, 42–3.
- 11 Nakao 1999, 161–72.
- 12 Iijima notes that the name Hokusai Tokimasa comes from Hokusai's belief in Myōken. See Nagata 2003b, 339–40.
- 13 *Bunshōsei zu*, dated 1843. Ink and colour on silk, 79.6cm × 28.2cm. Shimane Art Museum (Nagata collection). Nagata 2000, 107, no. 110. The painting was formerly in the collection of Kawanabe Kyōsai, who wrote the title 'Buntosei 文斗星' on the mounting. See also the Shimane Art Museum's website, <https://shimane-art-museum-ukiyo-e.jp/nagata/c-nagata/h13-01.html> (accessed 27 January 2023).
- 14 See, for example, the images of the bodhisattva Myōken in *Zuzōshō* (*Anthology of Buddhist Icons*), a compendium of rituals and accompanying icons originally compiled in 1139–40 in the Hirosawa lineage and traditionally attributed to Ejū (1060–1145). On the different forms of the cult of Myōken, see Dolce 2006; Faure 2016, 58–93.
- 15 Frank 1991, 245–6; Kyburz 2011, 257. One example of this iconography is the painting of the *Bodhisattva Myōken and Two Deva Kings* in the British Museum (PI. 6.3), where Myōken is accompanied by two acolytes. Hosshōji's icon consists of a sculpture of the same triad. Nagata 2003b, 340–1.
- 16 Iijima 1999, 204.
- 17 'Yanagishima Myōken', from the series *Edo meishō zue*, National Diet Library Digital Collection, 10.11501/1309920, at <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1309920?lang=en> (accessed 4 February 2022). Hiroshige I and his pupil Hiroshige II devoted prints to this hall in several other series, such as *Tōto meishō* of 1839–1842 and *Edo meishō shijūhakkei* of 1860. See MFA 21.9911, accessible at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/237528>, and MFA 11.20525 <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/213207>. Hiroshige I, too, depicted the temple complex in the series *Meishō Edo hyakkei* (published 4th month, 1857) and *Edo kōmei kaitei zukushi* of 1835–42. See MFA 11.36876.23, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/533995> and MET JP1159, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/45307>.
- 18 *Edo meishō zue*, vol. 7, 18, 63 verso. The gazetteer adds that the tree was also known as 'thousand-year pine' (*sennen no matsu*). The image of the temple is on folio 65 recto/verso. British Museum, 1988,1015,0.3.1-20. See also Nakao 1999, 174.
- 19 Mochizuki 2015, 95.
- 20 See *Nichiren and the Falling Star in Echi* (*Nichiren shōnin Echi hoshikudari no zu*), late Edo period. Woodblock print, height 54.4cm, width 24.7cm. Petzold collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, at <https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:24260670> (accessed 4 February 2022) and Hanan 2003, 231–2. The episode is also in the illustrated biography *Nichiren daishōnin chūgasan*. Another occurrence of a falling star appears in the origin narratives (*engi*) of Seichōji, the temple where Nichiren was first trained in Awa province. Here, it is recounted that a tree (which in this narrative is an oak, *kashiwa*) near a dragon pond emitted a mysterious light; an old man appeared to the monk who had been practising nearby, announcing that he was Myōken and requesting that a statue of the bodhisattva Kokūzō should be made from the wood of that tree.
- 21 Nakao 1999, 174–5. The 12 'descent days' are recorded as: 7th day of the first month, 8th of the second month, 3rd of the third month, 4th of the fourth month, 5th of the fifth month, 7th of the sixth month, 7th of the seventh month, 15th of the eighth month, 9th of the ninth month, 21st of the tenth month, 7th of the eleventh month, 27th of the twelfth month.
- 22 Still today in the liturgy celebrated on Myōken day at some Nichiren temples, after the fast recitation of the sutra, *kitō* are offered to the attendees, as I have been able to observe at the Myōkendō of Chōmyōji in Kyoto.
- 23 Iijima 1893, 1:12.
- 24 Hokusai depicted the Minobu River in his colour woodblock print, 'Back of Mt Fuji seen from Minobu River' (*Minobu-gawa ura-Fuji*), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*, c. 1833; see, for example https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1937-0710-0-158. Colour woodblock, height 25.3cm, width 36.5cm.
- 25 See *Honke bettō bussō toki*, compiled in 1730 by Nitchō, 36th abbot of Minobu. Cited in Nakao 1999, 175–6.
- 26 For instance, the 1804 *Shichimen daimyōjin chinza engi* presented it as a 'split body' (*buntai*) from the Shichimen venerated at Minobu. This is also reported in 'Takada Shichimendō', in *Edo meishō zue*, vol. 4, 12, 58 recto. Ryōchōin appears with this name in maps of Edo's famous places. See *ibid.*, vol. 4, 12, 59 recto.
- 27 Mochizuki 2015, 44. 'Shichimen daimyōjin no yashiro', in *Edo meishō zue*, vol. 4, 11, 6 recto and 10 recto, states that this was the first site of the worship of Shichimen in Edo. Image on 6 verso.
- 28 *Kenji sannen kugatsu Minobusan Shichimenjin jigen*, British Museum, 1913,0415,0.15.
- 29 Cited in Mochizuki 1996, 245.
- 30 *Teihon Edojō ōoku*, cited in Mochizuki 2015, 155.
- 31 *Tōto saijiki*, vol. 1, 17 recto. See also the entries for the '19th day, fifth

month', vol. 3, 9 recto and for '19th day, ninth month', vol. 3, 33 recto.

32 Nakao 1999, 298.

33 Ibid. 1999, 309. This is also the origin of a local dance called 'Shichimen odori'.

34 See Nakao 1981, 733.

35 This was the case with a set of scrolls depicting the three regalia in Buddhist form, which I have discovered in the Noto peninsula. Rather than for rites of consecration, these scrolls were used as the icons of rainmaking rituals, probably because dragons were inscribed in the representation of the sword.

36 Mochizuki 2015, 45. The four 'heavenly kings' of *degaichō* were: the Buddha of Seiryōji in Saga; Fudō myōō of Shinshōji in Narita; Amida of Zenkōji in Shinano province; and Nichiren's image from Kuonji on Mt Minobu (called Minobu shōnin).

37 For a short introduction in English, see Tamura 2013. The first work by Chikamatsu, *Nichiren shōnin-ki*, was performed in Osaka in 1719.

38 The illustration in *Edo meisho zue*, vol. 4, 12, 102 recto/verso of Zōshigaya's memorial celebrations for Nichiren shows a noh play performed in the temple precinct crowded with devotees, while other activities, from monastic blessings to a mechanical peep show (*karakuri*), take place at the same time.

39 One example is a print at the Harvard-Yenching Library, which portrays seven major hardships suffered by Nichiren during his life. Among these significant episodes, this print also features the apparition of a star on a tree while Nichiren was awaiting exile.

40 Honmonji is today the headquarters of the Nichiren school. The *oeshiki* are still conducted there on a grand scale.

41 Nakao 1999, 168–72.

42 *Tōto saijiki*, vol. 4, 3 recto. This gazetteer also includes an illustration of the *oeshiki* at Zōshigaya (vol. 4, 3 verso–4 recto).

43 'Pilgrimage to the Founder at Myōhōji temple, Horinouchi' (*Horinouchi Myōhōji sōshi mōde*), from the series *Famous Places of Edo (Edo meisho)*, c. 1848–52. Colour woodblock. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, FSC-GR-779.123, at <https://asia.si.edu/object/FSC-GR-779.123/> (accessed 4 February 2022). See also 'The Precincts of Myōhōji Temple in Horinouchi' (*Horinouchi Myōhōji keidai*), from the series *Famous Places in the Eastern Capital (Tōto meisho)*, 1856. Colour woodblock. Museum of Fine Arts Boston Collection, o6.563, 21.9900, at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/176249> (accessed 28 January 2022). Among other artists, Utagawa Toyokuni I (1769–1825) and Utagawa Toyohiro (1773–1828) depicted a 'New Year's pilgrimage to Myōhōji temple, Horinouchi' (*Horinouchi Myōhōji eho mairi no zu*), c. 1804, two sheets of a pentaptych of colour woodblock prints, ink and colour on paper, height 34cm, width 49.5cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, JP1005, at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/54881> (accessed 28 January 2023); and Toyokuni III (Kunisada), 'Founder's Hall, Horinouchi' (*Horinouchi soshidō*), from the series *One Hundred Beautiful Women with Famous Places in Edo (Edo meisho hyakunin bijō)*,

1857. Colour woodblock, National Diet Library, Tokyo, at <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1303836> (accessed 28 January 2023).

44 'Memorial pilgrimage procession at Zōshigaya [temple], Horinouchi' (*Horinouchi Zōshigaya eshiki mōde*), in *Fine Views of the Eastern Capital at a Glance (Tōto meisho ichiran)*, vol. 2, 16 verso–17 recto, 1800, at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/78633> (accessed 28 January 2023).

45 *Edo meisho zue*, vol. 4, 11, 24 recto/verso.

46 The details of the story are narrated in the entry on Nichienzan Myōhōji in *Edo meisho zue*, vol. 4, 11, 23 recto/verso.

47 Mochizuki 2015, 76–8.

48 *Tōto saijiki*, vol. 3, 13 verso. Recorded also in *Edo meisho zue*, vol. 4, 11, 24 recto. A woodblock print by Hiroshige I depicts the visit to the temple for the *senbu* liturgy: 'Going to the Senbu Ceremony in Horinouchi' (*Horinouchi senbu mōde*), from the series *Famous Places in the Eastern Capital (Tōto meisho)*, c. 1840–2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 21.9761, at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/237378> (accessed 28 January 2023).

49 Mochizuki 2015, 238.

50 Reproduced in Tokyo National Museum 2003, 182, fig. 144; Naitō 2017.

51 Naitō 2017, 18–19.

52 *Edo meisho zue*, vol. 4, 11, 23 verso.

53 *Edo meisho zue*, vol. 6, 16, 44 recto.

54 Suzuki 1996, cited in Nagata 2003b, 343–4.

55 This is suggested in Nagata 2003b, 342. In fact, early in his career, at the age of about 21, Hokusai created illustrations for a short popular novel, *Nichiren ichidai ki* (*Life of Nichiren*), c. 1780, using the art-name Shunrō. Attributed to him is also a preparatory drawing from c. 1830–44 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 11.9363; Clark 2017a, 251), in which Nichiren is shown writing the *daimoku* on waves, a scene that was also depicted by Kuniyoshi in his print series of 1835. Further episodes from Nichiren's life are included in Hokusai's illustrated books. For instance, *Ehon Wakan no homare* (*Illustrated [Heroes] of High Renown of Japan and China*, 1850), 17 verso–18 recto, depicts a disciple of Nichiren, Kudō Sae (Yoshitaka), who died of the wounds suffered in defending Nichiren during the so-called Komatsubara hardship. Here Hokusai inscribed the *daimoku* on the sword which Kudō holds, suggesting that it was thanks to its power that Nichiren was saved. *Ehon Wakan no homare*, ARC kotenseki database, <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Eb10803/portal/19/>.

56 Gods of epidemics (*ekijin*) were often represented in popular woodblock prints with exorcistic and apotropaic aims, to counter the frequent epidemics of the Edo period. Hokusai's Shōki (who was already in China a god of epidemics) is an *aka-e* to be used against smallpox (*hosōgami*).

57 Seikyōji is a temple of the Jōdo school. However, Iijima in his biography of Hokusai claims that the temple belonged to the Nichiren school. Iijima 1999, 203.

58 On *ichidai hokke*, see Mochizuki 2015, 26–7.

Chapter 7

Hokusai's Devotion to Mt Fuji

Janine Anderson Sawada

The sentiments that inspired Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) to invest himself so creatively in the depiction of Mt Fuji in his colour print series, the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), and in his three-volume illustrated book in black and white and shades of grey, *One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku hyakkei*), have been the subject of considerable speculation. In the artist's view the seemingly eternal mountain may have represented the secret of the longevity for which he longed in his later years. Or, perhaps, Hokusai's decision to portray the mountain in stupendous variety in these works was inspired by a form of religious reverence for Mt Fuji in which either he or a close acquaintance was actively involved.¹ During the period in which these works were first ideated and produced (approximately the 1820s–30s), organised devotions to Mt Fuji, especially pilgrimage to its summit, were all the rage in Hokusai's native city, Edo, and the surrounding areas of eastern Japan. However, these practices were imbued with the idea that the mountain was a powerful, healing deity and thus a source of spiritual and material succour in daily life, rather than a Daoist-type wellspring of immortality.

As a postscript to the earlier debates over Hokusai's spiritual or religious connections with Mt Fuji, in this essay I clarify the nature of the Fuji devotionalism (*Fuji shinkō*) that prevailed in the artisan and merchant sectors of Edo during the artist's lifetime, and assess aspects of his Fuji prints for possible points of resonance with it. After summarising the history and ideas of the pilgrimage societies or *kō* that were the principal form of organised devotion to the mountain at the time, in the second part of the essay I identify elements in Hokusai's works that may be clues to his state of knowledge (or ignorance, as the case may be) of Fuji religious beliefs and rituals, especially his visual references to objects of worship and pilgrim routines. In conclusion I entertain the alleged connection between Hokusai's publisher and the Fuji *kō* during the late Edo period, as well as the possible relevance to the Fuji religious movement of certain idiosyncratic names that Hokusai used to sign his correspondence and prints.

The emergence of the Fuji religious movement

Mt Fuji's remarkable height and elegant, tapered shape have inspired awe since Japan's earliest times, not only among poets and artists who sought to represent the volcano aesthetically, but also among dedicated religious ascetics who braved its formidable slopes and underground hollows. During the Muromachi period (1336–1573) summer climbs to the peak even by ordinary laypeople became an established practice; individuals who lived at a distance from the mountain began arriving in small groups to ascend the mountain under the supervision of the trail guides and shrine priests who were headquartered in the foothills. Much of this activity took place in the province of Suruga along the southern or 'front' approach to Fujisan (*omoteguchi*), which was managed by the Main Sengen shrine and the adjacent Murayama Shugendō centre.² Once commercial and political interests shifted to Edo, where the Tokugawa shogunate installed its headquarters at the beginning of the 17th century, the number of pilgrims who used the northern and eastern trails, which were closer to the shogunal capital,

grew exponentially in tandem with the population explosion in the city.³ By the early 19th century several thousand people were climbing Fujisan every summer on the northern trail alone.⁴

During the Edo period (1615–1868) visitors surged in number not only at Mt Fuji, but also at many if not most religious sites throughout Japan, including numerous other mountains and mountain ranges, such as Ōyama, Ontake and Tateyama, to name but a few. Over time, prospective pilgrims organised themselves into local groups (*kō*) whose members pooled their resources and took turns travelling to these sites. Before long, in the case of pilgrimage to mountains, more experienced practitioners who operated independently of the authorised Shugendō (mountain ascetic) denominations began to offer regular guidance to people who wished to accompany them on these climbs.

However, in the early Edo period some devotees to Mt Fuji began to aspire to more than a one-time representative pilgrimage (*daisan*). Their commitment to the mountain was inspired not only by the prospect of a trip to the peak, but also by the storied feats of a wandering ascetic who had been active in the vicinity of Fujisan in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The life and teachings of this figure, known as Kakugyō Tōbutsu (d. 1646), are not well documented, but it is clear from extant writings in his hand that in conjunction with frequent austerities, such as prolonged fasting, sleep deprivation and cold-water rituals, he periodically offered healing services to the general public.⁵ His early disciples, mostly craftworkers and small-scale merchants based in Edo, followed his model, regularly performing acts of self-denial on Mt Fuji, cultivating therapeutic and apotropaic ritual skills, and ultimately organising cells of their own followers in the shogunal capital and rural north-eastern Japan. By the early 18th century Kakugyō's successors had developed a network of religious communities in and around Edo, one of which came to be headed by an itinerant oil-peddler known as Jikigyō Miroku (1671–1733). Jikigyō committed himself to a lifelong regimen of ascetic practices and domestic rituals centred on the mountain, culminating in a month-long death-fast high on the volcano's slopes. Judging from his writings and his close disciples' reports, Jikigyō understood his voluntary death to be an act of merit that would restore well-being to the world in the face of the destitution and suffering he had witnessed in Edo in the wake of the Kyōhō famine of 1732.⁶

In the ensuing decades Kakugyō's and Jikigyō's successors actively disseminated their teachers' ideas, organised local groups of followers (later collectively called 'Fujikō'), and promoted the pilgrimage. In addition to climbing the mountain, members performed regular domestic rituals centred on the deity of Mt Fuji and eventually, in some cases, symbolic pilgrimages that involved clambering up miniature Fuji replicas (*fujizuka*) that they built in various locations in and near Edo.⁷ In the late 18th and early 19th centuries Jikigyō's lineage of followers began elaborating significantly on his ideas and expanding the movement's organisational presence. A mountain guide named Kotani Sanshi (Rokugyō; 1765–1841) became the central figure of this revival; he and his followers spread Jikigyō's teachings widely under the rubric of Fujidō

(the Way of Fuji), not only in Edo and nearby provinces, but also in locations throughout Japan. By some accounts Fujidō members numbered in the several thousands by the middle of the 19th century.⁸

Religious elements in Hokusai's Fuji prints

Several of Hokusai's images of Mt Fuji contain references to objects of worship and ritual practices that were well established in the world of Fuji devotionalism. The mountain had traditionally been identified with the native deity (*kami*) Asama 浅間 (also pronounced Sengen), who, like many mountain deities in Japan, was gendered female. In the late 15th and 16th centuries the shrine-temple complexes on Mt Fuji that catered to pilgrims advocated an 'exoteric-esoteric' (*kenmitsu*) Buddhist framework of devotion according to which Asama was a provisional or 'trace' manifestation (*suijaku*) in the phenomenal world of the 'true ground' (*honji*) Buddha, Dainichi (Mahāvairocana, the central figure in the Womb-Realm and Diamond-Realm mandalas of esoteric Buddhism). Pilgrims also chanted homage to Amida (Amitābha) Buddha while ascending the mountain, and envisaged their arrival at the summit as a salvific rebirth in his Pure Land paradise.⁹ The conflation of various Buddhas and *kami* in this way, with different configurations of deities exerting more or less appeal over time, was an ongoing feature of premodern Japanese religious ritual and iconography. Yet, in the devotional images and writings generated by Fujikō in the Edo period, the mountain god is no longer pictured as a manifestation of the Buddha. The movement's founding figure, Kakugyō, had foregrounded the life-giving power of the Fuji deity, whom he called Sengen Daibosatsu 仙元大菩薩 (Great Bodhisattva Sengen). In the image-texts that Sengen reportedly revealed to Kakugyō on the basis of the ascetic's practices of self-denial, Mt Fuji is represented as a cosmic parent, Moto no Chichihaha, the Original Father and Mother of all things in the natural and human world. In other words, the mountain god was no longer understood to be only an ephemeral manifestation of the Buddha in this world, but the veritable creator and sustainer of the entire universe. In this divine Fuji-centred cosmology, which was further developed by Jikigyō and his followers, the canonical Buddhas, bodhisattvas and guardian deities of medieval mountain religion were never completely elided, but they were relegated to a supporting role vis-à-vis the newly revealed parent-god of Mt Fuji.

In addition to Sengen, several other deified beings were identified with Mt Fuji at various times in history. Kaguya-hime, the female mountain immortal who stars in the early Japanese story, *Taketori monogatari* (*Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*), had been regarded as a manifestation of Asama or Sengen, but during the Edo period her connection with the mountain seems to have faded from view.¹⁰ It was, rather, Konohana-sakuya-hime who rose to prominence in early modern Fuji devotionalism, and whose figure adorns the opening page of Hokusai's *One Hundred Views* (Pl. 7.1). Konohana-sakuya-hime is described in the early 8th-century mytho-history, *Kojiki*, as a beautiful *kami* who gave birth to her children amid flames and was thus thought to ensure safety in childbirth as well as protection against fire.



Plate 7.1 Hokusai, 'Konohana-sakuya-hime', from *Fugaku hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji), vol. 1, 1 recto, 1834. Woodblock, height 22.7cm, width 15.7cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.454.1 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

The goddess was loosely associated with the volcanic Mt Fuji from the late medieval period, but it was not until the 17th century that she was clearly correlated in religious practice with the main Fuji deity, Sengen,¹¹ and not until the late Edo period that her image became conspicuous in religious iconography centred on the mountain. By the time the first volume of the *One Hundred Views* appeared in 1834, Fujikō members were routinely performing their devotions in front of a triad of hanging scrolls: Kakugyō's revelatory drawing of the Original Father and Mother (known as the *Ominuki*), flanked on one side by an image of Konohana-sakuya-hime and on the other by a representation of Komitake, a related mountain deity.¹²

In Hokusai's time the religious institutions on the northern side of Mt Fuji were dominated by the interests of the *kō* members and the professionals who catered to them, namely the pilgrimage coordinators and innkeepers (*oshi*), shrine priests and trail guides who were affiliated with the Main Sengen shrine in the town of Upper Yoshida.¹³ The Yoshida pilgrimage coordinators played an especially important role in the devotional activities and travel logistics of visitors to the mountain. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries these coordinators began to register in increasing numbers with the authorised Shirakawa (Hakke) house of Shinto with an eye to acquiring the status of full-fledged shrine priests and

thereby advancing the range of their influence in various urban and rural areas of Japan.¹⁴ The progressively Shinto self-identification of the Yoshida *oshi* was conceivably a factor in the elevation in the Fujikō pantheon of the Shinto-esque deity, Konohana-sakuya-hime, but it was more likely the spread of Fuji religious culture in general, in conjunction with the growing demand for women's health care, that encouraged her ascendance to an object of devotion among Fuji devotees; in the early 19th century the members of Fujidō in particular disseminated ideas and practices that were unusually affirmative of the religious value of women and their reproductive power.¹⁵ By Hokusai's time, in any event, the vision of this *kami* as a lovely, humanised manifestation of Mt Fuji clearly appealed to the popular imagination. The artist's placement of her ethereal image at the beginning of his *One Hundred Views* signalled the supramundane power of the mountain in terms that the ordinary viewer of the time would have recognised and enjoyed.

Travellers on their way to Mt Fuji would also have been familiar with the markers and roadside shrines dedicated to various other protective deities that appear in Hokusai's prints. In his 'Fuji clouded over' in the *One Hundred Views*, for example, the artist displays a stone marker dedicated to Dōsojin, a god said to protect travellers from harm. The same understated appreciation of the prevalent devotional

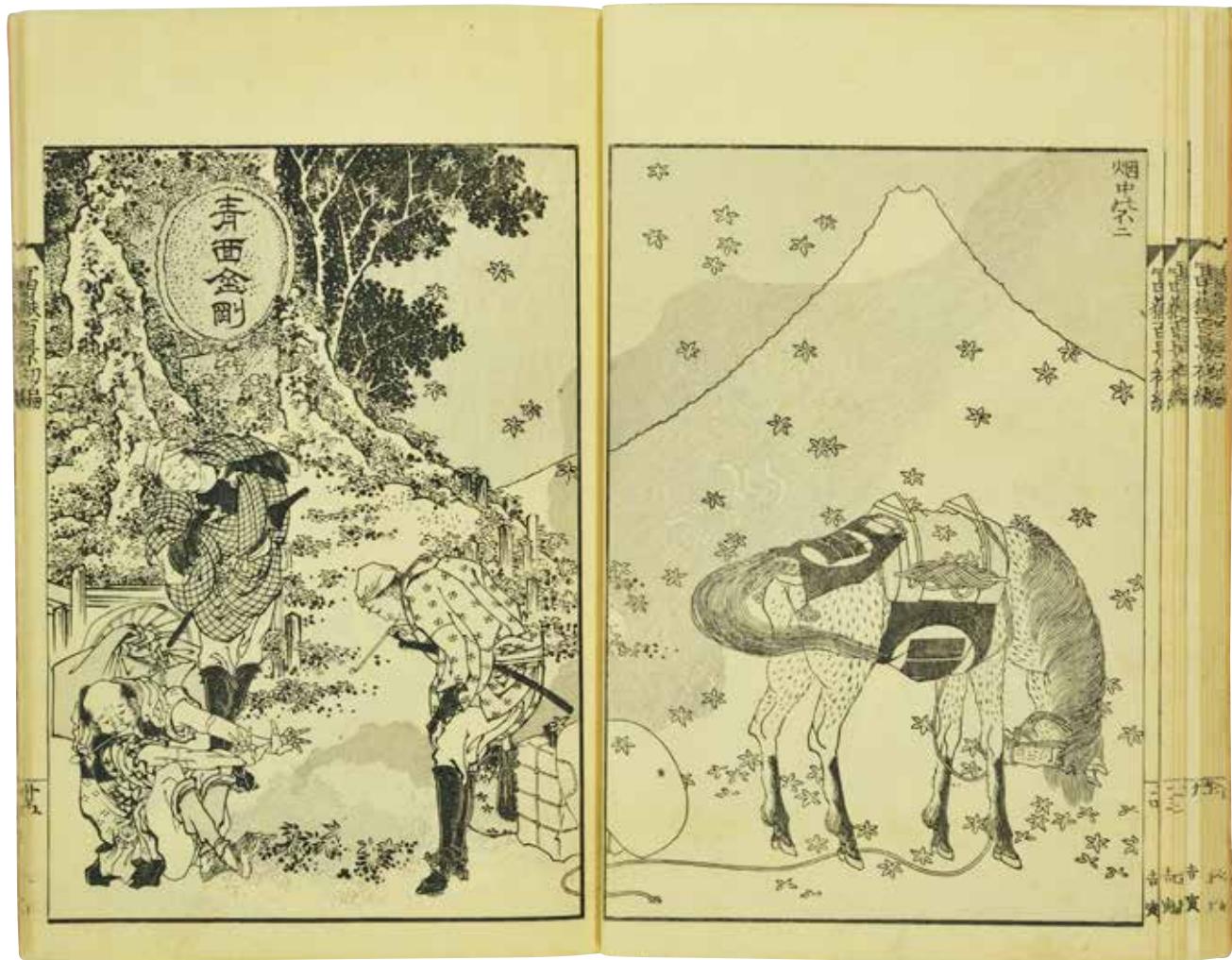


Plate 7.2 Hokusai. 'Fuji through smoke' (*Enchū no Fuji*), from *Fugaku hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji), vol. 1, 14 verso, 15 recto, 1834. Woodblock, height 22.7cm, width 15.7cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.454.1 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

practices of his time is evident in Hokusai's 'Fuji through smoke' in the *One Hundred Views*, in which a shrine marker affixed to a tree invites passers-by to pay their respects to Shōmen Kongō, the 'blue-faced vajra' deity, more commonly known as Kōshin, who was believed to drive away disease-causing evil forces (PI. 7.2). During the Edo period this deity was the focus of the widely practised *kōshin-machi* vigils, when people would gather in parties to remain awake on nights that corresponded to the *kōshin* or *kanoe-saru* 庚申 position in the calendrical sequence.¹⁶ Henry Smith has called our attention especially to the three monkeys in this image that appear directly below the stone plaque inscribed to the deity.¹⁷ Presumably because *saru* 申 is a homophone of *saru* 猿 (monkey), over time the monkeys came to be associated with the popular *kanoe-saru/kōshin* vigils (as well as with Sarutahiko, a *kami* believed to protect travellers). In the Edo period the animals were further assimilated into Fuji ritual culture insofar as, according to tradition, Mt Fuji had first come into being in a *kanoe-saru* year (the 60th year in the sexagenary-year cycle). Beginning in the 17th century block-printed devotional pictures and talismans of Mt Fuji that featured a pair of stylised monkeys were periodically issued by the mountain's religious institutions, especially in anticipation of *kanoe-saru* years, when climbing the mountain was said to bring special merit to the practitioner.¹⁸

Needless to say, the monkeys in 'Fuji through smoke' simply replicate the generic roadside Kōshin markers that travellers would have encountered while passing through any rural area. Even though, relative to other print artists of his time, Hokusai had accumulated a remarkable repertoire of religious images from which he could draw in his artwork,¹⁹ his Fuji prints betray little evidence that he was aware of the special rituals associated with the mountain, such as, in this case, the well-known practice of climbing the mountain in *kōshin* years and its connection with the emblematic monkeys.

Hokusai's representation of Fuji pilgrims and their practices

Apart from occasional points of contact between elements in Hokusai's prints and the mountain religious practices of the day, his depiction of Fujisan as a devotional site is evocative and imaginative rather than realistic. Although some of the prints, especially in the *One Hundred Views*, portray Fuji in relation to the natural elements, plant life, animals and other beings, as a whole the *Thirty-Six Views* and the *One Hundred Views* draw our attention mostly to the activities of people: people who in most cases are not directly interacting with the mountain at all. There are many prominent exceptions to this rule, such as the iconic 'Clear Day with a Southern



Plate 7.3 Hokusai, 'Various People Climbing the Mountain' (*Shojin tozan*), from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), c. 1833. Colour woodblock, height 25.8cm, width 37.7cm. British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.167, bequeathed by Charles Shannon RA

Breeze ("Red Fuji")' in the *Thirty-Six Views*, where the mountainscape, emblazoned in the glow of the rising sun, itself takes centre stage. But the majority of Hokusai's Fuji prints consign the peak to the distance, to serve as a backdrop for lively vignettes of people pursuing their business in the foreground or middle ground. The images of human beings who are engaged with the mountain topos itself are primarily renditions of Fuji pilgrims.²⁰ These figures are the only ones who actually need the mountain – this particular mountain – to do what they appear to be doing, and it is these prints that bring the topography of Fujisan, animated by the climbers, to the forefront.²¹

In 'Various People Climbing the Mountain' in the *Thirty-Six Views*, a crowd of pilgrims are shown squeezed together in a cave-like recess in the mountain's rocky slope (Pl. 7.3). If taken at face value, the minimal foliage in the foreground signals that the climbers are above the tree line, that is, they have reached the gravelly upper reaches of the volcano, where trees and shrubs do not grow.²² Several additional figures, also clothed in the garb of mountain pilgrims, are making their way either toward the cave or away from it, while still others are seated along the trail, evidently taking a break from the exertions of the climb. Similarly, 'Shelter on Fuji' in the *One Hundred Views* portrays numerous climbers clustered together in an opening in the mountain's steep upper face, as well as two more making their way up the precipitous trail. In reality, the caves and hollows that Fuji ascetics and pilgrims favoured as practice spaces in the early modern period are located below the tree line; during

the summer climbing season their openings are almost camouflaged by the surrounding shrubbery and trees. In particular, the caves in which most pilgrims performed their ritual devotions, such as the practice of circumnavigating the interior (*tainai meguri*), are narrow mazes of underground corridors that were left behind when molten lava from volcanic eruptions burnt off downed trees and their limbs. Practitioners used (and still use) these lava caves to challenge their personal limitations by squirming (squat-walking) through the tunnels single file as an act of merit and self-discipline. The paradigmatic cave of this type is Funatsu Tainai, located on the northern slope of Mt Fuji. By the late Edo period a tour of this lava cave was de rigueur for pilgrims who climbed the mountain along the Yoshida trail.

Hokusai's prints do not display such caves or cave practices in any strict sense, but simply hint at overhanging cliffs or promontories, recessed into the rock, that he imagined climbers used as temporary shelters. The contrast between Hokusai and other 19th-century print artists who depicted Mt Fuji pilgrimage is instructive. The latter were more interested in representing the details of the mountainscape and its related ritual culture. The well-known triptych 'Tour of Mt Fuji's Cave' of 1858, by Utagawa Sadahide (1807–1878), for example, was used to illustrate the late Edo guidebook, *Fujisan michishirube* (*Roadmap to Mt Fuji*; Pl. 7.4).²³ It displays several verifiable features of the *tainai meguri* experience, notably the almost prone position one must adopt to navigate segments of the cave, as well as the

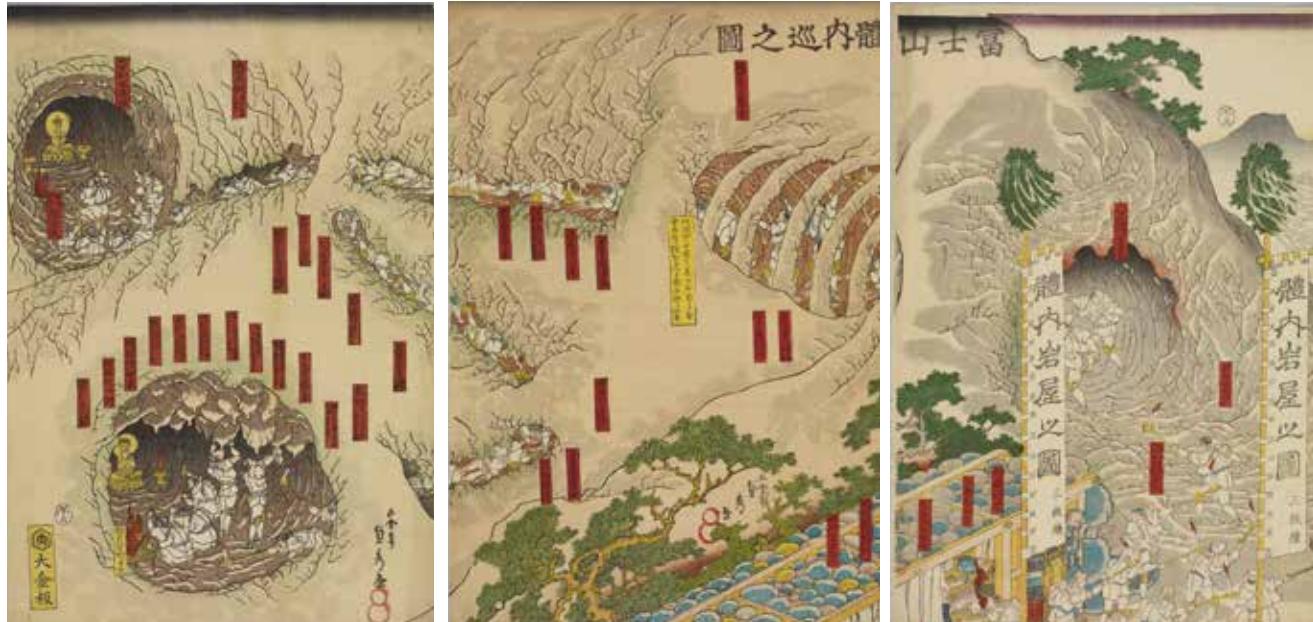


Plate 7.4 Utagawa Sadahide (1807–1878), 'Tour of Mt Fuji's Cave' (*Fujisan tainai meguri no zu*), third month, 1858. Colour woodblock triptych. Waseda University Theatre Museum, Tokyo, 012-1199 (right, height 36.8cm, width 25cm), 012-0157 (centre, height 36.8cm, width 24.9cm), 012-0156 (left, height 36.8cm, width 24.9cm)

collection of drippings from the cave's stalactites for apotropaic healthcare purposes.²⁴

One of the most pressing concerns for people in early modern Japan was how to prevent and cure illness. Religious professionals were routinely involved in healing and pharmaceutical activities aimed at the general public; Buddhist priests and mountain ascetics were especially active in distributing (and in some cases cultivating) medicinal substances.²⁵ Indeed, no clear boundary existed between medical therapies and healing rituals. In order to ward off or cure a health problem, one might consume a Chinese herbal potion, apply moxa to the skin, undergo an exorcism, ingest sanctified water or wear a ritually empowered talisman. One of the reasons the Fuji religious movement spread so widely in the late Edo period was probably the rising demand at the time for assistance with safe childbirth (*anzan*) and postnatal care. Any number of religious centres and pilgrimage sites catered to these concerns, but as noted earlier, over the course of the Edo period the deity of Mt Fuji had come to be associated especially with women's reproductive health. Water or cave drippings from Mt Fuji were said to ensure successful pregnancy, delivery and breastfeeding, but insofar as women were ordinarily prohibited from climbing the mountain beyond the second station, it presumably fell to male pilgrims to procure the liquid and carry it back home.

Although Hokusai's designs do not represent pilgrims' actual cave practices, his 'Opening of Fuji' and 'Sliding down' in the *One Hundred Views* are relatively realistic in their portrayal of the climbers' usual itinerary. The former image depicts the commencement of the climbing season, which customarily took place on the 1st day of the seventh lunar month. Crowded double lines of climbers, all wearing hats labelled *Fuji* (represented by the characters 不二, 'not two', and in that sense, incomparable), snake their way through deep ravines marked by shrubbery, which might arguably indicate that they are still in the early phase of their journey,

in the wooded foothills, and certainly nowhere near the stark expanse of the upper slopes. As Smith remarks, one of the climbers in this image is rather incongruously blowing on a conch shell.²⁶ It is possible that by the late Edo period *Fujikō* guides (*sendatsu*) had begun to use conch shells in order to inspire and organise the groups of followers that they led up the trail, but unlikely, especially given the ongoing controversy over *Fujikō*'s alleged usurpation of *Shugendō* practices (discussed below). The insertion of the conch shell in this print is more plausibly a function of Hokusai's imagination and sense of composition. The subsequent image, 'Sliding down', for its part depicts faithfully, if somewhat abstractly, the established practice of descending Mt Fuji by skidding down the Subashiri trail through the volcanic 'sand' that accumulated on that side of the mountain.²⁷ 'Circling Fuji's eight peaks' in the *One Hundred Views* is also not inaccurate in its rendition of Fuji religious practices, although Hokusai entirely omits reference to the several shrines and devotional spots in the crater area (PI. 7.5). From medieval times the rocky outcrops along the rim of the summit had been identified as the eight petals of the lotus seat of the esoteric Buddha, *Dainichi*, and it was customary for climbers to circle the crater, visiting and paying reverence to each sub-peak in turn. Particularly in these three prints, instead of dwelling on static details for the sake of representation, as did the artists who illustrated the multiple guidebooks and pilgrimage maps of the time, Hokusai focuses on conveying the spirit of the pilgrimage as an experience of motion.²⁸ The sensation of movement is particularly conspicuous in his 'Circling Fuji's eight peaks', in which the climbers almost seem to be riding the crests of waves in a mountaintop ocean.

Hokusai, *Fujikō* and *Fujidō*

Rather than any particular detail of the mountain or the pilgrimage, however, it is a sense of the activist purpose of



Plate 7.5 Hokusai, 'Circling Fuji's eight peaks' (*Hakkai meguri no Fuji*), from *Fugaku hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji), vol. 3, 10 verso, 11 recto, c. 1849. Woodblock, height 22.7cm, width 15.7cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.454.3 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

the Fuji religious programme, especially in its Fujidō formulation, that is most notably absent from Hokusai's engagement with the great mountain in his art. His Fuji prints indeed succeed precisely because he allows the putative centre of interest, the mountain, to operate in the realm of the abstract and the imaginative rather than in the world of descriptive realism and historical accuracy. Nonetheless, in order to appreciate Hokusai's kaleidoscopic portrayals of Mt Fuji in the context of their production a word is in order regarding the political status of Fuji devotional activities during the early 19th century. Contrary to common assumption, much creative religious activity took place in early modern Japan outside the confines of the Tokugawa establishment, that is, independently of the temples, shrines and other registered associations of practitioners (Shugendō ascetics, yin-yang diviners, religious mendicants and travelling performers) that were subject to the regulatory mechanisms installed by the government in the 17th century. The shogunal and domain authorities monitored informal devotional practices centred on local gods and revered sites, but at times they seem to have turned a blind eye to unofficial ritual activities. As the Edo period wore on, however, the government issued injunctions against unauthorised practices with increasing frequency, especially in the densely populated city of Edo.

The status of Fujikō was precarious for more than one reason. Jikigyō's followers believed that in 1688 Sengen Daibosatsu, the god of Mt Fuji, had inaugurated a new age of social justice, economic well-being, and harmony among the classes. The fulfilment of the new era, called the Age of Miroku (*Miroku no miyo*), would be contingent upon the good governance, moral conduct and devotion to Mt Fuji of the rulers of Japan as well as of people in general. The premise of this vision, that the current socio-economic order was badly in need of improvement, was never openly advocated by Fujikō leaders, given the restrictions on political discourse of the time. It was rather the growing visibility of the street ritual activity attributed to Fuji devotees that alerted the government to the group's subversive potential. Warnings and prohibitions against practices associated with the Fuji movement began to appear in the mid-18th century and intensified in frequency thereafter, notably in the Kansei era (1789–1801) and again in the Tenpō era (1830–44), when the shogunate instituted a range of measures aimed at reforming the economy and reasserting control of proliferating social and cultural practices. In several edicts reputed Fujikō members were accused of parading through the streets of Edo in the guise of authorised mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*), of promoting special 'Fuji' healing potions, and of pressuring people to donate or to join their group.²⁹

It was approximately during the years leading up to the Tenpō reforms, the 1820s and early 1830s, that Hokusai prepared and began to publish his images of Fujisan. Given the massive number of people who set off to climb the mountain every summer and the conspicuous presence of Fuji-associated healers and prayer ritualists in Edo neighbourhoods, it is unlikely that Hokusai was oblivious of this proliferating religious activity, or perhaps even of the illicit status of the Fuji religious organisations. As noted, some scholars have speculated that the artist was personally acquainted with members of Fujikō.³⁰ In support of this view Kano Hiroyuki has suggested that the well-known publisher, Nishimuraya Yohachi, who issued Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views* and – jointly with others – *One Hundred Views*, was a member of a Fuji *kō*, and may therefore have encouraged Hokusai, with whom he worked closely for a number of years, to take up the subject of Fujisan in his work.³¹ Indeed, according to Kano, Yohachi was not only a Fujikō member, but also a *kōmoto*, that is, an individual responsible for the financial affairs of one of these groups.³²

It is difficult, if not impossible, to verify this claim. At least a hundred Fuji *kō* were active and in communication with each other in Edo during the early 19th century. About a tenth of these *kō* served as *sewanin* or organisational hubs for several other affiliated *kō*.³³ Nishimuraya Yohachi's publishing house, Eijudō, was located in Bakuro-chō in the Nihonbashi district, an area historically populated by wholesalers of various goods. During the Tenpō era at least 10 Fuji *kō* are believed to have been operating in Nihonbashi.³⁴ By the time Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views* began to appear, the person running Eijudō was no longer the original founder, but his successor, Nishimuraya Yohachi II.³⁵ If this Yohachi were a member of one of the Nihonbashi *kō*, especially if he were an administrator, his name would probably have been recorded in a register maintained by that group. However, documentation of the membership of these *kō* (for example, donation or pilgrimage registers) is apparently not extant. In sum, we have no evidence of any connection between Hokusai's publisher and Fujikō. Nishimuraya Yohachi may well have encouraged the publication of Hokusai's Fuji prints because the publisher was a pilgrimage enthusiast or even a devotee of the mountain god, but given the burgeoning number of pilgrims to the mountain, the circulation of alleged Fujikō ritualists in Edo and the grassroots activity that transpired seasonally at the various Sengen shrines and miniature Fuji mounds in the shogunal capital and vicinity, it is more reasonable to conclude that Yohachi, the head of a publishing enterprise known for its business acumen, was simply keen to market a continuing supply of Fujisan images by the renowned Hokusai.

The fact that Hokusai uses the Chinese characters, 不二 ('not two'), rather than the more common ideographs, 富士 *fūji*, to tag mountain practitioners in his prints has also fuelled the idea that the artist possessed a special connection with Fujidō 不二道, the late Edo outgrowth of the Fuji religious movement whose members eventually employed the latter characters to identify their distinctive version of devotion to the mountain. However, the adoption of these characters for the mountain's name was by no means unique to the Fujidō group led by Kotani Sanshi. The characters

Fuji 富士 were (and are) more commonly used, but the alternative 不二rendition appears not infrequently in late Edo written references to the mountain that were unrelated to the Fujidō community.³⁶ Moreover, Sanshi's group did not even adopt the rubric 'Fujidō' until 1838, after Hokusai's Fuji prints were already in circulation.³⁷ In support of the supposed link between Hokusai and Fujidō, Kano Hiroyuki has further highlighted the fact that in an 1837 letter, not long after the publication of the first two volumes of the *One Hundred Views*, Hokusai signed his name 'Tsuchimochi Jinsaburō'.³⁸ *Tsuchimochi* literally means 'carrying soil', but at the time this was a generic term for construction work (restoring waterways, building roads, repairing buildings and the like). In Kano's view, the fact that in Fujidō 'tsuchimochi' specifically designated volunteer labour of this kind may indicate that Hokusai himself was a member of this religious movement. However, again, the term was not unique to Fujidō discourse. Furthermore, the group's involvement in this type of voluntary work was only in its incipient stages in the 1830s; it did not begin in earnest until 1845 (Kōka 2), eight years after Hokusai designated himself 'Tsuchimochi Jinsaburō'. Even after the volunteer movement grew in scale in the Bakumatsu period (1854–67), the labour organised by Fujidō members took place mostly in outlying village areas in Shimōsa, Musashi and Tama, not in the city of Edo itself.³⁹ The association between Fujidō and the *tsuchimochi* campaign would indeed become well known in some quarters of Edo society, but not until well after Hokusai's time.

The view that Hokusai possessed a special connection with Fujidō or that his Mt Fuji art was somehow an expression of support for this religious movement is thus less than tenable, as previous commentators have surmised.⁴⁰ Yet Kano Hiroyuki's speculations nonetheless serve to remind us of the shared context in which Hokusai produced his art and in which organised Fuji devotionalism spread in late Edo Japan. During Hokusai's lifetime government policies exerted a critical impact, especially in the city of Edo, on both the world of publishing and the sphere of popular religion. Artists and writers, like followers of unregistered religious movements, necessarily operated in awareness of the constraints of the Tokugawa sociopolitical order, at times camouflaging or adjusting their activities in order to elude censorship or outright suppression. Particularly in the Tenpō era the authors and illustrators of certain genres of popular literature came under scrutiny and in some cases were punished for violating shogunal publishing regulations.⁴¹ It was during the same period, especially in the 1840s, that the authorities took concerted steps to suppress unauthorised religious groups, including the Fuji movement, whose members were calling for a new age of social justice and economic reform in Japan.

The members of Fujidō and Fujikō were undeniably dedicated to a mountain different from the one Hokusai shows us. Their Fujisan was the embodiment of a compassionate creator who had ordained the new world they envisioned and was therefore the focal point of their religious practice. The exact details of the pilgrimage and various distinctive ideas propagated by the movement (such the affirmation of women's religious capacity), play no part in

Hokusai's visual presentation of the mountain. However, the Fuji movement's core conception of the mountain as the world's Original Father and Mother – the source of life, productivity and well-being – resonates intriguingly with Hokusai's recurring interpretation of the mountain as a comforting presence hovering over people's busy lives. The artist's portrayal of Mt Fuji as an enduring source of inspiration shares common ground in this sense with the Fujidō vision of a world of harmony and prosperity centred on the mountain deity: both were an assertion of the aspirations and dreams of the ordinary people to whom they were addressed. Even though, or perhaps because, Hokusai places the graceful peak in the distance in most of his prints, its image consistently conveys the possibility of stability and reassurance in the life-world of the townspeople and villagers who inhabit the foreground. The mountain may indeed have served Hokusai as a talisman of the personal immortality for which he yearned, but for the actual viewers of his prints the artist's construal of Fujisan projected a more palpable sense of everyday dependability and almost parental care during a time of mounting social and economic change in 19th-century Japan.

Notes

- 1 Advocates of the latter perspective are cited below. For the former view, see Smith 1988, 10–11. As Smith points out, the preface to the third volume of the *One Hundred Views* refers obliquely to a legendary association between Mt Fuji and long life.
- 2 The Main Sengen shrine, now titled Fujisan Hongū Sengen Taisha, and the remains of the Murayama Shugendō complex are located in Fujinomiya city, Shizuoka prefecture. The reference to the northern approach (*kitaguchi*) as the 'front' (*omote*) in Smith 1988, 9, is an error.
- 3 Other factors were also involved in the popularisation of the northern route. For details, see Sawada 2022, chapter 1.
- 4 By 'northern trail' I mean the route that begins in the town of Yoshida (today's Fujiyoshida); an adjoining northern trail begins in nearby Kawaguchi. According to one early 19th-century source, the average number of pilgrims who used the Yoshida trail every year was 8,000. See Sumitani 1977, 3; Hirano 2004, 125.
- 5 Tyler 1993, 256–64, assesses the authenticity of *Kakugyō Tōbutsu-kūki* (*Go-taigyō no maki*), the traditional narrative of Kakugyō's life and teachings.
- 6 See Sawada 2022, chapter 5, for an account of Jikigyō's suicide and its possible aims.
- 7 For a close study of a well-known *fujizuka*, the so-called Takada Fuji, see Takeya 2009.
- 8 Miyazaki 2020a, 146, estimates that Fujidō boasted some 10,000 followers in eastern and central Japan during the 1840s–60s.
- 9 The peak of Mt Fuji was sometimes identified with the Tuṣita heaven of the future Buddha, Miroku (Maitreya), as well.
- 10 Kaguya-hime's connection with Mt Fuji dates to the early 14th century at the latest. Takeya 2006, 191–2.
- 11 Ibid., 248–9.
- 12 Komitake refers to a volcanic formation that became part of Mt Fuji through a series of eruptions over time; it is enshrined in Komitake Jinja, at the fifth station.
- 13 This shrine, formally titled Kitaguchi Hongū Fuji Sengen Jinja, is located in today's Fujiyoshida city, in Yamanashi prefecture.
- 14 Takeya 2006, 227. The first Shirakawa enrolments of Yoshida *oshi* date to 1759.
- 15 Writings attributed to Jikigyō Miroku directly identify Mt Fuji with the female body and emphasise the intrinsic wholesomeness and purity of women's physiological processes (menstruation, gestation and parturition), views that were grounded in his vision of the dual-gendered, parental nature of the mountain, which Kakugyō Tōbutsu had adumbrated in his *Ominuki*. Fujidō members, who claimed direct lineal descent from Jikigyō, professed to preserve his teachings faithfully on this point. For more details, see Miyazaki Fumiko's superb studies: Miyazaki 2005, 2019, 2020a, 2020b. See also Sawada 2006.
- 16 According to popular belief, if one fell asleep during a *kōshin* night, three worms said to inhabit one's body would report one's sins to heaven, resulting in a shorter lifespan.
- 17 Smith 1988, 199.
- 18 The connection between the monkeys and Fujisan was encouraged by the mountain's shrine personnel and trail coordinators, who promoted the pilgrimage in *kanoe-saru* years, including to women, who were purportedly allowed to climb the mountain beyond the usual limit in these special dispensation years. Later in the Edo period the monkeys displayed in Fuji pilgrimage iconography grew to the proverbial three, and eventually to many more.
- 19 Fujiura 2004, 7, 10, stresses that Hokusai's stock of devotional images is mostly contained in his drawing manuals (*edehon*) and sketches (*manga*).
- 20 That is, 'Shojin tozan' in the *Thirty-Six Views*; and 'Fuji no yamabiraki', 'Suberi', 'Fuji no muro' and 'Hakkai meguri no Fuji' in the *One Hundred Views*.
- 21 A counter example is 'The foothills of Mt Fuji' (*Fuji no fumoto*), in the *One Hundred Views*, in which several women and men appear to be transporting agricultural or other goods in the lower reaches of the mountain.
- 22 The height above which trees do not grow on the mountain ranges from c. 1,400m to 2,900m, depending on the particular location and other conditions.
- 23 Matsuzono Umehiko (author) and Utagawa Sadahide (artist), *Fujisan michishirube*, 1860, woodblock-illustrated book; reproduced in Fujiyoshida-shi 1997, 332–447, and in Iwashina 1983, 404–12. A banner depicted in Sadahide's triptych, *Fujisan tainai meguri no zu*, displays the subtitle, *Tainai iwaya no zu*, '[Womb]-cave hollow'.
- 24 As Iwashina 1983, 108, points out, Sadahide does not identify the cave, but it is labelled 'Funatsu' in the guidebook. In the first half of the 19th century, male pilgrims were apparently entering the cave in numbers in order to conduct the *meguri* ritual and harvest the waters that dripped from the cave's roof. These practices were a carry-over from earlier Shugendō practices of cave confinement (*okomori*) that in the Mt Fuji context were conceived as a 'passage' (*kuguri*) through the 'womb' (*tainai*) of the mountain in order to attain spiritual transformation or rebirth. The tunnel-like shape of the Fuji lava caves lent itself well to this interpretation.
- 25 See, for example, Williams 2005, 86–116.
- 26 Smith 1988, 196.
- 27 The eastern side of Mt Fuji was covered by a thick layer of volcanic ash during the 1707 eruption.
- 28 Illustrated guidebooks were in fact important sources for some of the great landscape art of the late Edo period. Sandler 1992, 53.
- 29 Edo city edicts against Fujikō-associated activities issued from 1742 to 1849 are reproduced in Iwashina 1983, 351–65. For more detail, see Sawato 2001; Sawada 2022, 130–4.

30 See Clark 2001, 19, for a nuanced review of the arguments for and against the purported Hokusai-Fujikō connection.

31 Kano 1994, 81.

32 Ibid., 109. On this point Kano cites Kitakoji 1984, 73–84, but Kitakoji provides no source or evidence for the claim; see Kitakoji 1984, 79. See also Kano 2010, 206.

33 Fujiyoshida-shi 2001, 823.

34 Ibid., 822.

35 Nishimuraya Yohachi II, the second son of the publisher Urokogataya Magobei, had been adopted by the first Nishimuraya Yohachi to inherit the Eijudō business. The publication of the third and concluding volume of the *One Hundred Views*, arguably in the late 1840s, was taken over by Eirakuya Tōshirō of Nagoya, presumably in collaboration with the adopted later successor to Eijudō, Nishimuraya Yohachi III. For these details, see Smith 1988, 17–18; Davis 2015, 83; Marks 2010, 194.

36 For example, an 1806 (non-Fujidō) religious text bears the title, *Fujisan godenju tokusho* 「不二山御伝授得書」 (*Transcript of the Revered Teaching of Mt Fuji*). The colophon to the aforementioned 1860 guidebook illustrated by Utagawa Sadahide, *Fujisan michishirube*, also uses the ‘not two’ characters.

37 See Miyazaki 2020a, 168 n. 1.

38 Kano 1994, 81. For a more recent iteration of this suggestion, see Kano 2010, 208.

39 Four of Kotani Sanshi’s followers organised the volunteer campaign in 1845 and were its prime movers during the late Edo period and early Meiji era. Okada 1987, repr. 2008, 309.

40 See, for example, Smith 1988, 10; Clark 2017a, 276.

41 In 1842 the writer Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842), whose *yomihon* were almost entirely illustrated by Hokusai, was ordered to cease publication of his highly popular *gōkan*, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*. In the same year the *ninjōbon* author, Tamenaga Shunsui (1790–1843), was imprisoned for 50 days for alleged violation of erotica restrictions. Honda 2004, 51, 40.

Chapter 8

Japan and China in Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* (Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety)

Yamamoto Yoshitaka

Artists in premodern Japan regularly depicted Chinese subjects as well as Japanese. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) was no exception. In this essay, I will examine Hokusai's illustrations of Japan and China in the woodblock-printed book *Ehon Kōkyō* 絵本孝経 (*Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety*), which was prefaced in Tenpō 5 (1834), first published in Ka'ei 3 (1850) and republished in Genji 1 (1864). The aim of the essay is to consider how Hokusai, particularly in his later years, approached Japanese and Chinese subjects in his book illustrations.

Illustrations for adaptations of Chinese texts make up a significant portion of Hokusai's output in his later years. Ellis Tinios has rightly pointed out that Hokusai's work featuring China appears most frequently in his book illustrations, highlighting Hokusai's creative and innovative take on Chinese models in the illustrations he provided for *Shinpen Suikogaden* 新編水滸画伝 (*Newly Edited Illustrated Tales of the Water Margin*) and *Ehon Tōshisen* 画本唐詩選 (*Selected Tang Poetry Illustrated*, also *Tōshisen ehon*).¹ What distinguished *Ehon Kōkyō* from Hokusai's earlier books is that it contained illustrations of both Japan and China.

Building on the groundbreaking research by Tinios, I will attempt to elucidate further where Hokusai's creative innovation lay by investigating his treatment of Japan and China in conjunction, rather than examining his illustrations of China in isolation. Although my research on Hokusai's book illustrations is still at a preliminary stage, I will argue that illustrating *Ehon Kōkyō* allowed Hokusai to experiment with amalgamating elements of Japan and China in his depictions of Japanese and Chinese military heroes by combining disparate parts of multiple existing models to create a syncretic whole.

Text and image in *Ehon Kōkyō*

Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* was the second book to be published with that title. The first *Ehon Kōkyō* was illustrated by Kuwagata Keisai 鍬形蕙斎 (also known as Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美, 1764–1824) and published in Bunka 10 (1813).² Keisai once complained that Hokusai was a copycat, who brazenly imitated other artists' work while purporting to be original.³ Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* was undoubtedly modelled after Keisai's *Ehon Kōkyō*. The two works were produced and sold by more or less the same group of publishers.

In Keisai's *Ehon Kōkyō*, four publishers are listed in the colophon. The main publisher was presumably Katano Tōshirō 片野東四郎 (Eirakuya 永楽屋) of Nagoya, whose name appears last. The other three sold copies of the book in Edo and Osaka. One of them was Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛 (Sūzanbō 嵩山房) of Edo. Later, when it was time to publish Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō*, Kobayashi Shinbei acted as the main publisher, with Katano Tōshirō serving as a distributor. It would be safe to assume that woodblocks for Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* were ready to be cut by the first month of Tenpō 5 (1834), the month and year in the preface. Like most children's books, Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* was probably supposed to be published in time for New Year's Day of that year. For some unknown reason, however, it was not published until Ka'ei 3 (1850), after Hokusai's death. As Tinios has noted, the same publisher republished it in Genji 1 (1864) as a *kabusebori* edition (a facsimile), using a newly cut

set of woodblocks.⁴ The fact of its republication suggests that it sold very well.

The texts in the two *Ehon Kōkyō*, printed on paper of the same size (*hanshibon* 半紙本), are quite similar, to the point of being nearly identical, both in content and form. The layout is modelled after the bestselling *Keiten yoshi* 經典余師 (*Superfluous Teachers of the Classics*) series, which democratised the self-study of Chinese classics in Japan in the 1790s.⁵ The texts in both *Ehon Kōkyō* comprise two elements: the Sinitic source text of the *Classic of Filial Piety* in large script with detailed glosses and the vernacular Japanese commentary in smaller cursive script. The commentary parses the Sinitic phrases and provides numerous anecdotes from Japanese and Chinese history and stories.

The author of the commentary in Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* was Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762–1838), a popular author of *yomihon* 読本 (vernacular Japanese fiction inspired by vernacular Chinese novels) and annotated editions of scholarly texts, who collaborated with Hokusai on other illustrated adaptations of Chinese texts, such as *Ehon Tōshisen*, *Shinpen Suikogaden* and *Ehon Chūkyō* 絵本忠経 (*Illustrated Classic of Loyalty*). Ranzan borrowed much from the anonymous author of the commentary in Keisai's *Ehon Kōkyō*, although it is possible that Ranzan himself was the author of the earlier commentary as well.

Keisai prepared his illustrations based on the commentary, according to what Kobayashi Shinbei's backlist, found in a copy of Keisai's *Ehon Kōkyō*, says about the book:

This book provides the source text [of the *Classic of Filial Piety*] glossed with *hiragana*, explanatory remarks, and references to old anecdotes from Japan and China, so that instructing anyone, including children, will be quick and easy. Based on those anecdotes, Master Keisai has added ingenious illustrations, making this [book] an absolute delight to look at. All day, children shall not let go of it. This is an unparalleled, fortuitous book that will swiftly and effortlessly guide children to the way of filial piety.⁶

Like Keisai, Hokusai probably also drew his illustrations based on the anecdotes from Japan and China referenced in the commentary. However, his illustrations suggest that he did not mindlessly imitate Keisai. As we shall see in the next section, it seems that Hokusai purposefully tried to differentiate his work from that of Keisai.

Before we move on to discussing the illustrations in detail, a quick note is in order about the source text of the two *Ehon Kōkyō*. In his preface to Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō*, Ranzan clearly states that the text of the *Classic of Filial Piety* printed in the book is based on the 'Old Text' (C. *guwen*, J. *kobun* 古文) version edited by Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680–1747) and published by Kobayashi Shinbei. Shundai was a renowned Japanese Confucian scholar and a student of Ogyū Sorai 狹生徂徠, who called for a re-evaluation of ancient Chinese texts. Shundai sought to elevate the status of the *Classic of Filial Piety*, neglected by scholars of the Zhu Xi school, and to make the 'Old Text' version, which had been preserved in Japan but long lost in China, widely available.⁷ The publisher Kobayashi Shinbei had a de facto monopoly on the *Old Text Classic of Filial Piety*, just as the firm did on the *Selected Tang Poetry*, another Sinitic text endorsed by Sorai's

school. Unlike Keisai's, Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* clearly presented itself as a reliable and scholarly edition, and also corrected the errors and omissions in the source text printed in Keisai's *Ehon Kōkyō*.

Keisai's and Hokusai's illustrations of Japan and China

Here is a brief catalogue of Keisai's 39 illustrations and Hokusai's 42 illustrations in the two *Ehon Kōkyō*. The labels 'J' and 'C' indicate whether the illustrations depict Japan or China.

Keisai

1. Confucian ancestral worship (C)
2. Confucius and Zengzi (C)
3. Emperor and farmers (J)
4. Angry samurai (J)
5. Yoshitsune and Noritsune (J)
6. Yoritomo and Mongaku (J)
7. Xiang Yu and Fan Kuai (C)
8. Genpei wars (J)
9. Yorimitsu killing the earth spider (J)
10. Ushiwakamaru and Kiichi Hōgen (J)
11. King Wen (C)
12. Yoshisada and Takaie (J)
13. Shinto shrine (J)
14. Old couple in *Takasago* (J)
15. Imperial gate, officials and commoners (C)
16. Yoritomo's hunt by Mt Fuji (J)
17. Tokiyo in *Hachinoki* (J)
18. Emperor Kenzō (J)
19. Emperor Go-Sanjō (J)
20. Hōgen and Heiji rebellions (J)
21. Cherry blossom viewing (J)
22. Emperor Ōjin and Ehime (J)
23. Nakahara Kyūhaku of Chikuzen (J)
24. Tamesuke of Tango (J)
25. Ban no Ienushi (J)
26. Punishment (C)
27. Li Ling's encouragement of agriculture (C)
28. Filial son Jiang Shi (C)
29. Filial son receiving rewards (J)
30. Ono no Takamura (J)
31. Emperor Nintoku (J)
32. Empress Jingū (J)
33. Honma Sukesada (J)
34. Emperor Xuanzong and consorts (C)
35. Xianyang palace (C)
36. Kusunoki Masashige (J)
37. Breaking the fast after a parent's death (J)
38. Taira no Sadatoshi's wife (J)
39. Recitation of Confucian classics (J)

Hokusai

1. Confucius (C)
2. Zengzi (C)
3. Four occupations (J)
4. Shi Jin (C)
5. Kusunoki Masatsura (J)
6. Fan Li (C)
7. Yoshiie and Abe no Munetō (J)

8. Land dispute between Yu and Rui (C)
9. Kajiwara Kagetoki (J)
10. Seven lucky gods of Yoshida Shinto (J)
11. Kiyomori's retainer Shigeyoshi (J)
12. Kenchōji temple built by Hōjō Yasutoki (J)
13. Filial son Dong Yong (C)
14. Hōjō Takatoki (J)
15. Kusunoki's retainers (J)
16. Shun making pots, Bing Ji and the ox (C)
17. Kuryūzaemon Yorikata (J)
18. Sovereign helping the poor (J)
19. Bashō travelling on the Kiso highway (J)
20. Yoritomo releasing cranes (J)
21. Emperor Go-Sanjō (J)
22. Yoshitsuna's son (J)
23. Tametomo in the Hōgen rebellion (J)
24. Xiang Yu's suicide (C)
25. Kiyomori's dancer (J)
26. Hōjō Takatoki's dancers (J)
27. Wu Song (C)
28. Wake no Kiyomaro (J)
29. Brothers in Ashiya (J)
30. Bo Yi and Shu Qi (C)
31. Zhang Liang (C)
32. Ono no Takamura (J)
33. Emperor Nintoku's *waka* (J)
34. Empress Jingū's retainer (J)
35. Honma Sukesada (J)
36. Wu Zixu (C)
37. Unfilial son in an earthquake (J)
38. Xiao He (C)
39. Su Wu (C)
40. Kusunoki Masashige and Bōmon Kiyotada (J)
41. Taira no Sadatoshi's wife (J)
42. Polishing the Chinese character for 'filial piety' (J)

Keisai's and Hokusai's illustrations diverge significantly. Some of that divergence reflects the slight revisions that Ranzan made to the commentary, but ultimately, most of it should be attributed to the artists' decisions about what to depict and how, although the publishers or the author(s) of the commentary also may have given them suggestions. To compare Keisai and Hokusai, let us rely on statistics first. Both of them illustrated Japan more often than China, but China appears slightly more frequently in Hokusai's illustrations: Keisai has 29 illustrations of Japan (74 per cent) and 10 of China (26 per cent), while Hokusai has 28 illustrations of Japan (67 per cent) and 14 of China (33 per cent). One in four of Keisai's illustrations depicts China, as opposed to one in three of Hokusai's. A yet more striking difference is in the frequency with which warriors in battle gear appear. By my count, Keisai's *Ehon Kōkyō* has seven such illustrations (nos 5, 8, 12, 20, 32, 33, 35; six from Japan), or 18 per cent of the whole book, while Hokusai's has 14 (nos 4, 5, 7, 9, 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40; 10 from Japan), or 33 per cent.

Another point of comparison that may prove useful concerns instances in which the two artists depicted figures who are not mentioned in the commentary. Keisai drew the aged husband and wife in the noh play *Takasago* 高砂 with

the famous pine tree at Takasago shrine (no. 14) and Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 with his consorts (no. 34), even though they do not appear in the commentary. He associated them with a part of the commentary that exalts interpersonal harmony and Shinto shrines, and another part that mentions concubines in the context of managing one's household. The *Takasago* and Emperor Xuanzong with his consorts were both established subjects for painting (*gadai* 画題) that were well known in Edo-period Japan. Keisai's illustration of *Takasago* closely imitates an image in an illustrated book by Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絵 (1759–1818) of Japanese figures, *Yamatojinbutsu gafu* 倭人物画譜.⁸ Keisai's depiction of Emperor Xuanzong's harem is based on the painting theme 'Follow the Butterfly' (*chō no yuku tokoro ni shitagau* 随蝶所幸), named after the game the emperor played with his consorts. Keisai probably took as his model the illustration by Tachibana Morikuni 橘守国 (1679–1748) printed in *Ehon kojidan* 絵本故事談, a painting manual featuring Japanese and Chinese anecdotes.⁹ Keisai's other illustrations, such as those featuring Fan Kuai 樊噲 (no. 7), Yorimitsu 頼光 (no. 9) and Yoritomo 頼朝 (no. 16), all mentioned in the commentary, are also based on established subjects for painting, images that children or their guardians could easily recognise.

In contrast, Hokusai used character portraits to make *Ehon Kōkyō* as visually appealing as possible. He drew two characters from the Chinese novel *The Water Margin*, Shi Jin 史進 and Wu Song 武松 (nos 4, 27), even though the commentary does not mention them. The illustrations of these two characters, both of whom have tattoos, appear in separate parts of the book where the commentary touches on tattoos. Obvious are the connections to Hokusai's illustrations in *Shinpen Suikogaden*, as well as his portraits of *Water Margin* characters in *Chūgi Suikoden ehon* 忠義水滸伝画本, prefaced Bunsei 12 (1829). Also, Hokusai's illustrations of figures in *Ehon Kōkyō* provide close-ups of their faces and bodies in the manner of introductory illustrations (*kuchi-e* 口絵) in works of *yomihon*, such as *Shinpen Suikogaden* and others for which Hokusai provided illustrations. Viewers may not have recognised characters from *The Water Margin*, or noticed that Hokusai's illustrations looked like the character portraits in *yomihon*, but must have found them eye-catching.

Emura Hokkai 江村北海 (1713–1788), a Confucian scholar in Kyoto, reminisced about using illustrated books to educate his own children (or child), in the first volume of his detailed guide to pedagogy and education, *Jugyōhen* 授業編, published in Tenmei 3 (1783), where he discusses the education of young children (*yōgaku* 幼学):

People would send us illustrated books as gifts or New Year presents ... I used to leave all kinds of illustrated books lying around. They were the likes of *Ehon kojidan*, *Kinmō zui* [Collection of Images to Enlighten the Young], as well as chronicles, letter-writing textbooks, and dictionaries with illustrations, guides to the capital, *Nihon saijiki* (Annual Events of Japan), *Soga monogatari*, and *Heike monogatari*. Like all children, [my youngsters] would implore me to explain the pictures (*e-toki*) ... They learned a lot of names by looking at pictures of military heroes (*musha-e*).¹⁰

Hokkai's account affords us a glimpse into how illustrated books containing established subjects for painting based on



Plate 8.1 Hokusai, Kusunoki Masatsura (left), from *Ehon Kōkyō* 絵本孝經 (Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety), vol. 1, 4 verso, 5 recto, 1850 (preface 1834). Woodblock, height 22.7cm, width 15.7cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi1065 (image no. 8). Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University. Image retrieved from the the Early Japanese Book Portal Database (Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University). URL: <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/results1280.php?f1=Ebi1065&f12=1&enter=portal&lang=en&skip=7&-max=1&enter=portal&lang=en>

historical anecdotes, such as *Ehon kojidan* (which Keisai used as a basis for an illustration, as discussed above), and illustrations of military heroes, like those in *Soga monogatari*, *Heike monogatari* and warrior pictures (*musha-e*), were popular with children. Keisai and Hokusai, each in his own way, sought to create illustrations of Japan and China that would appeal to children and which their parents could use for story time. At the same time, the two versions of the illustrated *Ehon Kōkyō* also probably afforded adult fans of Keisai and Hokusai a chance to enjoy images by their favourite artists.

Creative syncretism in Hokusai's illustrations

In the two *Ehon Kōkyō*, both Keisai and Hokusai took pains to distinguish between Japanese and Chinese clothing, armour and architecture. However, the two artists seem to have differed fundamentally in how they approached Japanese and Chinese subjects.

As highlighted above, Keisai deliberately adhered to established subjects for painting that were widely known, for both Japanese and Chinese subjects. Consequently, images of Japan and China in his *Ehon Kōkyō* were more rigidly fixed than Hokusai's. On the other hand, Hokusai took liberty in using bits and pieces from multiple models and combining

them, creating syncretic illustrations that combined materials from Japanese and Chinese sources.

To give one example, the fifth illustration in Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō* depicts Kusunoki Masatsura 楠木正行, a 14th-century Japanese warrior who fought against the Ashikaga shogunate in support of the Southern imperial court. In Edo-period Japan, he was well known as a hero in the military tale *Taiheiki* 太平記, and celebrated as a loyal warrior and a filial son. The illustration appears on the left of two facing pages (Pl. 8.1) and shows a faceless warrior on horseback and two fallen warriors. The inscription reads: 'Kusunoki "Sword-Bearer" Masatsura fights a loyal battle at Shijō-gawara [sic]'.¹¹ Shijō-gawara is an error; Shijō-nawate 四條畷 was the location of the famous battle in which Masatsura was killed. The warrior on horseback, brandishing two swords, must be Masatsura, although his back is turned to us. As the inscription suggests, the illustration shows his valour rather than his downfall.

This image of Masatsura has an unlikely precedent in a depiction of Chinese warriors in Hokusai's *Ehon Tōshisen* [Part VI], *gogon ritsu hairitsu* (Pl. 8.2). It represents a Sinitic poem by the Tang-period poet Zhang Xun 張巡, entitled 'Listening to the flute' (C. *wendi*, J. *fue o kiku* 聞笛). The poem describes a battle scene on the frontier. At first glance, the



Plate 8.2 Hokusai, 'Listening to the flute' by Zhang Xun, from *Ehon Tōshisen [Part VI], gogon ritsu hairitsu* 画本唐詩選[六編]五言律排律 (*Selected Tang Poetry Illustrated: Poems in Eight Lines and More than Eight Lines of Five Characters Each*), vol. 4, 12 verso, 13 recto, 1833. Woodblock, height 22.4cm, width 15.5cm (covers). National Institute of Japanese Literature, na 8-423. Image retrieved from the Union Catalogue Database of Japanese Texts (National Institute of Japanese Literature). URL (image no. 59): <https://doi.org/10.20730/200016749>

connection between this illustration and that of Masatsura may not be obvious. Yet the composition of the warrior on horseback, the horse with its curved neck and tail and the fallen warrior(s) underneath the horse is similar, and so is the placement of arrows, flying through the air and scattered on the ground.

For his images of Masatsura and the 'Listening to the flute' poem, Hokusai may have taken as a model a Ming-period Chinese illustration, which shows Liu Bei 劉備 (161–223) on horseback, attacking an opponent falling off a horse, with a long spear (Pl. 8.3). This appears in a Ming-period Chinese pictorial edition of *Sanguozhi yanyi* 三国志演義 (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) published in Wanli 19 (1591).¹² Further research will be necessary to determine if it would have been possible for Hokusai to study this imported edition (or a hand-drawn copy), but it does not seem improbable, given that he used a similar composition in yet another representation of Japanese warriors: Yamanaka Shikanosuke 山中鹿之助, a 16th-century Japanese warrior, and his opponent (Pl. 8.4). This drawing was printed in one of Hokusai's collections of military hero portraits, *Ehon Wakan no homare* 絵本と漢詩 (*Illustrated [Heroes] of High Renown of Japan and China*). A brief inscription on the right of the image reads 'Drawn while drunk',¹³ suggesting that

Hokusai let his brush move spontaneously, guided by intuitive feeling rather than careful deliberation. Hokusai let his mind and brush move freely to transform an illustration of Chinese warriors into new illustrations of either Chinese or Japanese warriors, without worrying about Japan- and China-specific conventions that established subjects for painting called for.

One can speculate that Hokusai had a stock of pictorial models and elements from both Japanese and Chinese sources – in his head or perhaps as sketches – that he combined at will. At least, that is what he claimed to have done in drawing portraits of Chinese characters in *Chiōgi Suikoden ehon*, according to his preface written in Sinitic prose and dated Bunsei 12 (1829): 'Yuan- and Ming-period Chinese drawings are habitually delicate and feeble, while Japanese drawings are habitually rugged and headstrong ... Now, I have discarded these habits that cause excesses and deficiencies, and instead, syncretised them to create casually drawn portraits of the 108 heroes who appear in *The Water Margin*'.¹⁴

Hokusai writes here that he took the best of both worlds – Chinese and Japanese pictorial traditions – to draw his portraits of the Chinese characters in *The Water Margin*. The two most important words in the passage above are 'setchu'



Plate 8.3 Artist unknown, 'Liu Bei stabs a bandit and gains victory', from *Xinkan jiaozheng guben dazi yinshi sanguozhi tongsu yanyi* (Popular Romance of the Three Kingdoms: New Proofread Edition of the Old Copy, in Large Characters with Notes on Pronunciation and Meaning), vol. 1, 7 verso, 8 recto, China, 1591. Woodblock, height 27.9cm, width 17.1cm (covers). National Archives of Japan, *fu* 001-0008. Image retrieved from the National Archives of Japan Digital Archive. URL (image no. 29): <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/img/4258121>



Plate 8.4 Hokusai, 'Yamanaka Shikanosuke', from *Ehon Wakan no homare* (Illustrated [Heroes] of High Renown of Japan and China), 25 verso, 26 recto, 1850 (drawn 1835). Woodblock, height 23.0cm, width 16.1cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.468 (ex-collection Jack Hillier). Image retrieved from the Early Japanese Book Portal Database (Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University). URL: <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/BM-JH468/portal/27/>



Plate 8.5a Hokusai, King Wenxuan 文宣王 [Confucius], from *Ehon Kōkyō* 繪本孝經 (Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety), vol. 1, 1 recto, 1850 (preface 1834). Woodblock, height 22.7cm, width 15.7cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi1065 (image no. 4).

Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University.

URL: <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Ebi1065/portal/3/>

折衷, which can be translated as ‘syncretic’ or ‘eclectic’, and ‘tawamure ni … egaku’ 戲画, or ‘casually drawn’. Hokusai’s syncretism of Japanese and Chinese elements was at best whimsical and had no fixed methodology or ideology. His sole goal seems to have been to create something exciting, while experimenting with an array of visual possibilities, not just for drawing *The Water Margin* characters, but also in his illustrations of Chinese and Japanese subjects in *Ehon Kōkyō* and other book illustrations of the same period. For instance, the image of Masatsura (Pl. 8.1) is a side view of the other three illustrations printed on double-page spreads (Pls 8.2–8.4). This may have been an experimental exercise in drawing a scene from a different angle and fitting it onto a single page.

Understandably, Hokusai’s whimsical assemblage of materials did not always result in faithful reproductions. In his illustration of Shi Jin in *Ehon Kōkyō*, printed to the right of Masatsura’s image (Pl. 8.1), Shi Jin’s facial features and hairstyle make him look like a Japanese kabuki actor in an ukiyo-e print rather than a character in a typical Chinese book illustration. Hokusai’s representation of the ‘Listening to the flute’ poem is also not an exact reproduction of the Ming-period Chinese model, as the warriors are drawn in a



Plate 8.5b Hokusai, King Wen 文王, from *Hokusai manga* 北斎漫画 (*Hokusai's Sketches*), Part XI 十一編, 2 verso, c. 1828–33.

Woodblock, height 22.8cm, width 15.8cm (covers).

Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi0607 (image no. 4).

Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University.

URL: <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Ebi0607/portal/3/>

style closer to that of Japanese warrior pictures. Hokusai’s eclecticism ran both ways: Chinese materials were incorporated into illustrations of Japan, while Japanese materials were incorporated into illustrations of China.

Another example of Hokusai’s ‘unfaithful’ reproductions due to his creative syncretism is the portrait of Confucius in his *Ehon Kōkyō* (Pl. 8.5a). It resembles his portrait of King Wen 文王 in *Hokusai manga*, Part XI (Pl. 8.5b), which was, in turn, probably based on the portrait of King [Emperor] Shun 舜王 in Tsukioka Settei’s *月岡雪鼎 Kingyoku gafu* 金玉画譜 (Pl. 8.5c). Portraits of Confucius in Edo-period Japan, including the one by Keisai in his *Ehon Kōkyō*, often adhered to the model like the one by Settei (Pl. 8.5d). Hokusai, however, chose to depict Confucius in the regal likeness of sage-kings, probably in accordance with the title of King Wenxuan 文宣王 bestowed posthumously to Confucius, and inscribed next to his illustration. To create his own version of Confucius, Hokusai replaced King Shun’s headwear with a hat more commonly seen in portraits of Song-period Confucian scholars such as Cheng Yi 程頤 and Cheng Hao 程顥.¹⁵ He also put Confucius in a scholar’s study of a much later period, possibly Ming or Qing, and



Plate 8.5c Tsukioka Settei (1710–1786), King Shun 舜王, from *Kingyoku gafu* 金玉画譜 (*Kingyoku's Picture Album*), vol. 6, 4 recto, 1771. Woodblock, height 26.3cm, width 18.3cm (covers). Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi0367 (image no. 5). Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University. URL: <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Ebi0367/portal/103/>

added a frame decorated with Japanese crests of paulownia leaves and flowers (*kirimon* 桐紋). While these crests pay homage to the Chinese convention of associating sage-kings with the phoenix (*fenghuang* 鳳凰) perched on a paulownia tree, the crests themselves, widely used by Edo-period Japanese samurai houses, decidedly belong to early modern Japan, not ancient China.

The amalgamation of Japanese and Chinese elements in Hokusai's illustrations may be considered as part of a larger trend in late 18th- and 19th-century Japan. Kobayashi Hiromitsu has pointed out that, around the 1770s, a shift towards 'mixing Japanese and Chinese [styles]' (*wakan konkō* 和漢混淆) began to take place in painting manuals, such as that by Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 *Mōkyō Wakan zatsuga* 孟喬和漢雜画, published in Meiwa 9 (1772), featuring landscapes, flora and fauna.¹⁶ Perhaps a similar trend can be observed in the so-called literati paintings (*bunjinga* 文人画) of the late Edo period, which purported to depict landscapes (*sansui* 山水) idealised by Chinese literati, but often departed from actual landscape paintings produced in China. From an even wider perspective, the cultural and intellectual history of Japan abounds with cases of Sino-Japanese



Plate 8.5d Tsukioka Settei (1710–1786), Confucius 孔子, from *Kingyoku gafu* 金玉画譜 (*Kingyoku's Picture Album*), vol. 6, 5 recto. Ebi Collection, UK, Ebi0367 (image no. 6). Image courtesy of ARC, Ritsumeikan University. URL: <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Ebi0367/portal/104/>

eclecticism, coexisting alongside efforts to keep Japanese and Chinese traditions distinct. Syncretism of Japanese and Chinese elements – and, more broadly, of disparate materials – cannot explain all of Hokusai's vast late output, but it may be worthwhile to use it as a framework for studying his book illustrations, including those that were never published.¹⁷

This essay has analysed representations of Japan and China in Katsushika Hokusai's *Ehon Kōkyō*, particularly in comparison to its precedent, Kuwagata Keisai's illustrated book of the same title. Although both artists prepared their illustrations based on a nearly identical commentary, their approaches to creating images that would appeal to viewers, who included children, differed significantly.

Hokusai drew Chinese subjects and warriors in battle gear more frequently than Keisai. While Keisai created easily recognisable images based on established subjects for painting, Hokusai took disparate elements from multiple sources and combined them as he saw fit, especially in his portraits of Japanese and Chinese military heroes. Through that process, Hokusai incorporated elements taken from Chinese sources into illustrations of Japanese figures, and

vice versa, syncretising Japanese and Chinese pictorial elements and styles to create an eclectic whole.

Since the essay has examined only two cases (illustrations of Kusunoki Masatsura and Confucius) in detail and in relation to other illustrated books published in Japan and China, it is too early to make any broad generalisations. Yet, looking out for signs of creative syncretism that brings together elements drawn from Japanese and Chinese sources in Hokusai's book illustrations may help us see more clearly how artists in Edo-period Japan approached their craft.

Notes

- 1 Ellis Tinios, 'China and the Chinese in Hokusai's book illustrations' (Paper delivered at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, 10 April 2007); Tinios 2020.
- 2 The copies of *Ehon Kōkyō* consulted are: the Keisai volume in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo (54-208, at <https://doi.org/10.20730/200013856>, accessed 30 January 2023); and the Hokusai volume, in an early printing, in the Ebi Collection (Eb1065, at <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Eb1065/portal/o/>, accessed 30 January 2023).
- 3 Kitamura Intei 喜多村筠庭, 'Kansei nenkan kiji' 寛政年間記事, *Bukō nenpyō hoseiryaku* 武江年表補正略. Reprinted in *Edo sōsho* 江戸叢書, vol. 12, 1916, 70. 政美 [中略] 語リテ云、北斎ハトカク人ノ真似ヲナス。何ヲモ己ガ始メタルコトナシトイヘリ。是ハ略画式ヲ蕙斎ガ著シテ後、北斎漫畫ヲカキ、又紹真ガ江戸一覧図ヲ工夫セシカバ、東海道一覧ノ図ヲ錦絵ニシタリシナドシケル也。
- 4 Ellis Tinios, 'Illustrating a Confucian classic: pictorial editions of the *Old Text Classic of Filial Piety*' (Paper delivered at the 15th International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies, 2017).
- 5 For English-language scholarship on *Keiten yoshi*, see Clements 2015, 117–19.
- 6 Advertisement in Kuwagata Keisai, illus., *Ehon Kōkyō*. National Institute of Japanese Literature (54-208, image no. 51). 此書は、本文に平かなをつけ、講釈（かうしやく）を加へ、いかなる童蒙（どうもう）に至る迄も速（すみやか）にさとしやすきやうに和漢（わかん）の古事をひき、其古事によりて蕙斎（けいさい）先生工夫（くふう）の画を加へたれば、甚面白く、明暮（あけくれ）童蒙（もてあそびぐさとなるべく、さすれば自然（しぜん）と孝道（かうどう）に導（みちび）くのちかみちなれば、世に類（たぐひ）なきめでたき書なり。All translations in this chapter are by the author.
- 7 For an overview of Shundai's edition of the *Old Text Classic of Filial Piety*, see Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一, 'Dazai Shundai no *Kobun Kōkyō* ni tsuite' 太宰春台の古文孝經について. In an appendix to *Mori Senzō chosakushū* 森銑三著作集, vol. 8, Tokyo, 1974.
- 8 *Yamatojinbutsu gafu* 倭人物画譜, *Kōhen* 後編, pub. Bunka 1 (1804), vol. 1 卷上. Ebi Collection (Eb10670, at <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Eb10670/portal/4/>, accessed 30 January 2023).
- 9 Pub. Shōtoku 4 (1714), vol. 1 卷一. Ebi Collection (Eb11444, at <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Eb11444-01/portal/30/>, accessed 30 January 2023).
- 10 'Yōgaku' 幼学 (Young Children's Learning), vol. 1 卷一. 人々ノミヤゲ、或ハ年始ノトシダマナド云ニモ、大方（オ、カタ）画本（エホン）ヲ遣（ツカハ）ス。〔中略〕絵本古事談（コジダン）、訓蒙図彙（キンモウヅイ）、絵入年代記（エイリネンダイキ）、絵入庭訓、絵入節用集、京メグリ、日本歳時記（サイジキ）、曾我（ソガ）物語、平家（ヘイケ）物語ナド、何（ナニ）ト限（カギ）リタルコトナク、画（エ）ノアル書（シヨ）ヲアテガヒ置（オケ）バ、子（コ）ドモノナラヒニテ、必画（エ）トキヲセヨトセガム。〔中略〕其余（ヨ）武者絵（ムシヤエ）ナドハ、ワケテ其人人ノ名ヲクオボヘ居（ヲ）ルナリ。
- 11 楠帶刀正行、四条河原に忠戦す。
- 12 Katsura Munenobu 桂宗信 clearly used this Ming-period illustration to draw Cao Cao 曹操 in one of his illustrations to *Ehon Sangokushi* 絵本三国志, vol. 3, pub. Tenmei 8 (1788). See <https://doi.org/10.20730/100105131> (accessed 30 January 2023) (image no. 74, Department of Japanese Language and Literature, Faculty of Letters, Gakushuin University, Tokyo 913.66-5008). Hokusai possibly also studied this adaptation.
- 13 酔中に筆す。
- 14 Ebi Collection (Eb10654, at <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/Eb10654/portal/o/>, accessed 30 January 2023). 然則元明画有優弱癖。本朝画有剛氣癖。〔中略〕今也愚去過不及癖、折衷以戯画水滸伝所載百八英雄之形像。（然ば則ち元明の画、優弱の癖有り。本朝の画、剛氣の癖有り。〔中略〕今や愚、過不及の癖を去り、折衷して以て戯れに水滸伝に載る所の百八の英雄の形像を画く。）
- 15 See, for example, portraits of Chinese scholars in Hayashi Moriatsu's 林守篤 *Gasen* 画筌, vol. 4, pub. Kyōhō 6 (1721) (Tokyo University of the Arts Library, *ki*[貴]-3-18, at <https://doi.org/10.20730/100265528>, accessed 30 January 2023, image no. 110). Hokusai reproduced them in *Hokusai manga, Part IV*, although he playfully drew some looking sideways or with their backs turned.
- 16 Kobayashi 2018, 241.
- 17 For information on the unpublished book illustrations, see Clark 2017a, 266–9. See also Katsushika Hokusai, illus., *Banmotsu ehon daizen zu* 万物絵本大全図 (British Museum, 2020, 3015.1-103); Clark 2021; Clark 2022.

Chapter 9

There be Dragons¹

Angus Lockyer

We like to believe that dragons do not exist. Children know better. Hokusai did too.

The artist's first dragon seems to have appeared right at the end of the 18th century, as Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) was about to enter his forties. They were announcing his emergence as an artist in his own right, no longer indentured to the schools in which he had trained.² Over the next two decades and more, they began to turn up more or less where you would expect them, in stories and situations they had animated for a long time. On the bodies of outlaws, trying to embody the indomitable spirit of a dragon, as they work the margins of the state that has tried to tame them.³ In mythological form, with nine heads, 'coming to drink from nine cups where [they] will find death'.⁴ Providing a conveyance on which the deity Kannon might descend in response to the cries of sentient beings in distress.⁵ They appeared, that is, as part of the inexhaustible catalogue in which Hokusai sought to depict the ten thousand, myriad things that populated the seen and unseen world.⁶ Once, early on, in the round, on a pair of lanterns, snarling at a tiger and a snake, they brought to life the eternal oppositions through which the world itself is animated.⁷ As time went on, though, increasingly, they appeared in their own right: adorning the ceiling of a festival float,⁸ ascending up or over Fuji.⁹ Or, simply, emerging from clouds of wind and rain, doing what dragons have always done, ascending from the depths in the spring, bringing the water that allows the crops to grow, and descending in the autumn, to slumber and allow the land to do the same. In Hokusai's last few years, it is hard not to believe that dragons were everywhere.

Or at least, that is how it seemed to us, as we began to think about how best to show Hokusai navigating the rapids of old age. In 2014 Tim Clark and I sat on the floor of the last room of an encyclopedic exhibition at the Grand Palais in Paris, looking at one of the artist's last dragons, on loan from the Musée Guimet (Pl. 9.1). They were tired and they were old, but they were still – every brushstroke – alive. Hokusai painted them in the last few months of his life, marking the painting with the 'Hundred' seal that signalled his own determination to make it to a century. He fell ten years short, but it was clear that dragons had something to tell us about what Hokusai was doing as he confronted his own end. Three years later, in 2017, the dragon joined their companion, a tiger from the Ōta Memorial Museum of Art in Tokyo, and two other dragons, one with seven heads, in the last room of our own exhibition at the British Museum. Together, they told the story of Hokusai's last three years, during which he kept using that same seal again and again and again, returning to the things he had seen and the things he had imagined, but which he had not quite yet captured on the page, summoning the energy to put brush and ink to paper or silk one more time.¹⁰

It is not always easy for some of us to look at dragons, though. It is too easy to dismiss them as the figment of an imagination whose time has passed. It is too easy for us to tell a story about Hokusai that fits his work into our world, dividing it into familiar categories – landscape and genre, religion and myth – so that it might tell us a story we already know about how our own curious way of seeing came into being.¹¹ And when we come across a dragon that threatens

to take us back to a time we would rather forget or to overwhelm our tidy distinctions – past and present, seen and unseen – we can get a bit flustered. We start waving our hands.¹² We would rather not look hard at the things Hokusai wanted to paint or consider whether he might have thought about them differently. We might not admit that we still have some things to learn, not only about his work – what he painted and when – but also from him, about how we might see the world more clearly. It would be embarrassing to admit, after all we have done to make them disappear, that there still be dragons.

How might we look better at Hokusai's dragons, then? How might they provide a key, with which to unlock what he was trying to do with his art? To use it, I suggest, we need to revisit our own assumptions about the nature of such beasts; to question the categories into which we typically divide the world and its representation; and to supplement connoisseurial method and restraint with historical comparison and imagination. It is useful to try to identify which among the many dragons attributed to him actually came from his brush. It is important to situate his dragons in their time and place, comparing them to other dragons in the region and beyond. But if we want to see the dragons that Hokusai saw, we need to accept that they can escape the page, do some work, and join us in the here and now.

The painting of dragons

We could and we should be connoisseurial, although after only five years of looking at Hokusai's paintings, the following are little more than hints.

It would be useful if we had a complete catalogue of Hokusai's dragons, but it is hard to know how many of the paintings survive, given the numerous fires that swept through Edo (Tokyo) during his lifetime and thereafter. At least one missing dragon has left a gaping hole in the record. Iijima Kyoshin, Hokusai's posthumous biographer, suggests that it was a dragon that first allowed Hokusai's fame to go west. Famously, in the first decade of the new century, in Edo, Hokusai and Tani Bunchō (1763–1840) had demonstrated their painting skills in front of the shogun. At that time, Hokusai's showmanship, coming on top of his big Daruma painting at Gokokuji (see PI. 1.5) a few years earlier, had made Bunchō sweat and Hokusai's reputation spread among the capital's elite. Now, secretly, in 1818 or so, while Hokusai was in Kyoto, Bunchō asked him to paint a dragon, which he then had mounted, placed in the alcove of his room and showed to visitors, lauding Hokusai's 'extraordinary mastery of the brush' (*hitsuryoku no hibon naru o shōyo seri*). And it was Bunchō's endorsement, according to Iijima – or maybe the dragon itself – that secured his reputation among the Kyoto literati. People began to 'compete to buy his work'.¹³

It is hard to imagine that this dragon has survived: none of the extant dragons seem to be of the right date. Every now and again, though, another dragon emerges. There is the one on whose head Kannon sits, in one of 103 preparatory drawings for a picture book of ten thousand things, produced in the ?early to mid-1840s, which never made it to publication but which has recently arrived at the British Museum.¹⁴ There is one with a passing similarity to the



Plate 9.1 Hokusai, *Dragon in Rain Clouds*, 1849. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 120.5cm, width 42.5cm. Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris, MA.12176, given by Nobert Lagane 2001. Photo © MNAAG, Paris, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier



Plate 9.2 Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795), *Dragon*, 1777. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 134.7cm, width 89.4cm. Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 11.8498, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection. Photograph © 2023 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

dragon in the Guimet, which claims to date from 1839, when Hokusai was 80, now in a private collection in the USA.¹⁵

We need to be careful, though, because it is also hard to know which paintings are real, that is, are actually from Hokusai's masterful brush. One place to start would be with those acknowledged by their current owners to be merely 'attributed'. At least two make the list: one formerly owned by Charles Lang Freer, in the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC and one from the Burke Collection, now in the Minneapolis Institute of Art.¹⁶ Both are sketches, and therefore without the seals and other apparatus that might allow us to tie them down more securely. Freer got his from Kobayashi Bunshichi (1862–1923), which could raise a few alarm bells, and the dragon's whiskers seem to be sprouting from under their chin, rather than next to their nose, which would make them an outlier among Hokusai's crowd.¹⁷ The six-headed Burke dragon, meanwhile, curls around a small group of seemingly stupefied worshippers, bringing to mind both the nine-headed dragon in *Hokusai manga, Part IV* (1816) and the painting *Monk Nichiren and the Seven-Headed Dragon Deity of Mt Minobu* (see Pl. 6.7). The Burke sketch is, at best, fast work. The heads of the dragons seem cloned rather than

individualised, their undershot jaws quizzical rather than curious, as in the *Manga*, or brooding, as with Nichiren. The stretching and scales on the body, too, seem to dissipate rather than concentrate their threat and force. And the worshippers look familiar, but remain on quite solid ground, unlike those huddled and sprawled every which way as Nichiren reads the sutra in the 1847 painting. Still, it is a sketch, with some things in common with the five-headed dragon, summoned by Benzaiten, who appears as both a preparatory and a block-ready drawing, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹⁸

Another useful thing to do, if we want to refine the probability that a dragon emerged from Hokusai's brush, is to compare the ones that look alike. There are four versions of the most familiar of them, a dragon ascending alone out of a storm (although sometimes as part of a diptych), staring out to the left of the painting, body and talons partially obscured by clouds. There is the one from the private collection, claiming to be from Hokusai's 80th year; two from the National Museum of Asian Art, one done when he was 85 (see Pl. 10.1) and one when he was 86 (acquired from Kobayashi, paired with a descending dragon); and the one from the Guimet, dated to his 90th year (which goes with the tiger at the Ōta Museum in Tokyo).¹⁹ There are obvious differences to note: the evolving facial expression – from eager, through determined, to hesitant, to bashful and, finally, self-realised, perhaps; the placement of the whiskers – usually sprouting from the bridge of the nose, but sometimes, as with the 80-year-old, dangling from the chin; the variation in the flick of the tail. We could linger on how each brandishes their talons. The two most visible ones on the 80-year-old are oddly identical, both facing the same way as the face. In the other three, they reach out from the body, albeit sometimes invisible, twisting in multiple directions, towards the viewer and away, helping the dragon rise into the sky and escape the picture surface. The brushwork varies too. There is a difference between the fastest work on paper and the care evident on silk. It is also tempting to see a progression, from the careful, repetitive strokes of the youngest of the four, through the increasing diversity of line in the two from the National Museum of Asian Art, to the more individuated, vibrant lines of Hokusai's final months. These are preliminary impressions only and there is no way to know what they might mean. It would be useful to be able to examine all four together: at high resolution, if not in the flesh, but more importantly in company, exploring their different aspects and aggregating our results.²⁰ Even then, it is not clear that they would reveal all their secrets. Probability is a game of chance, never a record of the past, and even a pretender has something to tell us about their enduring power, both then and now.

Before we get there, it would also be useful to put Hokusai's dragons alongside those of his artistic forebears and descendants, both in Edo and beyond. There is no space here to trace the genealogy of dragons in East Asian art, although the temptation is always there. Ancestry tells its own stories, about influence, obviously, but also about the rise and fall of form and family over time. It is hard to resist the lure of a particular dragon, insisting that they realise the potential of the breed to the full, encapsulating the essence

of the tradition, condemning their predecessors to preparing the way, their successors to enervation and decline.²¹ I am not resisting it too well myself. But before I give in, it is worth pointing out some of the figures who sandwich Hokusai on the shelf. It would be good to look slowly at the many dragons of Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795): the anatomical contortion and dense scaling of two dragons in the clouds on a pair of folding screens from 1773 at Kanchi-in in Kyoto; the strangely elongated, foot-like talon of a similar beast from 1781, this time paired with a tiger, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts; and the more impressionistic, brooding head from 1777, now on a hanging scroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Pl. 9.2).²² The last points to Hokusai, perhaps, but is missing the body, which might show us how Ōkyo struggled to integrate the dragon's different parts. Later, usefully, given his father's reported training under Hokusai's own teacher, Katsukawa Shunshō (?1743–1793), and his own study of Ōkyo and others, we might explore how Shibata Zeshin (1807–1891) used dragons, occasionally, to mark the turmoil of the late 19th century. Zeshin's dragons move quickly, for example in a sketch from the 1880s in the Honolulu Museum of Art, sometimes so fast that they leave nothing except their somewhat unconvincing tails behind.²³ Further back, it would be fun to consider if Hokusai owed an ancestral debt to Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539–1610), for having liberated him from the repetitive formulas of the Kano school, making it possible to find kinship even with a mythical beast.²⁴ It is also worth noting that dragons did not disappear as the world turned. For Kawabata Ryūshi (1885–1966), too, dragons were talismanic, providing a retreat from the official art world of the 1920s, solace at the end of the war and commissions as he sought to rebuild his world in the aftermath of defeat, even if his dragons continued to exhibit a resentment and defiance, which Hokusai's had long moved past.²⁵

The meaning of dragons

Connoisseurship, however, can only get us so far. Art needs history, if we want to know why Hokusai kept turning to dragons and why they took the forms that they did. To understand what Hokusai's dragons were doing, in other words, we have to put them in their time and place. And to do this effectively, we have to understand where they came from.

There is something to be said for remembering that dragons were omnipresent, not only in eastern Asia, until very recently. This means, of course, that they have been subject to disciplinary sniping, at least in the academic arena, with different scholars, armed with different weapons, each seeking to recruit dragons to their own quixotic cause. One line of battle is simple enough: on the one hand, there are those who would prefer to confine themselves to the symbolic, using typology and structural analysis to identify dragons as a common response to natural phenomena; on the other, there are some who are more willing to countenance the possibility that dragons emerge from the real world and that our interaction with them has changed over the years.²⁶ The latter is more promising, although somewhat risky, if we want to spend time in worlds where the modern distinctions between

nature and culture, body and mind, were less pertinent than they are now. In either case, it is too easy to use the warrant of research to chase dragons off the page and into the realms of hypothesis.

It may be more useful to note that dragons seem to appear at particular times in particular places. We might expect dragons to behave as they have when terrorising the West. We might be used to dragons showing up when things are falling apart, when we are looking for a scapegoat, as well as a hero to put things back together again, or, in other words, when we need someone to slay the dragon. It should be no surprise, in a region that has progressed through the collapse of civilisations, that dragons are allowed to play a part in games of thrones, as long as they are put beyond the pale. It should be no surprise that European dragons still haunt the Western imagination in the form of Dracula, famously their son (even if the name originally derived from an attempt to enlist dragons on the side of Christendom against the infidel Turk).²⁷ By the same token, we should be prepared to admit that dragons might play a different role in places with more sustainable models of political and social order. In eastern Asia dragons were similarly powerful, and often unpredictable, but also domesticable: they were understood to be part of the order of things.²⁸ Dragons obeyed rules, like the rest of the natural world, seen or unseen, and could therefore be propitiated, by the appropriate authorities and with the appropriate rites. In China, of course – where dragons have their longest history, where their bones served to instruct the earliest rulers and where the consequent order was the most elaborated – dragons were conscripted in the service of the state.²⁹ To the extent, though, that dragons helped to connect the affairs of the earth to the forces of heaven, they could easily multiply beyond the imperial enclosure, taking up residence in temples, markets and villages. In Japan, forever struggling to connect local power to universal warrant, dragons were more often the domain of Buddhist adepts. You needed a ritual specialist if you were going to bring back the rain.³⁰

Here, though, we start running into problems, one with space and one with time. The first is a simple category mistake, easy enough to make when we think about dragons as a way into culture. Inasmuch as culture was nationalised when we initially began to study it, so dragons became defined in terms of typological distinctions. The assumption that the borders of modern nations made for essential difference allowed us to freeze the movement of dragons and so to trace each national culture back to its source. The arch-example here is Marinus de Visser, whose *The Dragon in China and Japan* (1913) remains the most useful compendium of religious and literary references to dragons, but assumes, with respect to dragons in Japan, that 'original beliefs' can be disentangled from 'conceptions imported'.³¹ This does not vitiate the utility of Visser's catalogue, which acknowledges, albeit briefly, the extent to which Chinese dragons can be found in Japanese history, from the 9th to the 19th century.³² But this discounts the fact that dragons are both more global and more local than a national frame would suggest, crossing borders with ease, but also inhabiting particular locales, and as they do, changing over time. It also tends to restrict the work of dragons to the traces they have left in the

archive, assuming that their main role is to provide a window onto the beliefs of an identifiable people, even when most of the people concerned have not left any written trace. In other words, dragons become important for the meaning we make of them.

In making this assumption, it joins forces with a second, more insidious mistake. This insists not only that dragons have disappeared over time, but also that we can only understand them by translating the past into terms that make sense in our more enlightened world. Mark Elvin, for example, uses dragons as grist to the milling of an indictment of China's environmental record. He acknowledges that the traditional Chinese landscape was inhabited by 'superfauna', including dragons, and that it was common for both individuals and groups of people to see dragons until at least the 17th century; that the landscape served as a 'revelation of cosmic forces', 'pattern-principles', by which life, the universe and everything was governed; and that the seeming conflict between such a 'religious and artistic sensitivity', able to see beyond the surface of things, and the 'exploitation and development', enabled by science and technology, is itself 'an artifact of our modern perspective'. But when Elvin comes across a 'lucid, sober, practical, and learned' early modern observer, who persists in seeing dragons, he cannot help relying on the artefact. He insists that we understand a 17th-century intellectual in 20th-century terms. We have been able to reduce the 'probability' of 'seeing "dragons" ... lower ... than it has ever been'. Xie Zhaozhe (1567–1624) can only have seen them because he was lacking key elements of the scientific method.³³

Elvin, in other words, gradually enforces a distinction, which asserts that unseen forces can only be verified on the replicable evidence of things seen, which turns dragons into 'false positives', and which makes those who cannot see this – and instead see them – failed moderns. In a way, this is predictable. Elvin's concern has long been twofold: the failure of East Asia to match the economic development of the West; and the consequences of any such development for the natural environment.³⁴ But this is hardly historical. Tim Brook (2010) does better, with the same period, using dragon spotting to raise the curtain on a troubled Chinese Empire. He points out that we need to understand early modern intellectuals on their own terms, which for the most part took the existence of dragons as given. Their challenge was to sift the evidence so as to understand how dragons illustrated the immutable, yin-yang, pattern-principle. We should therefore hold out against interpreting dragons simply as a curious local misreading of bad weather. We also need to acknowledge that in extremis we, too, often see things like dragons. Brook thereby points out the danger of reading dragons in terms of psychological or social breakdown. As good historians, we should try to enter the emotive world of the people whose past we are describing. But he cannot quite resist the temptation to make some meaning of his own. 'Dragons confirmed', he proposes – dragon spotting tells us, he is hinting – that the people who saw them were living through 'difficult times, politically and meteorologically'. Dragons prove an elegant way to introduce the contradictory consequences of 'autocracy and

commercialization' for late imperial China, suggesting that the past is a foreign country, in which we can nonetheless make ourselves at home.³⁵

We could do the same thing for early modern Japan. Dragons were spotted repeatedly during the 17th and 18th centuries, in the shogunal capital (Edo), in the provinces and at sea.³⁶ Dragons also cropped up consistently in the accounts of the intellectuals who, in retrospect, we like to think, were working to establish criteria through which to sift the true from the false. Dragons were there in the *Bencao gangmu* (1596) of Li Shizhen (1518–1593), the catalyst for the explosion of interest in *materia medica* over the next two and a half centuries, where nine different species of dragon, comprising both lizards and the real thing, nestled comfortably among 85 other scaly things, such as snakes and fish. Dragons were still there in the *Wakan sansai zue* (1713) of Terajima Ryōan (b. 1654), not only in the classical Chinese sources to which he referred back, but also in the Japanese present, close to the imperial capital.³⁷ Dragons were even there in the mid-18th century as part of the research agenda of Hiraga Gennai (1728–1780), perhaps the most empirically inclined and irreverent of Enlightenment intellectuals. Gennai was open-minded, noting some Dutch scepticism about dragons, but also standard Dutch credence in their existence, and included pickled dragons, acquired from the Dutch, in his exhibitions of *materia medica* and more.³⁸ Looking back, it is tempting to conclude that Gennai and the rest must have known that there was a difference between the things preserved in bottles and the dragons of myth. In time, we can comfort ourselves, the names of the former would be rectified. Thus, by 1830, for example, when Edo was hit by thunderstorms and hail, it is surely appropriate to document the meteorology but to dismiss as rumour the story that yet again the dragon at the bottom of Shinobazu pond was doing its worst.³⁹

But this would be to replay Elvin's mistake, that is, to assume that our distinction between seen and unseen worlds provides a useful way of understanding other times and places. It also limits us to translating the credulity of our sources into a secular account supposedly true for any time and place. Instead, we might want to stop asking what dragons mean – in our terms – and to start looking at what they do – when they do appear. Hokusai suggests how to look, as well as what might happen when we start seeing dragons.

The fact of dragons

As with dragons in general, so with Hokusai in particular, it is tempting to try to work out what he meant when he painted a dragon, that is, what he was claiming by painting a dragon, or, simply, what he believed. We can find some reassurance, perhaps, in evidence that he understood dragons to belong with other things unseen, whether carrying Kannon, attending a sermon or conjured by an adept. The most encyclopedic of his endeavours was probably a long-running, never-completed attempt to produce *The Great Picture Book of Everything* (*Banmotsu ehon daizen*), a comprehensive updating of the millennium-long East Asian tradition of picture encyclopedias. Recent research has proposed that the traces of this long-running,

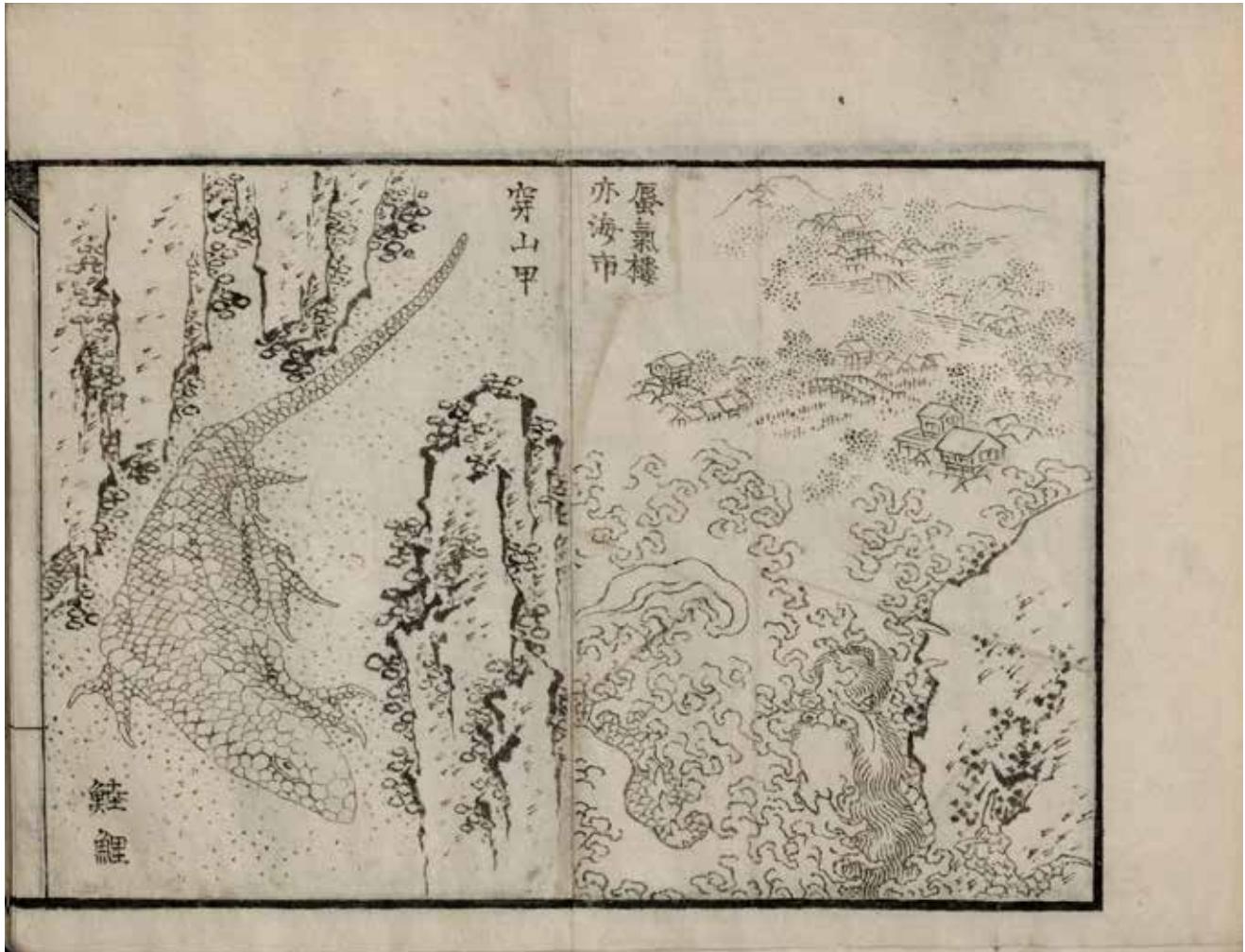


Plate 9.3 Hokusai, 'Clam breath pavilions' (Shinkirō), from *Drawings for a Three-Volume Picture Book*, vol. 1, 43, c. 1823–33(?). Block-ready drawing, ink on paper, height 13.8cm, width 20.4cm. Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1998.670.1-3. Photograph © 2023 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

never-completed project can be found in three collections: 150 rough sketches in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; 178 block-ready drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, arranged in three volumes; and another 103 block-ready drawings recently acquired by the British Museum.⁴⁰ Rearranging the 'myriad things' according to degrees of proximity, from unseen deities and their subsequent passage through India and China, to things ornithological, animal, vegetable and mineral, indicates that Hokusai was beginning to confine dragons to a place far away. Four of them appear at the beginning of the traditional class of 'dragons and fish' in the Boston volumes, but even here Hokusai seems to make a distinction. Where the dragons enjoy a classical warrant, rely on artistic models and/or exhibit magical powers (Pl. 9.3), the fish that follow are much more clearly the product of anatomical observation.⁴¹ The distinction is underlined in the London drawings, where dragons are used exclusively to embroider the worlds of religion and myth. They appear only in the first fifth of the current tentative ordering of the drawings: the dragon on whose head sits Kannon, a highly ranked protector of the Buddhist faith; the eight heavenly dragon kings, lower-ranked, but there at Vulture Peak to hear the Buddha teach, together with the eight-year-old Dragon Princess; an invisible dragon, recently departed from the begging bowl

of one of 16 arhats; and a poisonous dragon, conjured by a leading, ascetic disciple of the Buddha, in a cave (Pl. 9.4). There are also a few textual references to dragons in other drawings: as the impregnator of the mother of the Yan Emperor; as the denizen of the eponymous Dragon King's Palace, possibly located in the Ryūkyū islands. But that is where they stop, at least in this encyclopedia. There are no dragons to be seen among depictions of other beasts, which cover the spectrum from non-existent *kirin* (Chinese unicorn), through unseen rhinoceroses, to the dogs and ducks that Hokusai could probably have seen most days. Hokusai is not confining his gaze to the visible world. The important distinction for him is not whether or not something exists, but whether or not it can be depicted accurately on the basis of what is already known. Still, he is clear that dragons occupy a different place from the other beings in his updated bestiary. Depictions of unicorns that suggest a resemblance to dragons are, he insists, 'incorrect'.⁴²

It is also worth underlining the ancient precedent that Hokusai has for his work. Dragons are there at the very beginning of the most fertile of the Chinese Classics, the *Yi jing*, connecting earth and heaven, integrating the elements, showing us how to conduct ourselves in the world. The first dragon, lying hidden 'beneath the lake', tells us not to act. The second, 'appearing in the field', suggests how we might



Plate 9.4 Hokusai, 'Mahākāśyapa conjures a poisonous dragon in a cave', from the series *Illustrations for The Great Picture Book of Everything* (*Banmotsu ehon daizen zu*), ?early to mid-1840s. Block-ready drawing for an illustrated book, mounted on card, ink on paper, height 10.5cm, width 15.2cm. British Museum, London, 2020,3015.39, purchase funded by the Theresia Gerda Buch Bequest, in memory of her parents Rudolf and Julie Buch, with support from Art Fund

do well by associating with 'great men'. After we have spent some time alone, alert, in creative pursuits, the dragon returns in the fourth line, leaping 'above the tides', and again in the fifth, gliding 'through the heavens', underlining the importance of having great men in one's life. Only, finally, in the sixth and last place has the dragon grown over-mighty, 'exceeding proper limits', soaring away from its responsibilities, storing up 'cause to repent'. Altogether, though, the first hexagram gives us a 'flight of dragons without heads', but bringing great good fortune.⁴³ In light of such pre-eminence, it is no surprise that dragons made their way into the calendar, marking the years and days, the most evanescent of the 12 animals that help to turn the sexagenary cycle. Time had meaning in pre-industrial eastern Asia. Divining its significance continued to be important in the early modern period, even if its practitioners had been cast out by the nervous Tokugawa state.⁴⁴ Given that Hokusai was born in Hōreki 10 (1760), a dragon year, as he reminds us on one of his last paintings, his relationship with dragons was over-determined, to say the least.⁴⁵

Hokusai probably knew these things and more, but he was no philosopher. He was not trying to establish what might be true for all times and places. Nor, I would argue, was he trying to illustrate his beliefs. Our understanding of art, conditioned for hundreds of years in the West by the problem of representation, has a hard time coming to terms

with an artist for whom naturalistic accuracy in depiction, and therefore the truth of a claim, was not precisely the point. It is also worth noting that he was working in a culture that had spent a century or more playing with and poking fun at the idea that such orthodoxies be allowed to stand.⁴⁶ Certainly, Hokusai wanted to get things right. The numerous painting manuals, the mock-heroic mini-autobiography at the end of the *One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*, the endless, almost obsessive recycling of figure and form all point to a faith that it was possible to translate the world onto the page. What Hokusai wanted, though, was not to get the viewer (and reader) to believe a certain thing (or to paint a particular way), but to be given a glimpse (and some tools) that might allow them to see (and depict) the teeming diversity, the irrepressible life, of the world that surrounded them, seen and unseen, here and now. The mini-autobiography mentioned form and structure, as youthful preoccupations, until he was 73, but his goal was to get behind the surface, to see into the 'principles of things', so that his pictures themselves became 'alive'.⁴⁷

Hokusai's concern, in other words, was not with thinking, but with doing. His practice was not intended to refine his belief. His beliefs served to animate his practice, and he drew on whatever worked. His sources, inspirations and models were multiple, from local manifestations to universal 'truths': the Bodhisattva Myōken, who could be found along the canal

at Hosshōji, which also allowed him to connect to the single-minded example of Nichiren, as well as a mantra from the *Lotus Sutra*, which he could mutter as he walked along the streets. Myōken also pointed up into the sky, where the North Star hung as the constellations moved around it, enabling the artist to become Hokusai, no longer indebted to schools and teachers, but in service to creation itself.⁴⁸ Fuji, too, was singular, unmoving, there on the horizon, visible from almost all parts of Edo and many places far beyond. But it was the water – which fell from the sky onto the mountains, which ran through the fields and the city down to the sea, which took form so briefly in the unceasing waves – that connected the whole. It was water that gave life to the creation that was his master, that provided a clue to the link between the unseen things, which would always stay the same, and a world in motion, to be caught through the brush on the page.⁴⁹

This is what Hokusai wanted to do and these were the worlds to which dragons gave him access. Again, he was not trying to think and say the right things about the worlds he saw, as he went about his day, when he looked through words and images at other times and places, or when he woke from a dream.⁵⁰ Rather, he was drawing them – and drawing on them – in order to share them with all of us, creating a space in which to do some work. And it was in this space, between the depths and the heights, between this world and others, that dragons might appear, helping him and us to connect the dots. He was not of course the first or only artist for whom dragons were such a key, blurring the lines between spirit and matter.⁵¹ In addition to those who painted dragons for affairs of state, there were those who painted dragons to become alive. The most famous is probably Chen Rong (1235–1266), eight centuries earlier, who did both. Chen and his brother were imperial officials, good at painting dragons and commissioned to paint them in service to the Southern Song state. From the perspective of the state, the ‘painter was a rainmaker’ and so, to make rain, you needed a painter. For the painter, though, making rain began not with title and prescription, but by doing the things that mimicked nature, so that you might summon the dragons and bring forth the rain. Chen therefore drank, to bypass the mind, and then ‘spat forth painting from within’. Once the brush had splattered and the ink had dried, he inscribed the scroll to describe what he had done. But the action of the painter, the movement of the brush, the appearance of the dragon preceded the description, the ritual, the belief.⁵²

Hokusai was not doing exactly the same thing. He did not drink much, for one. And I do not think he thought that by painting a dragon he was going to bring the rain or even extend his life.⁵³ But he did know that painting a dragon did something, and that when he painted dragons, he summoned the wherewithal to do something more. The three dragons that appeared in the final room of the exhibition at the British Museum in 2017 do different things. The seven-headed dragon, staring at us, curling around Nichiren, whose eyes are down on the sutra, tells us that the law is inviolable and that we are protected too, if only we see straight and do the right thing. The dragon ascending into the sky above Fuji, in the midst of a cloud, reminds us that the calm of the landscape is possible because of the wind and the rain and the things we cannot see (Pl. 9.5). Finally,



Plate 9.5 Hokusai, *Dragon Rising above Mt Fuji*, 1849. Hanging scroll, ink and slight colour on silk, height 95.5cm, width 36.2cm. Hokusai-kan, Obuse

the dragon on their own, emerging from the rain cloud, teaches us that even when we are old and tired, we can still emerge from the depths, we can still do more, we can still bring life (Pl. 9.1).⁵⁴ And by painting these dragons, Hokusai made it so. He knew that there be dragons. He created space within which we can see it too.

Notes

- 1 [They/them], in the circumstances, but also given their long-standing gender fluidity, and thus their liminal authority; even if this goes against their traditional identification with the male, yang half of yin-yang dualism, and the misogyny of the Mahāyāna tradition. For a debunking of androcentric assumptions, see Abe 2015. For female associations within that tradition, see Faure 2003, 316–24; Balkwill 2018. See also the suggestive comments in a chapter titled ‘How to read dragons’, in Hodge and Louie 1998, 2–7, 15.
- 2 Keyes 2005, 2.
- 3 *An Illustrated New Edition of The Water Margin*, vol. 1, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013.715a–d, at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/78636> (accessed 23 March 2022).
- 4 Goncourt 2014, 91.
- 5 ‘Avalokiteśvara seated on the head of a dragon’, British Museum, 2020.3015.46, at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2020-3015-46 (accessed 23 March 2022).
- 6 Dragons made regular appearances among the ‘profusion of images … avalanche of drawings … debauchery of doodles’, which appeared as the *Hokusai manga*, and in other drawing manuals, for example *Hokusai gashiki*. See Goncourt 2014, 87, 102. Hokusai treated them more systematically in picture encyclopedias. See Thompson 2016; Clark 2021; and the discussion of *The Great Picture Book of Everything* in this essay.
- 7 *Dragon and Tiger*, at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/204025>; *Dragon and Snake*, at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/203969>. Both Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accessed 23 March 2022).
- 8 Loaned to the Hokusaikan, Obuse (see Pl. 3.5).
- 9 *One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*, vol. 2, British Museum, 1979.0305.0.452.2, at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1979-0305-0-454-2 (accessed 23 March 2022). *Dragon Rising above Mt Fuji*, Hokusaikan, Obuse (Pl. 9.5).
- 10 Clark 2017a, 320, no. 215, 327–9, nos 221–3.
- 11 For the problem with this method, see Lockyer 2017. For Hokusai and his competitors as the catalyst for modern art, see, for example, Jones 2015 and Jones 2017a.
- 12 See, for example, Jones 2017b.
- 13 Iijima 1999, 76–7, 132.
- 14 ‘Avalokiteśvara seated on the head of a dragon’, British Museum, 2020.3015.46, at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2020-3015-46 (accessed 23 March 2022).
- 15 Allen 2013, 121–2. Two more found their way onto the walls of a recent exhibition at the Sumida Hokusai Museum, one ascending, ostensibly from 1846, and one going down, allegedly from 1848. Naitō 2021, 188–91. A preliminary analysis of the seals suggests that the impression of the ‘Hundred’ seal on the latter differs significantly from other examples on paintings confidently believed to be by Hokusai, given which its attribution should remain in abeyance.
- 16 *Dragon Emerging from Clouds*, at <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1904.276/>; and *Dragon*, at <http://burkecollection.org/>
- catalogue/296-dragon (both accessed 23 March 2022).
- 17 For the problems with Kobayashi Bunshichi, see the essays by Clark (pp. 139–47) and Hare (pp. 236–44).
- 18 Asano 2017a, 42–3.
- 19 Allen 2013, 121–2; *Dragon and Clouds*, at <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1904.133/>, illustrated as Pl. 10.1 in the Yasuhara essay (pp. 132–8); and *Ascending Dragon*, at <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1904.190> (both accessed 29 March 2022); Clark 2017a, 328–9, no. 223.
- 20 See Clark essay, especially p. 146.
- 21 Daphne Rosenzweig, for example, did not even try to resist the charms of Kano Shōei’s dragon scrolls at Oberlin, contrasting their ‘philosophic and religious fervor’ and ‘perfect technical expression’, with the ‘conventionalized, vapid creature’ that appears subsequently. Rosenzweig 1978–9, 188.
- 22 Maruyama Ōkyo, *Tiger and Dragon: Dragon*, 1781, Detroit Institute of Arts, at <https://www.dia.org/art/collection/object/tiger-and-dragon-dragon-55971> (accessed 8 March 2021); *Dragon*, 1777, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/26967/dragon> (accessed 23 March 2022).
- 23 Shibata Zeshin, *Dragon in the Clouds*, Honolulu Museum of Art, at <https://honolulumuseum.org/collections/36358/> (accessed 30 January 2023), and on a six-fold screen, illustrated in Rosenzweig 1978–9, 181.
- 24 Compare Tōhaku’s *Tiger and Dragon* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/25202> (accessed 30 January 2023), with Tan’yū’s *Dragon* in the Worcester Art Museum, at <https://www.worcesterart.org/collection/Japanese/1987.10.html> (accessed 30 January 2023), and, again, Shōei’s at Oberlin (Rosenzweig 1978–9, 168, 176).
- 25 For his early career, through to *Dragon brought Low* (August 1945), see Yiengpruksawan 1993. For the bigger picture, see Kimura 2018.
- 26 For the former, Blust 2000, who summarises his thesis as ‘rainbow -> dragon’. For the latter, Jones 2000, who sees the ‘world-dragon’ as a composite of three primary predators – raptor, leopard and snake – which combined to leave a fear of dragons etched deep in the neural circuits of the human mind. Blust, unsurprisingly, has little patience for such speculation. His dismissal of Jones can be found in the annotated bibliography for his paper, uploaded on ResearchGate, although Jones does not appear in the published paper. See https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290651836_The_origin_of_dragons (accessed 9 March 2021).
- 27 Rezachevici 1999. See also Kostova 2005.
- 28 Jones 2000, 95–112, is suggestive here, although he is more interested in Euro-American examples than the richer record in Asia.
- 29 Bates 2002 is a useful, brief introduction.
- 30 Ruppert 2002. See also Como 2007 for an account of the way the early state struggled to come to terms with the unpredictability of fast-moving beasts.
- 31 Visser 1913, 135.
- 32 Ibid., 146–51.
- 33 Elvin 2004, 195, 321, 367, 370.
- 34 See Elvin 1973.
- 35 Brook 2010, 16–23.
- 36 Visser 1913, 220–4.
- 37 Marcon 2015, 36, for Li Shizhen. Visser 1913, 71, 123, 221, for Terajima Ryōan. See also Yasuhara essay (pp. 132–8) for both.
- 38 Screech 2018, 140–4.
- 39 Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan 2016. For some 18th-century mischief by

the same dragon, see Visser 1913, 222. Perhaps the most famous pond-dweller in the archipelago, also with some connection to Benten, the presiding deity of Shinobazu, was Zennyo, the dragon king who lived in the pond in Shinsen'en, and who helped to establish Kūkai's reputation in the 9th century. He was still helping out the imperial court in the 14th, until the dilapidation of his residence later in the century caused him to move out. *Ibid.*, 159–68. Ruppert 2002, 155–70.

40 Clark 2021, 15–19 for picture encyclopedias, and 21–9 for the reasons to combine the material in the three collections.

41 Thompson 2016, 41–3 and xl. For clam breath pavilions, see also Yasuhara essay (pp. 132–8).

42 Clark 2021. The drawings can be found online at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/> (accessed 23 March 2022). The registration numbers for the dragon-related drawings are: 2020,3015.46, 2020,3015.63, 2020,3015.53, 2020,3015.9, 2020,3015.38, 2020,3015.39, 2020,3015.34, 2020,3015.29 and 2020,3015.94.

43 This summary is a mash-up of the two most important and influential recent English translations: Wilhelm 1967, 3–10; Rutt 1996, 224, 290–2. See also Legge 1882.

44 For the importance of the calendar, Breen 2006, 63–78. For early modern divination by Onmyōdō practitioners, see Hayashi 2013, 151–67.

45 Clark 2017a, 327, no. 221.

46 Harootunian 1989; Ooms 1998.

47 Clark 2017b, 20–1; Lockyer 2017, 33.

48 Keyes 2005, 16; Lockyer 2017, 28–30.

49 Clark 2017a, 74–149, 306–9, *inter alia*.

50 Clark 2017a, 172, no. 74.

51 Thanks to Elizabeth Coombs for underlining this.

52 Purtle 2016, 261–6.

53 Compare Takeuchi 2017.

54 Clark 2017a, 320, no. 215, 327, no. 221, and 328–9, no. 223.

Chapter 10

Research Note: Hokusai's Sources – The Case of an Eighty- one Scaled Dragon

Yasuhara Akio

Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) was a painter, illustrator, art teacher, writer, witty *senryū* poet, fun-lover and, above all, an interpreter of the psyches of – and messages from – all living things: animals, insects, trees, plants, flowers and nature as a whole. He never ceased learning, never stopped improving his technical skill, with an emphasis on its basic foundations, and never stopped thinking anew.

When we attempt to translate Hokusai's written words into English, but even into modern Japanese, we may immediately feel that many of his phrases appear meaningless, dull or plain foolish, until we start investigating what might lie behind those words, helped by the hints hidden in Hokusai's sometimes puzzling phrases and illustrations.

My teacher and friend Roger Keyes (1942–2020) and I often talked about puzzling messages in Hokusai's paintings, in his illustrations and in his words, which we suspected were intentionally hiding something. Hokusai's love of composing *senryū* is a clear indication of his playful habit of encrypting messages in witty poems.

It is this free-spirited, self-amusing side to Hokusai, emanating from his illustrations and buried in his writings, which attracts me the most. It feels like we are playfully engaging with Hokusai and enjoying his full attention directed towards us. Or, we might imagine the artist amusing himself just for his own benefit, with a purposeful grin on his face. To appreciate that playfulness to the full, we need to journey deep into his mind, where apparently unlimited amounts of practical, historical and cultural knowledge and wisdom were stored. Hokusai's works invite us to step into his world, but he does not always trouble to explain the details. The details are for us to fill in. Pictures and words are just windows; what will be fully discovered and seen beyond them is up to us. We are invited to look for and solve the encrypted hints in his works.

In this short research note I retrace the steps undertaken by Keyes and myself to try to decipher the meaning and associations of one of Hokusai's many art-names: the unusual *Kukushin* 九九蜃, which the artist first used around 1805 (Bunka 2). We propose here that this name represented Hokusai's favourite mythical beast, the dragon, even though at first neither of the *kanji* characters 九 nor 蜘 seems related to 'dragon'. Along the way I raise the important issue of what earlier sources, particularly Chinese illustrated encyclopedias, Hokusai may have used as reference. How did his associative, playful mind adopt and adapt these sources?

Hokusai and dragons

In Japanese, the word 'dragon' is generally written with one of the following three *kanji* characters: 龍・辰・竜. The signature on one of Hokusai's paintings, *Dragon and Clouds*, done in 1844 when he was 85, demonstrates how closely the artist felt associated with this mythical creature (Pl. 10.1).²

The inscription next to the signature reads:

天保十五甲辰ノ元旦辰ノ刻 宝曆十庚辰出生

which can be translated as:

At the hour of the dragon on New Year's Day of the fifteenth year of the Tenpō era (18 February 1844 in the Gregorian

calendar),³ the year of the yang-tree & dragon; born in the tenth year of the Hōreki era (1760), the year of yang-metal & dragon

Then the artist's age and full name read:

齡八十五歲画狂老人
中嶽鐵藏藤原爲一

which means:

Manji, who is crazy about painting, at the age of eighty-five;
Nakajima Tetsuzō Fujiwara Iitsu

Traditionally in Japan, individuals are associated with one of the 12 zodiac signs for their birth year, which is thought to endow a person with a certain set of traits or characteristics. The 12 signs are: *ne* rat, *ushi* ox, *tora* tiger, *u* rabbit, *tatsu* dragon, *mi* snake, *uma* horse, *hitsuji* sheep, *saru* monkey (macaque), *tori* rooster (cockerel), *inu* dog, and *i* wild boar. Referring to the dragon among the 12 zodiac signs in the section 'Lù shù' (J. *Rissho*, E. *Treatise on Pitch*) contained in *Shiji* (*Shiki, Records of the Grand Historian*, 92–89 BC) by Sīmǎ Qiān, it states:

辰者 言萬物之軼也 The dragon [zodiac sign] embodies the movement of all things.

In this sentence 軼 means 'movement', and 軼 is also a variant *kanji* of 虛 'mirage', which will be discussed below.

Hokusai himself was a true dragon type, even including a reference to this in one of the art- names he used after 1799: Tatsumasa 辰政 (perhaps read 'Tokimasa', as suggested by Iijima Kyoshin in his *Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* [*Katsushika Hokusai den*], 1893). Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin (1767–1848), Hokusai's close friend and a literary giant of the time, tells us much about dragons in the first volume of *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* (*Eight Dog Warriors of Kazusa Province*), written over the period 1814–42. But it was Hokusai's magical brush that conjured up the dragon so vividly for the eyes of his contemporaries.⁴

Kuku in Kukushin

Some years ago, Keyes and I were wondering why Hokusai chose the puzzling name Kukushin 九九蜃 (or 九々蜃). Is *kuku* 'ninety-nine', as in modern Japanese? Or, was Hokusai thinking of the multiplication tables? *Shin* means mirage, an imaginary scene far away on the ocean or in the distant desert sands. What does this convey to us?

The art-name Kukushin first appeared in 1805, possibly a little earlier. The name is found on several of the artist's paintings of beauties; the *surimono* print series *Eight Drunken Immortals* (*Inchū hassen*); *Shōki* painted on a banner; a Daruma portrait; and other works.

Kuku may literally be translated as 'double 9'. In the *onmyō-dō* (way of yin and yang) tradition, nine, the largest numerical symbol in the decimal system adopted in China and Japan, represents the highest-ranked 'yang' and is particularly auspicious, especially when repeated, as in *kuku*.

Does Kukushin, then, mean highly auspicious mirage? Or, does it mean 99 mirages? But mirages are not countable. We should note here that during the Edo period, before Arabic numerals were adopted in Japan, if two numbers were written next to each other, this usually meant



Plate 10.1 Hokusai, *Dragon and Clouds*, 1844. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, height 88.2cm, width 35.6cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1904.133



Plate 10.2 Terajima Ryōan (b. 1654), 'Dragon', from *Wakan sansai zue*, vol. 45, 2 recto, 1713. Woodblock, height 26.7cm, width 18.8cm. <http://codh.rois.ac.jp/pmj/book/100249312/>. DOI: 10.20730/100249312 (National Institute of Japanese Literature/Ajinomoto Foundation for Dietary Culture 味の素食の文化センター)

multiplication. For example, 'nihachi soba' meant $2 \times 8 = 16$, indicating that the price of a bowl of *soba* noodles is 16 *mon*. Another example is *niku* representing $2 \times 9 = 18$, as in '*musume, toshi wa nikukarazu*'. This translates to 'The young woman is barely $2 \times 9 = 18$ years of age', with the punning meaning 'not unattractive' (*nikukarazu* 憎からず). It turns out that *kuku*, here to be understood as $9 \times 9 = 81$, is very closely related to the dragon.

Kuku and the dragon

A passage in *Wakan sansai zue* (*Dictionary of Plants and Living Creatures in the Three Realms of Japan and China*), collated and compiled by Terajima Ryōan (b. 1654) in 1713, explains the link between *kuku* and the dragon. The book deals with plants and animals that have medicinal value.

Volume 45 of *Wakan sansai zue* is about fish with scales, and animals. On the first page about the dragon it says:

The dragon has eighty-one scales on its back, which is the arithmetic square of the celebrated yang number 9 [$9 \times 9 = 81$]. (Pl. 10.2)

So, it is likely that Hokusai intended *kuku* to represent the mythical creature of the dragon, a particular favourite of his and, in a sense, part of his destiny from the time of his birth.

Earlier reference works in China and Japan

Terajima Ryōan was a distinguished medical doctor in Osaka who worked at Osaka castle. As a doctor, he was familiar with Chinese books about medicine, including

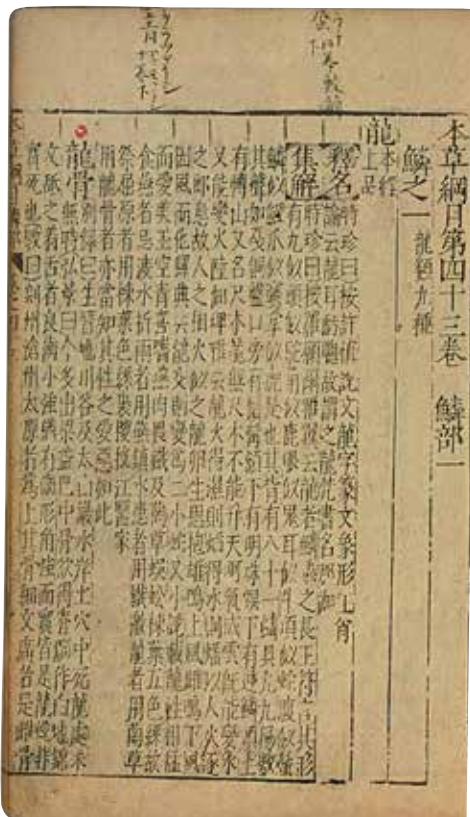


Plate 10.3 Lǐ Shízhēn (1518–1593), 'Dragon', from *Běncǎo gāngmù*, vol. 43, 1, 1590. Woodblock, height 25cm, width 16cm. National Diet Library, Tokyo, 1287105

Sāncái tú huì (*Sansai zue*, *Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, 1609) by Wáng Qí and Wáng Sīyì. It was this Chinese original that prompted Ryōan to create an expanded edition which compiles and adds comparable Japanese sources.

Sāncái tú huì reminds us of the even earlier Chinese book about medicine, *Běncǎo gāngmù* (*Honsō kōmoku*, *Compendium of Materia Medica* or *Dictionary of Plants and Living Creatures for Medicinal Uses*, 1578) by Lǐ Shízhēn (1518–1593) of the Ming period. Here, in volume 43, appears the 81-scaled dragon (Pl. 10.3).

Why *shin* in *Kukushin*?

Shin implies *shinkirō*, meaning 'mirage'. In Hokusai's day, a popular idea was that a large clam (*ōhamaguri*) exhales mist, and in the mist forms the illusory image of a tower. Significantly, the word *shin* could also have the meaning of large clam. *Hyakki yagyō shū* (*Collection of Night Procession of One Hundred Demons*; also known by the title *Konjaku hyakki jūi*, 1781), by Toriyama Sekien (1712–1788), includes an illustration of a large clam exhaling a misty mirage (Pl. 10.4). Interestingly, this page cites a line from the section '*Tiān guān shū*' (*Tenkansho*, *Treatise on the Celestial Order*) in *Shǐjì*:

海旁蜃氣象樓臺 Mirage over the ocean forms a tower shape.

However, *Shǐjì* does not relate the mirage to either the large clam or to the dragon.

The image of a clam exhaling a scene from the pleasure quarters is sometimes found in ukiyo-e. For instance, the poem inscribed by Ōta Nanpo (1749–1823) on the painting

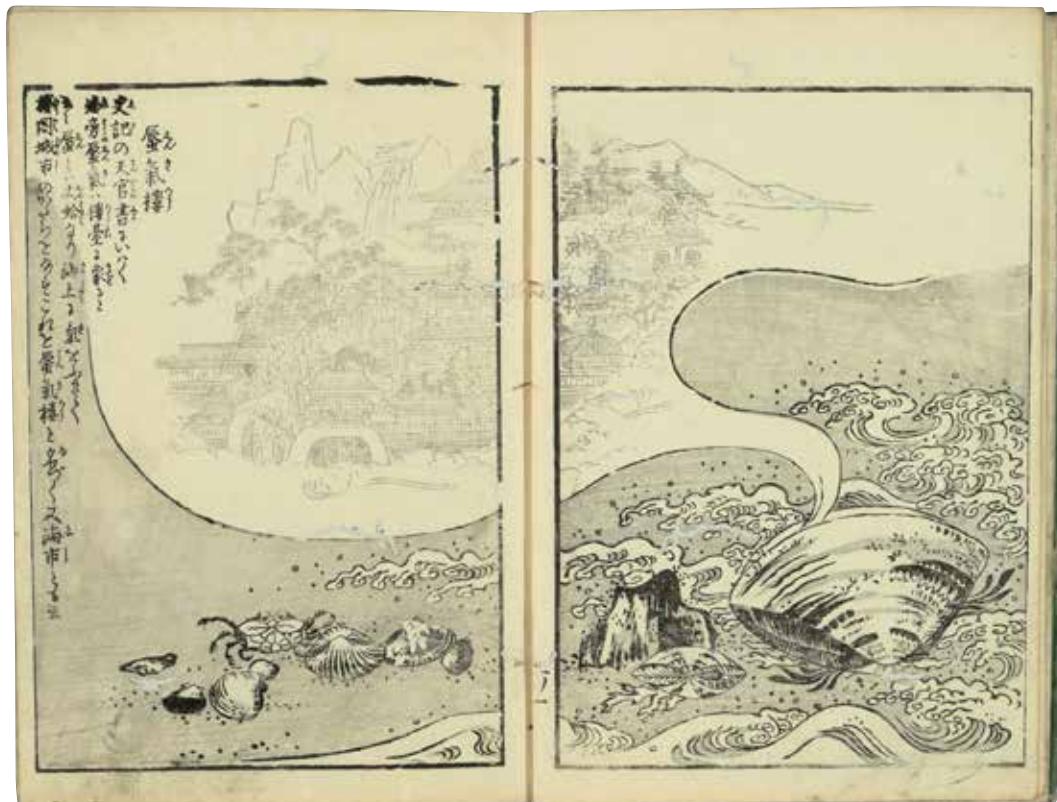


Plate 10.4 Toriyama
Sekien (1712–1788),
'Mirage of the clam', from
Hyakki yagyō shūi, vol. 1, 1
verso, 2 recto, 1781.
Woodblock, height
22.8cm, width 16cm
(covers). Waseda
University Library, Tokyo,
bunko 31 E0490

Seated Courtesan Reading a Letter (c. 1790s, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney) by Katsukawa Shun’ei 勝川春英 (1762–1819) refers to a mirage. Looking back at her precarious life, the courtesan sighs, ‘it’s all a mirage’. Another example is the set of three hanging scroll paintings by Chōbunsai Eishi (1756–1829), with Ōta Nanpō’s inscriptions, *Mirage at the Yoshiwara Pleasure District* (c. 1811; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which also depicts clams emitting mirages.⁵ Nanpō, Shun’ei and Eishi were all contemporaries of Hokusai, and Shun’ei and Hokusai were fellow pupils of Katsukawa Shunshō (?1743–1793).

Hokusai himself did illustrations of mirage-exhaling clams for *Aa Shinkirō* (*Ah, Mirage!*), a *kibyōshi* comic novel written by Kannatei Onitake (1760–1818) published in 1803, just two years before Hokusai began using the name Kukushin, around 1805 (Pl. 10.5).

This association between mirage and large clam is found in *Wakan sansai zue*. In volume 47 there is a description of *watarikai* 車蟶 (horse-hoof clam; today read *shagō*). Citing *Běncǎo gāngmù*, it says, ‘*watarikai* is a large clam ... it exhales a mirage’ (Pl. 10.6).

Should we therefore consider Kukushin as meaning ‘81 large clams’? This would be rather odd. Going back in date to refer to ‘horse-hoof clam’ in *Běncǎo gāngmù*, we find that it is also described as a large clam which creates a mirage (Pl. 10.7). At the same time, however, the book also says that a mirage is not necessarily associated *only* with the horse-hoof clam.

Shin as the dragon

A little more searching takes us to the section headed ‘shin’ in all three publications: *Běncǎo gāngmù*, *Sāncái tú huì* and *Wakan sansai zue*. This *shin* is a species of dragon. *Shin* is a type of *mizuchi* 蛟 dragon (or 蛟竜): it resembles a large serpent with

Plate 10.5 Kannatei Onitake (1760–1818) and Hokusai, 'Mirage-exhaling clam', from *Aa Shinkirō*, 1 verso, 1803. Woodblock, height 18cm. Waseda University Library, Tokyo, he 13 02946 0184



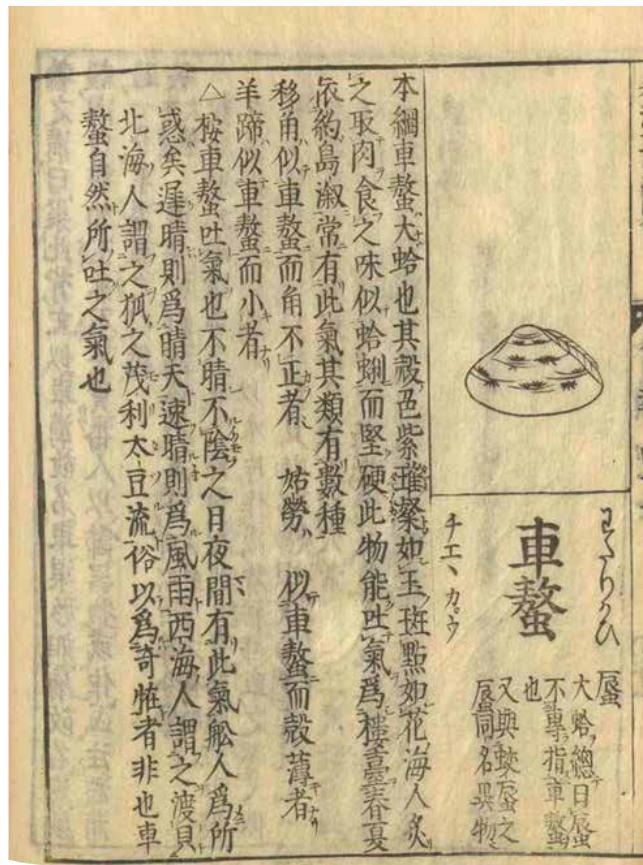


Plate 10.6 Terajima Ryōan (b. 1654), 'Horse-hoof clam', from *Wakan sansai zue*, vol. 47, 11 verso, 1713. Woodblock, height 26.7cm, width 18.8cm. <http://codh.rois.ac.jp/pmjt/book/100249312/>. DOI: 10.20730/100249312 (National Institute of Japanese Literature/Ajinomoto Foundation for Dietary Culture 味の素食の文化センター)



Plate 10.7 Li Shizhen (1518–1593), 'Horse-hoof clam', from *Běncǎo gāngmù*, vol. 46, 12 recto, 1590. Woodblock, height 25cm, width 16cm. National Diet Library, Tokyo, 1287105

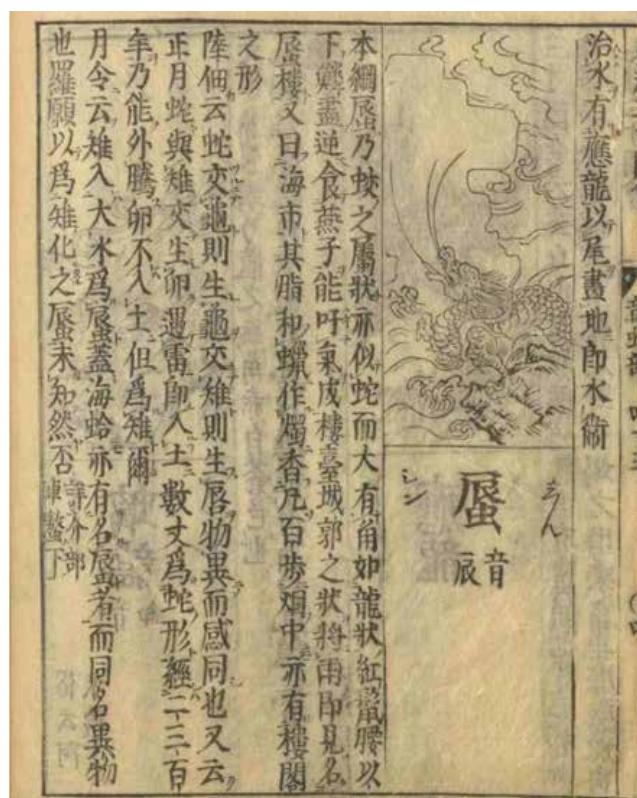


Plate 10.8 Terajima Ryōan (b. 1654), 'Shin dragon', from *Wakan sansai zue*, vol. 45, 4 verso, 1713. Woodblock, height 26.7cm, width 18.8cm. <http://codh.rois.ac.jp/pmjt/book/100249312/>. DOI: 10.20730/100249312 (National Institute of Japanese Literature/Aiinomoto Foundation for Dietary Culture 味の素食の文化センター)

horns and scales and it produces the mirage of a castle tower (**Pl. 10.8**). From these sources, it seems very likely that Hokusai was referring to this kind of dragon in his name Kukushin.

In fact, Hokusai illustrated this *shin* type of dragon in *Hokusai manga, Part III* published in 1815 (Pl. 10.9). In this illustration, the inscription ‘*kaishi* 海市’ is another term for mirage. The same *kaishi* also appears in the much earlier *Běncǎo gāngmù*, in the description of the mirage produced by the *shin*.

Tracing Hokusai's sources

In summary, sources have been traced above for Kukushin, one of Hokusai's many art-names, used by him from about 1805. Kukushin represents the dragon with 81 scales that exhales a mirage, as corroborated by an image in *Hokusai manga, Part III*, which was illustrated somewhat later, in 1815. This search into sources suggests how the knowledge base contained in Hokusai's brain was directly or indirectly derived not only from Japanese publications, but also from much earlier Chinese books. We can share with Hokusai the enjoyment of following links between a range of source materials, while also situating him within the cultural and intellectual environment of his own time.

It should be stressed that the important figure in the process of bringing these source materials to the attention of Japanese readers was Terajima Ryōan, the scholar-doctor based in Osaka. In the cases of many other examples of the transmission of Chinese source materials to Japan, we can

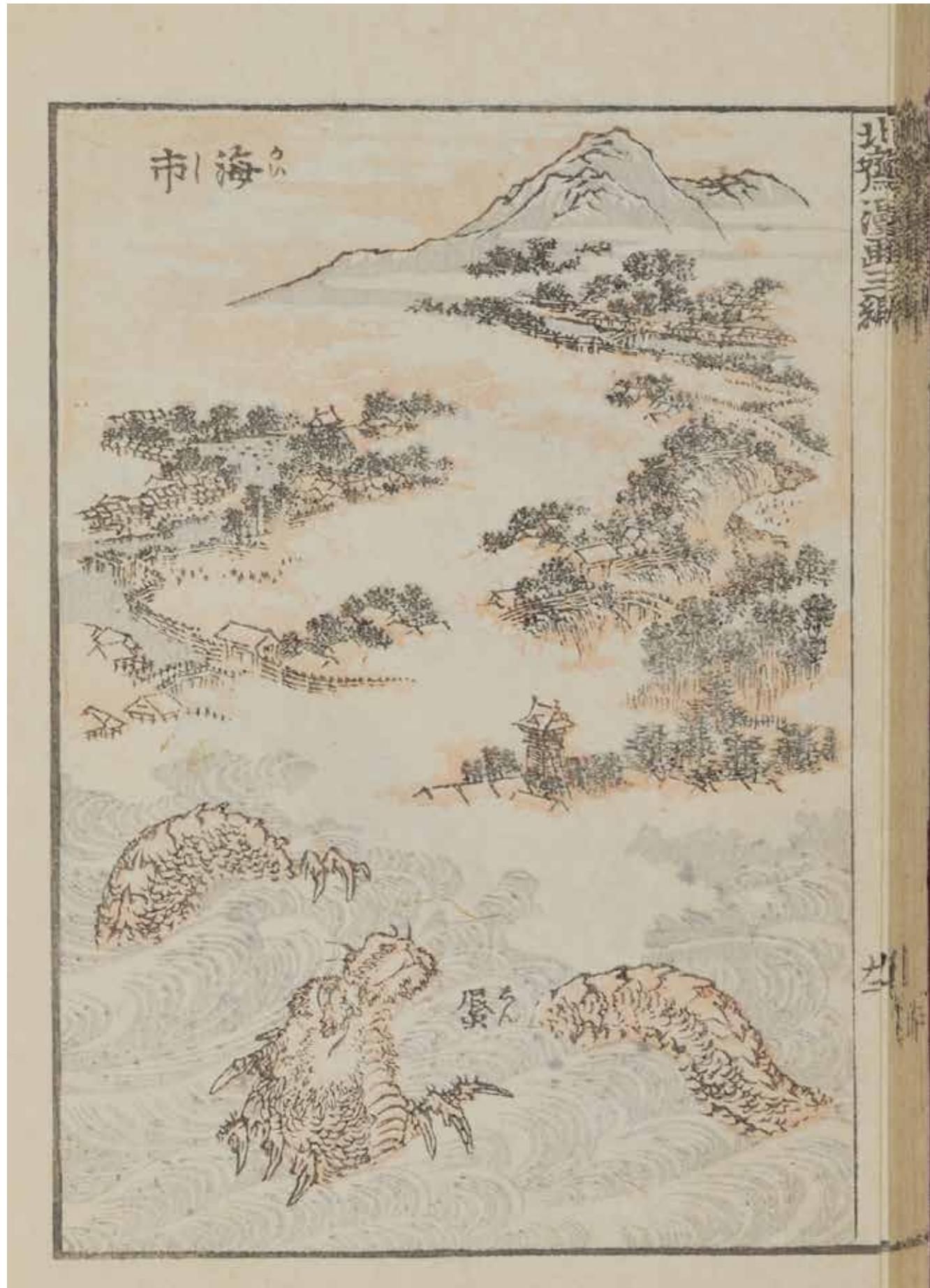


Plate 10.9 Hokusai, 'Mirage and dragon', from *Hokusai manga, Part III*, 22 verso, 1815. Colour woodblock, height 23cm, width 16cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.428.3 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

identify the strong contribution of intellectuals and artists based in that city. This is not surprising, because Osaka merchants engaged in trade with China through the port of Nagasaki, the only port open to Chinese and Dutch ships under the restrictive policies of the shogunate. Much more research is needed to establish the library of reference works available to Hokusai.

Notes

- 1 *Senryū* is a witty form of poetry that developed in the late Edo period. The 5-7-5-syllable form was shortened from the 5-7-5-7-7-syllable form of traditional *tanka* (*waka*). *Senryū* composition is free from *tanka* rules, such as the use of seasonal words and epithets, etc. The name derives from Karai Senryū (1718–1790), founder in 1765 of the serial anthology *Haifū yanagidaru*. Hokusai contributed many poems to this publication, and wrote the foreword for issue no. 85 in 1825.
- 2 [Editor's note:] There does not appear to be general scholarly confidence in the authenticity of this painting. It was not included in either Nagata 2000, or Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution 2006. The long signature, listing many of Hokusai's names, is unusual. However, the impression from the 'Katsushika' (type 3) seal – used during the period c. 1839–47 – appears comparable to those accepted as authentic.
- 3 Also the first year of the Kōka era 弘化元年. Large-scale destruction caused by fire in Edo in 1844 prompted the government to renew the era-name, hoping to make a clean start, on the 2nd day of the twelfth month of the fifteenth year of the Tenpō era 天保十五年十二月二日 – equivalent to 9 January 1845 in the Gregorian calendar.
- 4 In Chinese historical records, 'dragon' is written using many different characters, including 龍辰 竜 龐 龜 and 龐.
- 5 I am grateful to Timothy Clark for bringing these ukiyo-e examples to my attention.

Part 3: Technique

Chapter 11 Connoisseurship of Late Hokusai Paintings: Slow Looking, Sharing Collections

Timothy Clark

The laissez-faire school of painting connoisseurship contends that if you do not know that the work you are looking at is a fake, then it does not matter. This abrogates our responsibilities as historians. We need to get to grips with as many as possible of the works by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), and with those attributed to him (rightly or wrongly). Only when we separate the wheat from the chaff does the artist's true genius shine through. In some cases, we will still be unsure. This is OK; it is no shame to admit that you do not know everything.

During a workshop about the connoisseurship of Hokusai's paintings held at the British Museum in October 2016, soon after the beginning of the AHRC-funded research project 'Late Hokusai: Thought, Technique, Society', participants agreed a set of five principles (*gorin* 五倫):

1. Collaboration – to work together;
2. Transparency about public collections – to engage in reasoned assessment and publication of Hokusai paintings, genuine, fake and *not sure*;
3. Developing digital resource – to create and publish high-resolution digital images of all works under study, with enhanced metadata;
4. Maintaining a scholarly forum – to create an online space to share new research and make old research available. This resource is now growing within ResearchSpace, hosted by the British Museum (researchspace.org);
5. Public engagement – to work to benefit the interested public. Connoisseurship can be learned and nurtured; it is not innate or congenital. And it can be carried out as a collective project.

This essay discusses various issues relating to connoisseurship of late Hokusai paintings. It offers practical advice on the tools that can be used to assist the process of assessing a painting (and it is a *process*): the types of information to assemble and how this information might best be organised; how modern tools of science and the digital world can serve this process. The essay makes a plea (again) for scholars actively to study and publish fakes. Three case studies are presented that compare original Hokusai paintings with forged copies. The essay then summarises approaches to connoisseurship since the 1990s and suggests how these might develop going forward. The intent is not to regard connoisseurship as an end in itself, but rather to realise how the process encourages, even demands, a closer engagement with the amazing physical objects that Hokusai left us. The goal is to integrate the (genuine) oeuvre with an accurate account of the artist's life.

Modelling Hokusai's paintings

Most research into Hokusai's paintings concentrates, understandably, on the original silk or paper support of the work and the brush marks and interventions that the artist made onto that support. (Actually, of course, we are often obliged to work from a printed or photographic surrogate of the original.) However, the near-infinite capacity of digital tools to store and order data now means that we can contextualise the 'original' painting into a rich and sophisticated matrix of knowledge that much enhances what that painting 'means', both singly and in relation to other works. We can then also, rather effortlessly, widen our perspective to take in the ambition of the Late Hokusai



Plate 11.1 Forgery after Hokusai, *Cormorant on a Post*. Present whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Sasakawa 1934

research project: to place Hokusai's works in the context of his thought, technique and society.

The following lists aim to map out the parameters of the data it is useful to record about individual paintings. Ideally, our digital tools will give us capacities to encompass all of these, when required. Maybe you have other things you would like to record as well?

Physical object(s)

- Support/format: panel painting, folding screen, hanging scroll, handscroll, folding fan, sketch, painting applied to some other physical object.
- Medium: ink, colour, gold, gold leaf, other special pigments or coatings, paper, silk.
- Mounting: original or replacement?
- Condition: of painting, of mounting, any repairs?
- Storage box: original or later? Does the box have a title, inscription, authentication?
- Accompanying documentation: authentication certificate, exhibition document, inscribed by who?

Within the picture

- Overall subject; individual motifs; artist's signature; artist's inscription; artist's seal; date; inscription; inscription signature; inscription seal.

Production

- Date or approximate date of production; patron, commissioned by; collaborative work; painted for an occasion; calligraphy and painting party; performance art.

Post-production history

- Provenance: succession of owners; auction history; exhibition history; publication history; successive scholarly commentaries.

Records of lost/unlocated works

- Old photographs; old publications; written descriptions; destruction histories.

As museum databases go, the British Museum's MI+ (formerly Merlin, Compass; for the public, Collection Online <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>) has a sophisticated structure that manages to capture most but not all of these elements, individually 'siloed'. The revolutionary promise of new online structures such as ResearchSpace is that they will *link* all this data – as opposed to siloing it – for individual paintings as much as for wider groups of works and other relevant contexts. Increasingly, a 'painting' comes to be analysed as a cluster of production acts and post-production events.

We cannot ignore fakes

We must compile a full inventory and record the physical attributes and provenance of all versions of a painting. We must be prepared to change our minds if we realise we have been wrong about authenticity. Let us try to keep open minds. Our public institution employers should indemnify us against bona fide mistakes. It is OK to disagree, for stated reasons, and debate about public collections can be public.

Looking back there has been little scholarly discussion about the faked versions of Hokusai's paintings. Many fake paintings have been published indiscriminately as genuine. This is a major stumbling block to overall progress in Hokusai studies. Genuine paintings *are* steadily added, one by one, to the accepted oeuvre in peer-reviewed publications, but they are dragged backwards by a long trailing comet of school works and out-and-out forgeries. In this situation it is almost impossible to gain an overview of Hokusai's true accomplishments as a painter. A reliable catalogue raisonné of Hokusai's paintings still seems a distant aspiration.

The only case study in which the circumstances are quite well known about the forging of ukiyo-e paintings is the so-called 'Shunpōan incident' of 1934.¹ The Yata family, originally from Okayama, produced faked copies of existing ukiyo-e paintings and made painted pastiches based on ukiyo-e prints – or combinations of elements of several prints – which were then often put into antique mountings. They conspired with dealers to present these for auction in Tokyo, making fraudulent claims that the paintings had been in a secret collection, the 'Shunpōan' (the name smacked of the collection of a former feudal lord). In addition to a standard illustrated auction catalogue, a deluxe version was even published, with an introduction penned by a famous professor of art history.² The fraud was quickly exposed, however, leading to prison sentences for several of those involved. The Shunpōan incident cast a long shadow over ukiyo-e painting studies, which did not really revive until the 1980s.

Plate 11.1 is a Shunpōan two-fold screen that is a forgery after Hokusai. The principal bird, apparently a cormorant, is an inferior version of genuine compositions in the Hayashibara Art Museum and the British Museum (2 works).³ I do not think a painting in this style would fool many scholars now. And the seal is patently a fake version of



Plate 11.2 Copy after Hokusai, *White Snake and Biwa*, ?late 19th–early 20th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 39.5cm, width 54.0cm. British Museum, London, 1950,1111,0.17, given by the Trustees of the late James Martin White

one of Hokusai's 'Katsushika' seals (three or four types of this seal are accepted as genuine).

Surely because Hokusai was such an idiosyncratic, inimitable stylist, the 'safest' way for a would-be forger to execute a fake has been to make a close copy of a genuine painting. (Several major Hokusai pupils, such as Totoya Hokkei [1780–1850], did their own, legitimate versions of compositions by their teacher, signed with their own name and seal.⁴) Three examples are discussed here of faked copies that have in the past been published as genuine. Much weeding out of such copies remains to be done. In compensation for this dreary work, however, close study of the copies leads to enhanced appreciation of the skill of the originals. In one instance, it has even led to the tentative rehabilitation of an important work of Hokusai's goth year hitherto not given much attention (see 'Case three' below).

Case one: White Snake and Biwa

In 1992 the present author published a catalogue raisonné of all the ukiyo-e paintings in the collection of the British Museum, at that time exactly 200 works.⁵ Highlights were displayed in a related special exhibition held at the Museum. The catalogue relied a great deal on new information about the paintings that had been published by leading Japanese scholars in 1987, in volume one of the series *Hizō ukiyo-e taikan*, edited by Narasaki Muneshige (1904–2001) and published by Kōdansha. Where the two publications differ, however, is that the British Museum catalogue surveyed *all* of the Museum's ukiyo-e paintings – not just a selection of major highlights – and among the 200 works presented there are 18 paintings that in 1992 were classified as 'fakes'.⁶ The author (myself) invited comments from interested

scholars about the division I proposed between 'originals' and 'fakes'. To date, some 30 years later, I have received several face-to-face opinions, but no formal responses have appeared in print. It would be a useful exercise to look again today with other scholars at the 18 'fakes', to see if any should be rehabilitated.

Among the 18 works proposed in 1992 as fakes is a horizontal hanging scroll painting on silk with a 'Hokusai' signature and seal, *White Snake and Biwa* (Pl. 11.2). The inscription next to the signature asserts that the painting was done on New Year's Day of 1845 (a snake year), when Hokusai would have been turning 86. The forged painting seal is close to the genuine 'Katsushika' (type 3) seal (as proposed by Nagata Seiji in 2000), except that the shape of the forged seal is completely wrong in the top left corner.⁷ The painting exhibits certain level of skill, but there are other variants of the same subject that are technically superior, notably the painting generally accepted as genuine, *Lute and White Snake of Sarasvati (Benten)*, which was made in 1847 (Pl. 11.3).⁸

Another version of the subject that is closer, line for line, to the British Museum work and which has a similar signature, seal and inscription is currently known only from a publication of 1983 edited by Shibui Kiyoshi (1899–1992), where it was reproduced and described (but no collection name was given).⁹ From the photograph in the Shibui publication, the seal on that version is plausible as genuine 'Katsushika' (type 3). Overall, the Shibui 1983 painting gives more evidence of complex layering of pigments, and the signature and inscription are written with much more idiosyncratic calligraphy. The British Museum version comes to look more and more 'dead' by comparison.



Plate 11.3 Hokusai, *Lute and White Snake of Sarasvati (Benten)*, 1847. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 36.1cm, width 60.5cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, F1904.134, gift of Charles Lang Freer

So, in this cluster of three related works, purporting to date from 1845–7, we have:

1) a fake (British Museum); 2) a genuine work (National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC); and 3) a possibly genuine work, certainly better than the British Museum version (Shibui 1983).

Case two: Shell-Gathering at Low Tide

In the same 1992 British Museum publication, the present author argued that the painting in the National Museum of Asian Art entitled *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide* (see **Pl. 18.1**) is a forged version of the genuine work that bears the same title in the Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts (see **Pl. 18.2**), since reclassified as an Important Cultural Property.¹⁰ Both paintings and details of their signatures and seals are reproduced in the 1992 catalogue. Micro-connoisseurship of the fake seal on the National Museum of Asian Art painting again revealed significant mistakes in its shape. Many of the motifs in the fake painting are inferior or perfunctory in their technical execution.

In 2016 the Late Hokusai research group again surveyed this fake painting. What became apparent after close examination and advice from conservators was that the fake painting had been stuck into a hanging scroll mounting that was in considerably worse condition than the fake painting itself. It had been made to look older than it really was (see Hare, pp. 236–44).

The National Museum of Asian Art preserves an impressive archive of documentation relating to the

acquisition by Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) of his collection. This enables us to establish that the fake version of *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide* was sold to Freer by the leading Tokyo dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi (1862–1923). Significantly, the provenance of the genuine version of the subject in Osaka also leads back to Kobayashi. A large question mark therefore hangs over the probity of Kobayashi's activities. It seems inconceivable that he could sell both versions of such significantly different quality as 'genuine', without in fact knowing that one was fake. Indeed, Freer and other US collectors of Japanese painting questioned Kobayashi's honesty in their correspondence at the time, Freer even going so far as to suggest that Kobayashi may have been employing copyists to make forged versions.¹¹

What this example teaches us, therefore, is the importance of a complete technical examination not just of the painted area of a work, but also of its mounting, storage box, and so on. Exemplary record-keeping by a public institution, the National Museum of Asian Art, over the last century further enables us to trace the likely source of this forged Hokusai painting. Carrying out similar detective work in relation to other Hokusai forgeries and exploiting the capacities of ResearchSpace to record the complex trails of evidence should allow us to make considerable progress in sifting the wheat from the chaff.

Case three: Black Shōki

In addition to its world-class 'Great Wave' prints and other fine early 'blue' impressions of designs from the series

Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, a major highlight of the Hokusai collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is the mesmerising painting on silk *Red Shōki*, done by the artist in 1846 when he was 87.¹² Given considerably less attention to date is a *Black Shōki* painting on paper, also originally from the collection of Charles Stewart Smith (1832–1909), with a signature giving Hokusai's age as ninety (Pl. 11.4).¹³ Before recent conservation, the painting's relatively poor condition had perhaps served to obscure its many fine qualities, albeit that the work is not as riveting as *Red Shōki*. Careful analysis of the signature and seal show close similarities with the paintings *Tiger in Rain* (Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo) and *Dragon in Rain Clouds* (Musée Guimet, Paris; see Pl. 9.1), respectively the left and right scrolls of a celebrated pair also made when Hokusai was 90.¹⁴

Additional confidence in rehabilitating The Met's *Black Shōki* as a likely genuine work by Hokusai results from close comparison with an inferior copy, demonstrably a fake, which was published in 2015 by Hokusaikei, Obuse (Pl. 11.5).¹⁵ The signature on the Obuse painting is weaker than The Met's version, and the 'Hyaku' ('Hundred') seal is incorrect in many places. When we compare details of technique, the layering of the ink pigments and the energy (or lack of it) in the brushwork, The Met painting seems better and better, and the Obuse painting worse and worse.

As curators of large public collections – public collections which were principally assembled in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – we have a duty to study and publish the works in our care with scientific objectivity. Most of the works we are considering have been in the public domain for a century or more. It is particularly significant, therefore, that on this occasion Hokusaikei, a small private foundation in Obuse, has given permission for its *Black Shōki* to be reassessed as a fake. In the process, furthermore, a Met painting has also come to be rehabilitated, increasing the overall count of surviving works from Hokusai's ninetieth year from 12 to 13. We must accelerate the reassessment of Hokusai's paintings, and large public collections are the best place to start. Who painted the fakes? At present we have no knowledge about this, other than the case of the Shunpōan forgeries mentioned above. Kobayashi Bunshichi is suspected of perhaps having commissioned fakes, but we do not yet know who actually made these. This is a subject that warrants urgent investigation.

Connoisseurship since the 1990s: micro and macro

We can usefully divide the connoisseurship of Hokusai's paintings into its micro and macro aspects. The overall range of micro aspects to be considered is listed above under 'Modelling Hokusai's paintings'. Discussed in greater detail here is the crucial micro-matter of seal impressions.

Seal impressions

A key tool to assist assessment of authenticity remains the close analysis of the impressions of the many seals that Hokusai applied to his genuine paintings. Asano Shūgō compiled a complete listing of the then-known paintings by Hokusai in 1997, organised chronologically by seal type.¹⁶ In the case of seals used over a relatively long period (e.g. 'Kimō dasoku'),

Asano further subdivided the works into groupings depending on the relative degree of damage to that seal. This key article was translated into English for a publication of 2005.¹⁷

Meanwhile Nagata Seiji (1951–2018) assembled what is currently the most comprehensive publication on Hokusai's paintings: *Hokusai nikuhitsu taisei*, published by Shōgakukan in 2000.¹⁸ In addition to individual commentaries on the 141 works featured in colour, plus 294 introduced in black and white, Nagata made systematic and detailed comments on the entire range of seals that he considered genuine, aiming also to define as closely as possible the period of their use. Hokusai scholars will know that this is a challenging task, the three (possibly four) versions of the 'Katsushika' seal being the most complex example. Nagata prepared hand-drawn templates of each seal type, which he then used to illustrate progressive seal damage. This was perhaps an inevitable strategy, for ease of discussion; nevertheless, it introduces an intermediate hand into what is often the very minute analysis of shapes and breaks. The user is sometimes left with niggling doubt about just how accurately the seal has been transcribed, and how this transcription compares to seal impressions viewed by the naked eye or recorded by the camera.

The virtually unlimited capacity of ResearchSpace to store digital data will mean that we can record in minute detail the actual signatures and seals of individual paintings by Hokusai which are catalogued. These images of signature and seals can then be compared easily side by side, or in groups, on the screen. It will also become much easier to analyse how each seal is used in conjunction with the names and strings of names inscribed by Hokusai on his paintings. This data can even be further cross-referenced with the degree of damage to the seal impressions, to produce, potentially, a finely graduated chronology of the artist's painted works.

Asano and Nagata have little to say in their publications about forged Hokusai paintings or forged versions of Hokusai's seals, although Nagata does list a category of forged Hokusai paintings with outlines partly printed using woodblock, a subject taken up by John Carpenter in his essay in this volume (pp. 148–79).

Macro connoisseurship: the Hokusai 'school'

How should we think about the Hokusai 'school' and the roles Hokusai's pupils may have played in the production of his paintings? Tsuji Nobuo published a stimulating article on this topic in 1994, 'Hokusai studio works and problems of attribution'.¹⁹ Professor Tsuji invited us to envisage the painted oeuvre produced by the Hokusai 'studio' in terms of five concentric rings, with genuine works at the core. I summarise here Tsuji's criteria for inclusion in each of the five concentric rings, A–E:

Zone A: Accepted as being by Hokusai by all or nearly all researchers. Authenticity is already accepted without question;

Zone B: If some room for debate remains, even very probable attributions should be placed in the next ring, Zone B;

Zone C: Studio works ... produced by one or more of Hokusai's pupils under his direction;

Zone D: Works that cannot be considered examples of Hokusai's own brushwork ... Delegated works;

Zone E: Out-and-out forgeries.

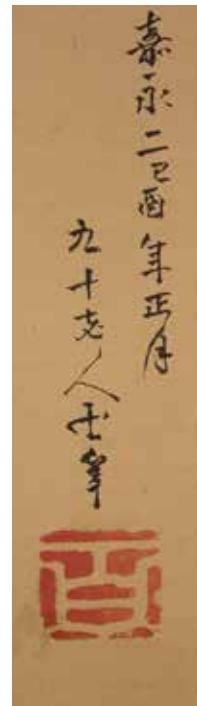


Plate 11.4 ?Hokusai, *Black Shōki*, ?1849. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 107.3cm, width 36cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 14.76.57, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914

This, potentially, is a useful framework for categorising the range of 'Hokusai' paintings that we typically encounter. However, the assumption – which may be true or may be false – seems to be that Hokusai operated a studio system like Italian Renaissance masters such as Titian. In fact, we have little evidence at all for whether Hokusai had live-in pupils who assisted him. (Hokusai's artist daughter Ei [art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857?] was a special case, to be discussed below; see also Davis essay, pp. 58–70.) If he did, then the 'studio' was probably quite different in organisation at different periods of his life and career. Indirect evidence, such as the names of a number of pupils being recorded as 'collating pupils' (*kyōgō monjin*) in the colophons of Hokusai's illustrated books in the period 1814 to 1824, may imply that he was particularly busy as a teacher in his fifties (see also Introduction, p. 5; Tinios essay, pp. 71–88). There were, of course, a few major pupils who early on in their careers were able to establish independent styles quite different from Hokusai's: Hokkei and Teisai Hokuba (1770–1844) being the two most notable examples. At the other end of the spectrum were many minor pupils – some probably semi-amateur – who expressed their affiliation to the Hokusai mode of drawing either stylistically, or by their choice of an art-name that typically borrowed a character from one of Hokusai's numerous discarded names. Nagata has listed more than 200 such pupils.²⁰ Although pupils could surely assist in preparing Hokusai's preparatory drawings for woodblock publication, the question here is whether any of them was in fact capable of painting to his exactingly high standards. Examination of the autograph works of even the most talented pupils suggests this is unlikely.

In addition to proposing his structure of five concentric rings, Tsuji gave indicative examples of well-known works by

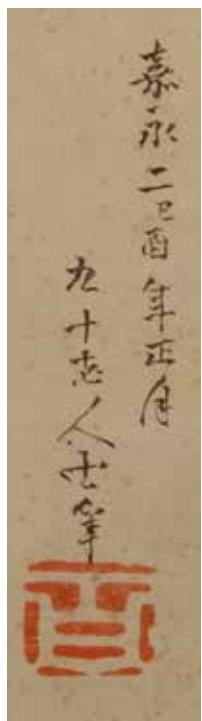


Plate 11.5 Copy after Hokusai, *Black Shōki*, ?late 19th–early 20th century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 113.7cm, width 29.6cm. Hokusai-kan, Obuse

or attributed to Hokusai which, in 1994, he considered should be placed into each category. This candour was welcome. However, with the passing of time, many of the works Tsuji relegated to outlying categories have since been brought back to the centre and are now generally accepted as by Hokusai himself. One important thing about the connoisseurship of Hokusai paintings is surely that this is a relatively new field in comparison with the study of the artist's prints. It has taken time for consensus to form.

A welcome development in Hokusai studies in recent years has been the renewed focus on the life and artistic activities of Ōi. In his exemplary study *Hokusai musume – Ōi Eijo shū* (2015), Kubota Kazuhiko assembled all of the small number of known works by or attributed to Ōi; all of the period texts that relate to her; and all of the subsequent studies about her.²¹ He subjected these sources to detailed and systematic analysis with the aim of reassessing Ōi's personal achievement and also suggesting the important role she is likely to have played in supporting her father and his artistic activities in his later years. A key aspect of Kubota's approach is the rigour with which he records supporting documentation, bibliography and exhibition history for each of the individual works. The same approach must be applied to all of Hokusai's own paintings (see 'Modelling Hokusai's paintings' above). The challenge for all of us in assessing the significance of Ōi's contribution to Hokusai's career is the very closeness of father and daughter during the last two decades or so of Hokusai's life. It seems highly likely that during these years they were living and working together daily. It was surely financially advantageous for any product of father–daughter collaboration to be signed and sealed with Hokusai's name, since he was by that time so famous. Kubota has suggested some important stylistic monikers for paintings by Ōi. More rigorous technical examination of 'Hokusai's'

later paintings (see below) may in due course permit us to recognise additional minute stylistic idiosyncrasies. This might be the only prospect for distinguishing the helping hand of Ōi in late Hokusai paintings.

Connoisseurship into the future

The Late Hokusai project has been grateful for the assistance of NHK, Japan's national public broadcaster, which has utilised the latest 8K TV filming technology to record Hokusai's paintings digitally in extraordinary detail and made these images and films available to the project. NHK captured images of important Hokusai paintings in the British Museum, the National Museum of Asian Art and some key works from the 2017 exhibition *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave*.

Comparing slides, formal analysis

In the past, one of the fundamental processes of art history has been to compare colour slides. Typically, this was how we analysed works (and details from works) and also, of course, how we taught. With the arrival of PowerPoint, things changed almost overnight, although the early digital images rarely compared in their fineness of detail and colour fidelity with the best traditional colour slides. In 2017 NHK arranged for Asano Shūgō and myself to view 8K images of Hokusai paintings on special projection screens that presented the images to the highest resolution possible.²² The results were astonishing. Not only could we see details of technique invisible to the naked eye, but it also became possible to surmise the order in which Hokusai had painted the complex layering effects typical of his late paintings. The artist's brilliance as a technician was reconfirmed. In a special viewing room at its headquarters in Tokyo, NHK placed two large projection screens side by side so that we could compare details from different paintings. Suddenly I was transported back to the classrooms of my graduate school years, comparing colour slides, except that the details now visible were magnified 10 times or more further than the old colour slides. It would be wonderful to create a digital reference library of high-resolution images of important paintings by Hokusai and his pupils, enabling us to compare their techniques in unprecedented detail. A systematic chronological archive could be made of the ways in which Hokusai, Ōi, Hokkei, Hokuba and all the lesser pupils typically conceived and painted particular motifs.

Already in the Late Hokusai research group we had encouraged the practice of 'slow looking'. Increasingly bombarded by digital images in both our online and our terrestrial lives, it felt as if it was becoming more and more difficult to concentrate on what we were looking at. The exhortation to look slowly was an attempt to counteract this, both for actual paintings (when we were lucky enough to have access) and for enhanced digital images, such as 8K, when these were available. Slow looking led naturally to slowed-down visual analysis and group discussion of what we were seeing. Like comparing slides, formal analysis – breaking an artwork down into its constituent parts and describing how these parts fit together – is another key tool of traditional art history. Here too, then, conventional art history has been upgraded by new digital tools.

Group discussions in front of works of art (or enhanced digital images) led to a wish to record the results of our formal analysis in a more systematic way. Building on his experience of using marking sheets to help grade student essays, university professor Angus Lockyer developed a 'marking' sheet for individual researchers to fill in when closely examining individual paintings ('slow looking'). Researchers were asked to evaluate each formal element of the work – composition, line, colour (pigments, their application), signature, seal – in terms of whether they were definitely by Hokusai (yes), possibly by Hokusai (maybe) or definitely not by Hokusai (no). They were then asked to carry out this same evaluation for contextual aspects of the work: provenance, condition, mounting, documentation. Combining all these markings, researchers were finally asked to rank the painting overall according to the 'Tsuji' classification system described above (A: Hokusai without question; B: some room for debate; C: studio works; D not Hokusai; E: outright forgery). As a rule, researchers were encouraged to mark individually, before group discussion. 'Markings' could then be aggregated to 'quantify', as it were, the group's overall thinking. This gives a quantifiable marking that can be recorded, rather than just an overall impression of a work. It will be fascinating to go back to the marking sheets in future, as Hokusai research progresses.

After completing the marking sheets, participants were encouraged to describe and justify to the group their evaluations of the various elements of the paintings. Lively and stimulating discussion ensued and it was striking how different scholars noticed quite different things about each work. Pooling our thoughts proved greater than the sum of the responses of individual scholars. It will surely be argued that more experienced scholars are likely to produce a more 'accurate' and 'important' evaluation than less experienced individuals. Nevertheless, there was considerable consensus about the overall ranking for a work. As a pedagogical tool – one in which every participant is a 'teacher' – it proved enjoyable and effective.

Technique, pigments, pigment analysis

As described above, slow study of 8K film and high-resolution images of Hokusai's paintings encourages renewed admiration for the formidable techniques of layering and gradation of pigments in his paintings. A complementary way to explore this key aspect of Hokusai's art is to turn to the artist's own descriptions of his technique, first and foremost as set out in his printed illustrated book *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 2 vols, 1848).²³ During (what turned out to be) the last three years of his life, Hokusai focused exclusively on his paintings, surely assisted by Ōi. From the year 1847 alone, when Hokusai was 88 – and when he must have been polishing the text and images for *Ehon saishiki tsū* – there survive no fewer than 32 painted works, more than for any other year of his life. Many more works must surely have been destroyed in the disasters that have struck Edo (Tokyo) in the years since: major fires, earthquakes, bombing in 1855, 1923, 1945. As part of the Late Hokusai project, regular, alternating Skype workshops were held with graduate students from the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, and Gakushūin

University, Tokyo. The goal of these workshops was to produce modern Japanese and modern English translations of some of the key texts included in Hokusai's printed illustrated books, and also to begin translating his letters. Although to date only a partial English translation has been completed of *Ehon saishiki tsū*, it is already clear that the abbreviated notes in these volumes are key to a far deeper understanding of the pigments and techniques used in Hokusai's late paintings, leading to enhanced appreciation.²⁴

The National Museum of Asian Art has for decades now conducted scientific analysis of pigments used in ukiyo-e paintings, including many works by Hokusai, and the museum has issued a series of key publications on the subject.²⁵ A fruitful avenue of research would be to compare 21st-century science with Hokusai's instruction manual from 1848. When further elucidation is needed of Hokusai's sometimes elliptical descriptions of his technique, we can also turn to the more detailed and generally consistent descriptions of the technique of Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889), as recorded by Josiah Conder (1852–1920) in his *Paintings and Studies by Kawanabé Kyōsai* (1911).²⁶

Mapping Hokusai's late paintings against his life

Determining authenticity, critically examining documentation, analysing technique: these aspects of micro-connoisseurship are likely to be of interest mainly to specialists. In order to fulfil our fifth stated principle of 'public engagement' (to work to benefit the interested public), we need to put Hokusai's paintings into a much larger context that will be intelligible and of significance to a general audience. An important way to do this will be to continue to work to map the paintings against an increasingly finely graduated biography of the artist. Already we have the chronology *Katsushika Hokusai nenpu* compiled by Nagata (1985; rev. 1997), which organises a month by month listing of Hokusai's works and life events, with the sources for this information made explicit.²⁷ In the Late Hokusai research project we have taken Nagata's *nenpu* as a fundamental framework, which we have then sought further to correlate with a detailed chronology of the more general events of the Edo period (political, economic, cultural, legal, diseases, natural disasters, displays of temple treasures, etc.). We have drawn these from the extensive chronology contained in the authoritative *Edogaku jiten* (*Dictionary of Edo Studies*, 1984).²⁸ Of crucial importance, too, is the recent English-language translation made by Yasuhara Akio of the 1893 biography of Hokusai, *Katsushika Hokusai den* by Iijima Kyoshin (Hanjūrō, 1841–1901) (see also Sadamura essay, pp. 212–19).²⁹ This key biography includes many precious eyewitness accounts and anecdotes reported to Iijima by people who had actually known and met Hokusai. Finally, the project has identified the 39 or so surviving letters of Hokusai and Ōi and begun a systematic dating of these and their annotated translation into English.³⁰

How can we store, tag and meaningfully collate all these disparate primary and secondary sources and map them against Hokusai's paintings and other works, now scattered worldwide? We believe that the British Museum's ResearchSpace platform, currently being developed online,

will be the ideal place to progress and link these complex scholarly threads, combining them into engaging representations of knowledge that can be critiqued and updated continuously (see also Clark Introduction, pp. 4–6; Santschi essay, pp. 245–52; Oldman *et al.* essay, pp. 253–7). It is now more than 170 years since Hokusai's death. There is no shortage of primary sources and secondary studies concerning the artist. It is high time that we weave these many threads together into a meaningful tapestry.

Notes

- 1 Clark 1992, 38–43.
- 2 Sasakawa 1934.
- 3 Clark 2017a, 185, no. 101; 186, no. 102; 318, no. 213.
- 4 See, for example, Clark 1992, 162, no. 112, for a *Hokkei* version of a composition also known by Hokusai. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1925-1118-0-1 (accessed 3 February 2023).
- 5 Clark 1992.
- 6 Ibid., 233–30, nos 183–200.
- 7 Nagata 2000, 235–6.
- 8 <https://asia.si.edu/object/search/1904.134> (accessed 3 February 2023).
- 9 Shibui 1983, no. 18, commentary by Nishina Yūsuke, no collection name given.
- 10 Clark 1992, 36–8, figs 24, 25.
- 11 Clark 1992, 38.
- 12 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/45818?ft=14.76.37&offset=o&pp=40&pos=1> (accessed 3 February 2023).
- 13 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/45819?ft=14.76.57&offset=o&pp=40&pos=1> (accessed 3 February 2023).
- 14 Clark 2017a, 328–9, nos 222–3.
- 15 Hokusai 2015, 142–3; Kyushu National Museum 2022, 48, no. 29.
- 16 Asano 1997.
- 17 Asano 2005.
- 18 Nagata 2000.
- 19 Tsuji 1994.
- 20 Nagata 1987.
- 21 Kubota 2015.
- 22 See also the NHK TV documentary 'Hokusai, Maboroshi no nikuhitsuga – Amerika ni nemuru gakyō rōjin no tamashii', first broadcast in Japan on 2 February 2019.
- 23 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1979-0305-0-465-1; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1979-0305-0-465-2 (both accessed 3 February 2023). See Perrin 2008 for a French translation of the text.
- 24 Hokusai 2023; Perrin 2008.
- 25 FitzHugh 1979; FitzHugh, Winter and Leona 2003.
- 26 Conder 1911, 45–76.
- 27 Nagata 1985; rev. 1997.
- 28 Nishiyama *et al.* 1984, 765–849 (chronology).
- 29 Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming).
- 30 Currently in the form of an Excel spreadsheet created by Clark (personal research).

Chapter 12

Shedding Light on the Authentic Genius of Hokusai the Painter: A Focus on Works from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

John T. Carpenter

Over the course of the past 35 years or so, I have had many opportunities to engage with the special creative genius of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) in all the artistic media in which he worked. During the time I was a graduate student at Columbia University, I worked for several years as a research associate for the International Hokusai Research Centre headed by Gian Carlo Calza at the University of Venice and collaborated with him and various specialists on research and publication projects. Thus, when my colleague Timothy Clark at the British Museum asked that I contribute some comments on issues of authenticity in Hokusai paintings to this collaborative volume, the dilemma I faced was not a lack of topics of interest, but rather which of the countless unresolved questions should be addressed.

Since moving from an academic position at SOAS University of London to be a curator at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, a dozen years ago, I have, of course, had an opportunity to engage more intimately and intensively with Hokusai paintings in the collection here, but also with works that are either in American private collections or those that have appeared at New York auctions, or passed through the hands of local dealers in Japanese art. Therefore, for this essay I shall focus primarily on those works I have had a chance to examine again in recent years, while benefiting from the observations and research – especially pigment analyses – carried out by my colleague Marco Leona in the Department of Scientific Research at The Met, who over the years has acquired a good grasp of Hokusai's pigment 'playbook'.¹

In 1994 Professor Calza and I compiled and edited *Hokusai Paintings: Selected Essays*, a proceedings volume of papers presented in 1990 at the 'First Venice Conference on Japanese Art: Hokusai Paintings'. Most of the contributors dealt with one aspect or another of connoisseurship issues related to Hokusai's corpus of paintings. In the Foreword, Jack Hillier eloquently summarised the goal of the publication, which can be applied to subsequent research endeavours as well:

This series of essays can thus lead to setting up that sort of empathy with the artist that will make it easier to distinguish his hand from another's, just as intimacy with a person's voice enables us to respond immediately to its timbre. Coupled with this psychological penetration must go a constant study of the paintings themselves – those generally considered beyond dispute, those reputedly unacceptable, and those by contemporaries whose paintings can meaningfully be compared to Hokusai's.²

Various experts on Japanese art – including some specialists in Hokusai and others with a broad knowledge of Japanese art – attempted to reach consensus on which works in the master's corpus might be unanimously accepted as genuine, which might be considered as 'studio works' by pupils, and which should be recognised as outright fakes, or facsimiles created partly by photographic or mechanical processes. At the time, I felt that a good first step was made in that the University of Venice's Hokusai paintings project helped counteract the reluctance among specialists to take up issues of authenticity in writing, while encouraging a more holistic approach that relies on engagement with the actual works and attempting to systematically compare a

large number of hand-painted works and drawings. Even when complete agreement on authenticity issues remains elusive, observing the processes and methodologies by which scholars formulate their decisions is nonetheless instructive. For my comments here, I am deeply indebted to the presentation my esteemed predecessor Barbara Brennan Ford, former Associate Curator of Asian Art, gave at that first Venice Conference over 30 years ago, 'Hokusai Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York', and which the two of us together subsequently revised for publication in *Hokusai Paintings*. As I reread Ford's and other essays, I was struck at how eloquently so many of the authors articulated issues of connoisseurship while remaining open to further discussion and debate. I also reflected on a remarkable coincidence that nearly three decades later I can re-engage directly with Ford's and my own assessments of Hokusai's works in The Met's collection.

As I began working on this essay in the summer of 2021, I read the sad news of the passing of Ernst van de Wetering (1938–2021), head of the Rembrandt Research Project. I recalled that back in the 1990s I and others held out hope that someday the compilation of a catalogue raisonné of Hokusai paintings might emerge as the result of cooperative research, similar to that on which the Rembrandt Research Project had embarked, albeit with no shortage of controversy at various stages of the process. I eventually came to realise that in the case of Hokusai, unanimous consensus would be impossible for both practical and logistical reasons, some of which are pointed out in Clark's Introduction to this volume. First of all, access to many paintings by or attributed to Hokusai, especially those in private hands, is understandably limited, and as a rule owners would prefer not to let their works be subjected to scientific and connoisseurial scrutiny: the market value shifts radically downwards if even a whiff of doubt of genuineness passes over a work. This means it becomes the responsibility of public museums in Japan, America, Europe and around the world to make the study of their holdings open to specialists, either through in-person research viewings, or through creating and sharing high-resolution photography. While preparing this essay, The Met's Photo Studio reshot a number of paintings by or attributed to Hokusai that had received hardly any attention since they were accessioned over a century ago and will make them available and downloadable on The Met's website: www.metmuseum.org.

In the intervening years since the inaugural Hokusai conference in Venice, there has been an incredible amount of collaboration by scholars in Japan and the West on these issues related to paintings and drawings. Following up on *Hokusai Paintings*, a decade later Calza and I edited *Hokusai and His Age: Ukiyo-e Painting, Printmaking and Book Illustration in Late Edo Japan* (2005). Furthermore, a number of groundbreaking Hokusai exhibitions, many including paintings, helped establish a core of accepted works, and were accompanied by research-based publications: Matthi Forrer's *Hokusai Prints and Drawings* at the Royal Academy of Arts, London (1991); Calza's *Hokusai: Il vecchio pazzo per la pittura* at the Palazzo Reale di Milano (1999); *Hokusai ten* at the Tokyo National Museum (2005); Ann Yonemura's

Hokusai at the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (2006), which was accompanied by a full-colour catalogue and a supplementary volume of scholarly essays, including an immensely useful annotated checklist of Hokusai paintings in the National Museum of Asian Art compiled by Asano Shūgō;³ and Clark's *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave* exhibition held at both the British Museum and the Abeno Harukas Museum in Osaka (2017). Needless to say, Nagata Seiji's *Hokusai bijutsukan (A Museum of Hokusai)*, 1990 in five volumes, and his voluminous *Hokusai nikuhitsuga taisei (Compendium of Hokusai Paintings)*, 2000 represented the late scholar's lifelong dedication to the study of the artist's entire creative oeuvre. Over the years, the research and publications of independent scholar Kubota Kazuhiro on Hokusai and his daughter, primary assistant and collaborator Ei (art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857?), has been indispensable to shaping my own thoughts on issues of connoisseurship of paintings by the master and his circle.⁴

Cursorily tallying the number of paintings I have seen directly, and taking into account the works introduced in the above venues or publications, we can surmise that of a thousand or so paintings by or attributed to Hokusai, maybe 200 to 250 deserve further study, and perhaps the solid corpus of accepted works ranges in the realm of a hundred, or possibly several dozen: still a prolific output, and remarkable survival rate, whichever way you look at it.

As I compiled these notes, however, and reviewed the pigment analyses that Leona shared with me, I unexpectedly came to understand that many of the works that I had blithely assumed were forgeries made for foreign visitors to Japan in the mid-Meiji era (1868–1912) were probably created during Hokusai's own lifetime, either by pupils working around him in a studio-type situation (when he was in his forties and fifties), or by his daughter and a few close pupils (later in his life), or by contemporaneous artists who were already profiting from Hokusai's widespread fame during his lifetime and soon after. Still, as I shall point out below, there was a category of facsimiles created in the Meiji era – combining methods of photomechanical reproduction, sometimes woodblock printing, with hand-painting – that are so sophisticated that they are extremely difficult to distinguish from the originals and have misled even specialists. The Met's collection, by the final tally, does not possess more than a handful of genuine paintings that arguably can be attributed to the master – Zone A in Tsuji's categorisation mentioned in Clark's Introduction (p. 5; and see Clark essay pp. 139–47) – but in studying these and works attributed to him and his circle of various stages of his career, we can create a methodology for examining other Hokusai paintings that can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to works in other collections, or at least raise relevant questions about authenticity.

Paintings from Hokusai's Sōri period

Over the years, I have always had a special fascination for the period of Hokusai's career when he interacted with the world of *kyōka* poets, as an artist taking on *surimono* or illustrated *kyōka* anthology commissions, or collaborating with poets on signed paintings, and can be seen as a central



Plate 12.1 Hokusai, *Yuzhi (Gyokushi) and the Dragon*, spring 1798. Pair of hanging scrolls, ink and colour on paper, height 125.4cm, width 56.5cm (each). Private collection, USA (ex-collection Azabu Museum of Arts and Crafts, Tokyo)

participant in the popular literary movement. It is also a reminder that when striving to approach issues of authenticity, we can rely not only on the close observation of the painting, signature and seals, but also on the study and evaluation of handwriting styles of poets in Hokusai's circle, which can be a helpful analytical tool. We can of course conjecture, though, that it was not unusual for inscriptions to be added independently shortly, occasionally long, after the creation of a painting.⁵ If the handwriting, signature and seal of the inscriber of a Hokusai painting are deemed genuine, it not only helps to narrow down the period of

execution but also lends weight to a judgement of authenticity. Conversely, a dubious inscription makes us question the genuineness of a work, even if occasionally we may conjecture a forged inscription was added to an authentic work. With these permutations in mind, I would like to raise some questions that I have tried to answer since first arriving at The Met and reconsider some issues that I and others brought up more than three decades ago at the Venice Conference of 1990.

The beginning of Hokusai's career as a painter in many ways is emblemised by the *Yuzhi (Gyokushi) and the Dragon*, a

large diptych (perhaps originally a two-panel screen) showing the Chinese goddess with a dragon carrying a magical one-string *qin*, or zither (Pl. 12.1). The painting is signed 'Tokimasa' (sometimes pronounced Tatsumasa), and uniquely impressed with a seal momentously reading 'Shizōka' (My master is creation). About this splendid work Roger Keyes eloquently remarked on the crucial place this work has in the master's corpus:

The paintings are an allegory of creation. Hokusai painted them in the spring of 1798 at a decisive turning point in his life, just as he was establishing his identity as an independent artist, creating an artistic lineage for himself in support of this, and clarifying his relationship with the forces that were central to his spiritual practice.⁶

The seal used on this painting is unique, to current knowledge (see detail in the Appendix of seal impressions at the end of this essay). One with a similar legend, however, is known from a *surimono* of around the same time with a poem by Inaba Kakei (1745–1800), the artist's friend and occasional collaborator on *kyōka* anthologies, which was also clearly created by Hokusai to mark a momentous turning point in his career.⁷

In both *Hokusai Paintings* and the sequel volume *Hokusai and His Age* I have explicated the category of paintings in light colours and ink on paper of the Sōri period, the late 1790s and early 1800s, when the master used the art name Sōri. Many are inscribed by Santō Kyōden (1761–1816), Akera Kankō (1738–1798), Shokusanjin (Ōta Nanpo, 1749–1823), Yomo no Utagaki Magao (1753–1829) and other of the upstart intellectuals who were at the centre of the then burgeoning *kyōka* movement in the urban centres of Japan.⁸ So my curiosity was piqued when I had a chance to see up close *Farmer on a Horse* (Pl. 12.2), a work recently deaccessioned from the collection of the Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto, which features a Chinese poetic inscription by Inaba Kakei, mentioned above.⁹ The painting – signed 'Hokusai Sōri ga' and impressed with the circular 'Tokimasa' seal – is deftly rendered in ink and light colours, and shows a solitary man on horseback in what we may imagine is a melancholy, reflective mood. Like so many inscribed paintings by Hokusai and his poetic comrades, the inscription enhances or changes the way we read the image or injects a personality or voice into the figure depicted. We can conjecture that sometimes, especially when the subject matter was non-normative for the artist, as here, the composition was created with the poem in mind. That is to say, the painter knew what the poet was going to write, even if the final transcription of the text was added *after* the painting was finished, and then signed and sealed by the inscriber. Here, Kakei composed and brushed a couplet of Chinese verse in two columns of seven-syllable lines that may be deciphered and translated as follows:

清風一襟郵前夕 長流萬里濯馬蹄

*Seifū ikkin, sonzen no seki
chōryū banri baseki o susugu*

With his chest filled with the refreshing breeze,
he arrives back in the village at eventide.
The stream that stretches a thousand miles
washes the hooves of his horse.¹⁰

After viewing this inscribed composition up close recently, I concur with others who have published it over the years and believe that both the painting and calligraphy are genuine.¹¹ But keeping in mind the issues at the centre of this essay on authenticity, I should point out that my colleague Kubota brought to my attention three other virtually identical versions of the painting, which he found reproduced in sales catalogues and other books over the years, two of which also nearly perfectly replicate the Kakei poetic inscription (cf. Pls 12.3–12.5). Although it is impossible to analyse the brushwork of the paintings from low-resolution black-and-white photographs, none of the seals are associated with the artist's early career and must be fake. The existence of such works suggests that even in the case of impromptu works on paper of Hokusai's early period, forgeries of all variety were created. As we shall see, distinguishing close copies of Hokusai's paintings from the originals becomes an essential connoisseurial exercise.

Another impromptu work in ink and a similar palette of light colours – acquired by The Met in 1991 – is a fan painting of probably of five or ten years later than *Farmer on a Horse* that captures an image of a tipsy Asahina (Asaina) Saburō, the warrior of the early 13th century better known for his Herculean feats of valour (Pl. 12.6). Here, the warrior is shown in relaxed, drunken repose. Although a diminutive, simple composition, the outlines bespeak the deft brushwork of Hokusai, with pale washes of blue (created using *ai*, indigo) and pink (*shu*, vermillion). Signed simply 'Hokusai', the seal is hard to decipher, but is the same one reading 'Kimō dasoku' ('Hair on a turtle, legs on a snake') featured on so many surviving works in ink and light colours of this early period of the artist's career: it is his most commonly used seal. Since the damage to the seal is extensive, Asano places this work at the final period of use of this seal, between 1806 and 1810–11, an observation with which I agree. Nagata viewed this work at The Met in 1994 and mentioned that he had published it in a series on Hokusai paintings written over the course of a decade between 1984 and 1994 in the art journal *Kobijutsu*.¹² We can imagine that a work like this, on a pre-prepared mica surface, was of the type Hokusai produced impromptu at poetry gatherings or by special request. Ōnishi Hiroshi, who researched a wide range of Japanese paintings, including works by Hokusai, in his capacity as Research Curator at The Met from 1988 to 1994, speculated that the work might have been done on the request of the Tsuruya sake shop as promotional material or for one of its regular customers, although this is impossible to confirm.¹³

As Richard Lane in his comments on authenticity in *Hokusai Paintings* noted:

So far as numbers go, I would surmise that a majority of Hokusai's signed and finished paintings are to be found in this charming [fan] format, and in the related *shikishi* 'poem cards' and the more elaborate album-plates. Whether such miniatures can ever achieve major importance is a question of philosophical interest. But certainly they may – like *surimono* and *netsuke* – provide the viewer with pleasure out of all proportion to their diminutive size.¹⁴

While I have always felt that Lane was among scholars who as a rule tended too blithely to dismiss the authenticity



Plate 12.2 Hokusai and Inaba Kakei (1745–1800, inscription), *Farmer on a Horse*, c. 1798. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 83.3cm, width 26.6cm. Private collection, Japan (ex-collection Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto)

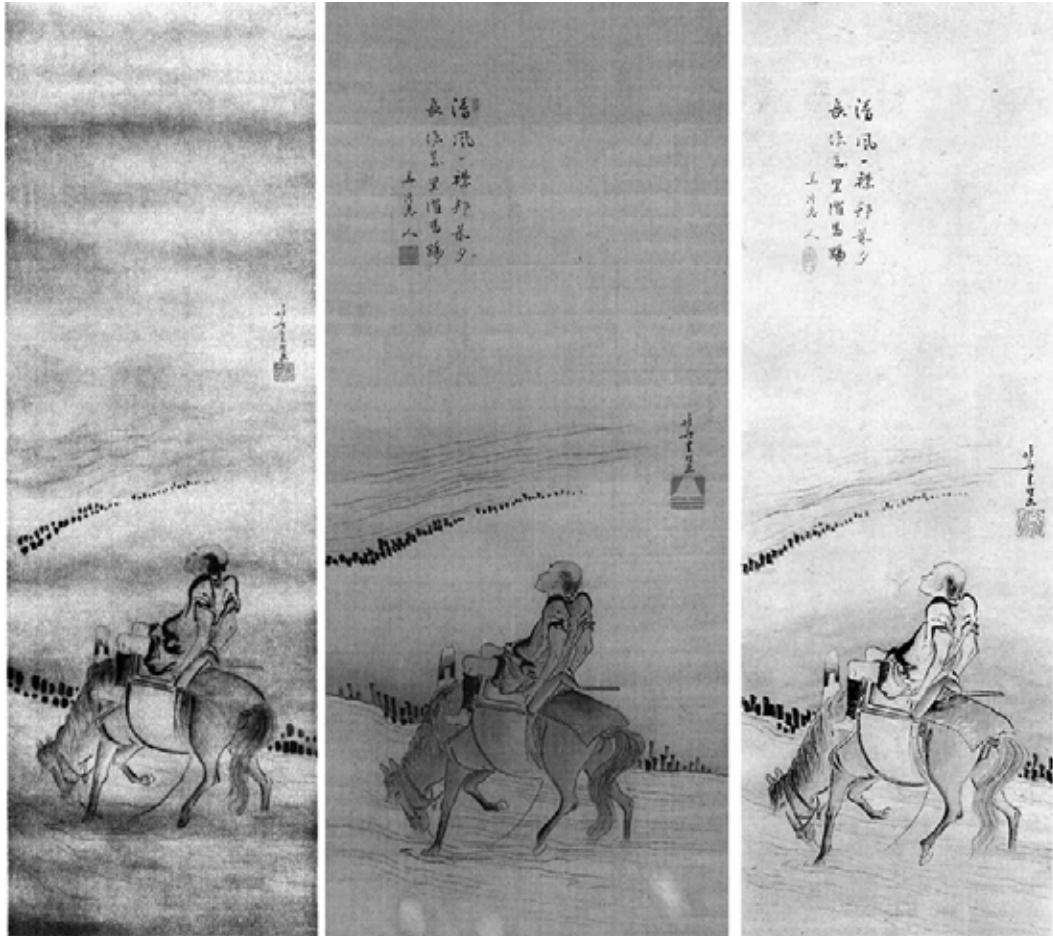
of most Hokusai paintings in Western collections without much or any justification, I generally agree with this particular observation about fan paintings. Although, needless to say, vigilance must be given to make sure the seal impression is authentic and the brushwork can be accepted as that of the master, rather than of an assistant.

The other category of manuscript works that sheds light on Hokusai's creative process and how he formulated more complex paintings, prints and book illustrations are the copious drawings in ink and sometimes light colours that survive in great numbers. The Met has three albums of such drawings, mostly containing works of pupils and followers, although sometimes it is possible to discern the hand of the master. For instance, many years ago Calza brought to my attention a work in one of our drawing albums that stands out for its masterful brushwork. It is signed 'Saki no Hokusai Itsu hitsu' and features the unusual seal with 'Yoshinoyama' rendered sinuously in the *kana* syllabary (Pl. 12.7).¹⁵

The next work of Hokusai's Sōri period, *Woman Spinning Silk*, also from The Met's collection, raises much more complex issues of determining authenticity, central to the discussion here (Pl. 12.8). The hanging-scroll painting captures the bucolic scene of a young woman in the countryside pulling thread from a large jar of silkworm cocoons, while she turns a spindle with her other hand. Her young son, seen from behind, with scraggly hair and a bright red tie-dyed robe, sits on his haunches and looks on. Ford noted that the imagery resonates with the contemporaneous mother-and-child imagery of Kitagawa Utamaro (c. 1753–1806).¹⁶ Four swallows fly overhead. The oval shape of the mother's face and the way the facial features are rendered call to mind the archetypal Sōri-style 'beautiful woman' (*bijin*), as exemplified by the *Gyokushi* painting introduced above (Pl. 12.1). Everything about the enchanting composition is characteristic of Hokusai's figural style, brushwork, and signature and seals of the late 1790s. At this time he often used the signature 'Hokusai Sōri ga' that combines two of his art-names, and includes 'Sōri', which he adopted from 1794 until he transferred it to his pupil Sōji in 1798.

The signature is the same as on *Gyokushi and the Dragon*, but *Woman Spinning Silk* has a double seal with a square relief 'Toki' on the top and a square intaglio 'Masa' below, again referencing one of the early art-names used by Hokusai.¹⁷ Paintings combining this signature and pair of linked seals can be dated from around 1797 to 1800, even though the same seal continued to be used on fan paintings and other small-format works for a decade or so after.¹⁸ The painting *Auspicious Tortoise* (c. mid-1797–early 1798; Nara Prefectural Museum of Art), with an inscription by Kakei, has an identical configuration of 'Hokusai Sōri ga' and the same 'Tokimasa' combination seals, and dates to around the same time.¹⁹

Based on the description above and a *prima facie* viewing of the charming *Woman Spinning Silk*, whether in reproduction or in person, the work seems to be an excellent candidate for inclusion in the corpus of genuine Hokusai paintings. Yet assessment of the work becomes more complicated when we consult curatorial records on file at The Met, some dating back to the 1950s and 1960s, that preserve comments made by specialists during visits to the



Plates 12.3, 12.4, 12.5 After Hokusai, copies of *Farmer on a Horse*. Whereabouts unknown (all three). Images courtesy of Kubota Kazuhiro, reproduced from various sales catalogues

museum.²⁰ Several of them accepted the painting as from the brush of Hokusai. Among them was Calza, who studied the work very carefully, and even though he was aware that other scholars were detractors. Ônishi declared it 'genuine' and added 'a work of this level of accomplishment can surely be accepted'.²¹ Kobayashi Tadashi published it in 2005 as a genuine work created in the late Kansei era (1789–1801), when Hokusai was in his late thirties.²² There were, however, dissenting opinions from prominent painting specialists such

as Sherman Lee (1918–2008) in 1952, Harold P. Stern (1922–1977) in 1955 and Narazaki Muneshige (1904–2001) in 1966, all of whom expressed doubts about its authenticity.

Regrettably, no record was kept of exactly what led them to their conclusions. I have always suspected that the light grey outline strokes and overall subdued and even pale quality of the colouration might have triggered experts to cast doubt on the work over the years, no doubt in comparison to the brilliantly coloured painted works of just a few years later.

Plate 12.6 Hokusai, *Drunken Asaina (Asahina)*, c. 1806–10. Fan painting mounted as a hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 24cm, width 51.3cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Asian Art Gifts, 1991, 1991.151



Plate 12.7 Hokusai, *Rooster*, c. 1825. From an album of drawings by the master and his pupils, ink and colour on paper, height 11.9cm, width 16.6cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.60.45





Plate 12.8 Hokusai, *Woman Spinning Silk*, c. 1800. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 85.8cm, width 31.3cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.30

But of course, if we take into consideration Hokusai's painting corpus overall, there are many works that resemble the brushwork and colouration here. We may view a work like this as a transitional beauty painting, bridging earlier works in ink and light colours on paper and slightly later ones that are rendered more meticulously on silk.

In 1994, however, the late Nagata Seiji, mentioned above as one of the most well-published scholars of Hokusai studies, echoed these earlier opinions questioning the authenticity of *Woman Spinning Silk* and shared more of why he thought so. Nagata had viewed all the Hokusai-related material at The Met in 1994, and records of his comments were preserved.²³ I also had the opportunity further to discuss directly with him issues related to Hokusai paintings and drawings when we met in Paris during the *Hokusai* exhibition held at the Galeries nationales du Grand Palais in 2014. When he had visited in 1994, Nagata noted that he found *Woman Spinning Silk* to be 'a problematic painting', and that he had seen four paintings in Japan identical to this work, although he did not share when or where he had seen them. In comments made during his earlier visit to The Met, he added that in the late Meiji era the publisher Shinbi Shoin had developed the technology to create meticulous facsimiles of genuine paintings, and he speculated that a similar reproductive technology was involved in the production of works such as *Woman Spinning Silk*. Nagata also mentioned in comments on other works in The Met's collection that usually Hokusai did not paint on high-quality silk, and that most of his surviving works are on thin, poor-quality silk, another aspect of the materiality of the paintings that merits further study.²⁴ Of course, we must keep in mind the continuing possibility that this work is the exceptional original that served as the model for hybrid printed/painted facsimiles. We also should take into account that the painting was most likely earlier acquired by Captain Francis Brinkley (1841–1912) and sold to Charles Stewart Smith in 1892, which may make it too early to be a facsimile generated by the Shinbi Shoin Company (or by the collector-dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi [1862–1923], who evidence suggests may also have been involved in the enterprise of making sophisticated facsimiles; see also Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35).²⁵ Anglo-Irish newspaper owner, editor and scholar Brinkley, not only wrote numerous books on Japanese art and culture during the 40 years he spent in the country, but also established himself as a renowned collector and dealer of East Asian antiquities.

Over the course of 30 years, I have yet to come across one of the other versions of this work, and sadly Nagata is no longer with us to be able to share where he saw the copies. When I asked various colleagues if they had seen other versions, no one could recall seeing an actual example. Kubota did, however, remember coming across published accounts from the pre-war period that documented the existence of other versions.²⁶ It was most helpful to discover that a *Woman Spinning Silk* belonging to Baron Kuki Ryūichi (1852–1931) was published in *Bijutsu gahō* in 1911 (Pl. 12.9). Also, a woodblock-printed version, less detailed in execution, is known from a Kaneko Fusui publication of 1969, although its present whereabouts remain unknown (Pl. 12.10). Needless to say, it is challenging to use low-resolution images



Plate 12.9 (far left) After Hokusai, *Woman Spinning Silk*, before 1911. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. Image from the website for the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/materials-image/gahou/30_01/gh_30_01_0008.jpg

Plate 12.10 (left) After Hokusai, *Woman Spinning Silk*, c. 1900(?) . Hanging scroll, woodblock printed, ink and colour on silk, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. Image from Kaneko 1969, 63

for comparison. Nevertheless, if we compare them closely, even though they are quite similar overall, several differences in details of the three versions can be detected: the most conspicuous are the completely different placement of the signature and the replacement of the double seal of The Met painting by a *kaō*, or so-called 'handwritten cypher' in the Baron Kuki version. Even if we cannot accurately compare the colours, in numerous places the outlines of the garments and other elements of the composition are clearly different.

My tentative conclusion – one I did not expect – is that The Met's *Woman Spinning Silk* is most likely the original painting on which the various copies, painted and printed, were modelled. Recent scientific analysis of the pigments by Leona in The Met's Department of Scientific Research lends weight to considering this a genuine work. He summarised his analysis as follows:

Woman Spinning Silk is in all probability an Edo original. No Meiji pigments whatsoever are present, and it seems to me to be the work of a very competent painter. The paint is applied very thinly, as washes, which gives it the flat appearance that had us worried it may be partially printed, but I don't think any part is printed. The use of colour is very interesting: there are unusual mixes of reds and yellows to create the pinks and even some gradations of reds. The line representing the strand of silk going from the woman's hand to the pot could not have been

printed and is indubitably the work of a skilled painter. The attention to colour shades and the transparency of colours achieved by the painter seems to me to come from Hokusai's playbook.²⁷

While of course we must leave conclusive judgement open until other versions can be discovered and studied more closely, and a more thorough comparison of silk substrates can be carried out, my own tentative conclusion in this case, supported by the pigment analysis, and in disagreement with Nagata's observations (which were based on only a quick visual analysis), is that the brushwork, colouration, signature and impressed seals can all be accepted as being carried out by the hand of Hokusai, and that this indeed is probably the original painting from which facsimile copies were fabricated. If any reader comes across another actual version of this work we can use for comparison, please inform myself or a member of the Late Hokusai project team.

Meiji-era facsimiles

Whether or not consensus forms that *Woman Spinning Silk* is an original, genuine work by Hokusai dating to c. 1800, the fact remains that, as mentioned by various scholars over the years, and explicated in somewhat more detail by Nagata in *Hokusai nikuhitsuga taisei*, there exist works that were created by woodblock printing of the outlines and some of the



Plate 12.11 After Hokusai, *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival*, probably c. 1880s. Hanging scroll, partly woodblock printed, partly painted in ink and colour on silk, height 85.2cm, width 31.4cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Mary and Cheney Cowles Collection, Gift of Mary and Cheney Cowles, 2021, 2021.398.40

coloured areas, with other areas then painted-in by brush.²⁸ Therefore, although the works do appear to be original brush paintings, they are in fact hybrid products combining mechanical reproduction – perhaps a combination of woodblock printing or photographic collotype printing – with a final stage of hand-painting. Among the works created by this means Nagata lists the following, although he does not illustrate them all:

1. Fan paintings of the 12 months. Ink and colour on paper. Produced by Kobayashi Bunshichi, dated August 1900. Example in the National Museum in Krakow.
2. *Woman Spinning Silk*. Hanging scroll, colour on silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see **Pls 12.8–12.10**), but no other examples are cited by Nagata. See the discussion above.
3. *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, c. 1900. Reduced-size reproduction of a painting in Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts.
4. *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*. Another version of the above. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk.
5. *Two Women*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk. Perhaps the original is reproduced (only in black and white) in: Fenollosa 1901 (published by Kobayashi Bunshichi); Noguchi 1930 (reprinted by Seibundō, 1932); Yoshida 1930–1 (*Ukiyo-e taisei*, vol. 9, ‘Hokusai’).²⁹
6. *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival*. Perhaps the original is reproduced in: Fenollosa 1901 (published by Kobayashi Bunshichi); Noguchi 1930; Yoshida 1930–1 (*Ukiyo-e taisei*, vol. 9, ‘Hokusai’).
7. *Nuno: Tama River*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk. Noguchi 1930; this is the same composition as one of the fans in the set of paintings *Six Views of the Tama River*.

It is important to note that the facsimile fan paintings produced by Kobayashi Bunshichi in 1900 were based on originals that were then thought to be owned by the collector-publisher Kobayashi himself, and which were destroyed in the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923.³⁰ Two of the works (nos 5 and 6), as noted above, were in the Hokusai paintings exhibition at Ueno Park in Tokyo in 1900 organised by Kobayashi. Since the images in the subsequent 1901 catalogue are black and white and low resolution, there is no way to conclusively determine if those two works might have been originals or facsimiles themselves, although I now suspect that in all likelihood they were the originals from which facsimiles were made. (In the case of *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival* there are two nearly identical facsimile versions that vary in significant details from the 1901 catalogue.) What we can say with assurance is that multiple (nearly) identical copies of each of these works exist. It has been long speculated that Kobayashi was behind these facsimiles on silk, and a useful avenue of exploration will be further examination of his activities as a publisher and promoter of ukiyo-e painting during the late 1800s through the turn of the century.

To further discuss this issue of high-quality facsimiles produced by the hybrid techniques of printing and hand-painting, I would like to introduce a work recently gifted to The Met, *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival* (**Pl. 12.11**), which is listed above as the sixth of the examples that Nagata mentioned were created partly by woodblock-

printing technology. This work entered the collection as part of a generous gift of Mary and Cheney Cowles of over 200 Japanese paintings and calligraphies, which it should be pointed out have with hardly any exceptions been appraised as genuine and best of class for the respective artist or category. We appreciate the willingness of the Cowleses to still follow through on the donation of *Women Carrying Pots* for study purposes even after the possibility was raised that it could be a later facsimile of the Meiji era. The Cowleses share with curators that curiosity and aim to make any and all works in their collection available for serious study of connoisseurship issues.

Upon initial inspection the work is entirely convincing in appearance as an original painting, and it was previously assumed that this was the same work as the one displayed at the Ueno *Hokusai Paintings* exhibition of 1900 cited above (Pl. 12.12). Much later, just over a decade ago, before it was offered for sale by a dealer in Kyoto, this same work was heralded as a rediscovered genuine Hokusai painting in a special issue of the art magazine *Bessatsu taiyō* in November 2010, *Hokusai ketteiban (Definitive Edition on Hokusai)*, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the artist's birth. In 2011 the work was displayed in an exhibition at Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.³¹ It was also published in a catalogue of the Kyoto National Museum.³² The Kyoto-based dealer who sold the work was aware of this previous recognition, and copies of the above-mentioned publications were included in the wooden storage box, so they must have assumed they were offering a genuine Hokusai painting for sale. Clearly this work falls into the category of complicated connoisseurial debate, and the present author approached this conundrum with special trepidation in challenging previous evaluations by experts. Again, I express my deep thanks to Cheney Cowles for allowing us to analyse this work to help shed light on issues that can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to many other paintings by or attributed to Hokusai, not to mention other artists.

Based on the Sōri-style features of the women, and the combination of the 'Katsushika Hokusai' signature with the 'Kimō dasoku' seal, this work would appear to be a painting of c. 1805–7. It is tastefully mounted in old kimono fabric, but we must conclude that this facsimile was based on an original, meticulously coloured painting on silk that represents the epitome of Hokusai's *bijinga* ('paintings of beautiful women'), dating to around to the time when he was moving away from the depiction of svelte and delicate feminine beauty of his Sōri period (that is, when he styled himself 'Hokusai Sōri') towards a more sensuous portrayal of women. Two women here, one with two iron cooking pots on her head, the other carrying a pot in her left hand, are on their way to participate in the *Tsukuma Festival* (*Tsukuma matsuri* 筑摩祭) held in early summer at the Shinto shrine of that name in Maihara near Lake Biwa, to the north-east of Kyoto. It is also referred to as the *Cooking Pot Festival* (*Nabe matsuri*) by locals. According to custom, the number of pots a woman places on her head is supposed to correspond to the number of men with whom she has enjoyed relationships (although popular literature and humorous *senryū* poetry of Hokusai's day openly spoofed the idea that pots would fall off the heads of women who lied about the number of men



Plate 12.12 Attrib. Hokusai, *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival*, possibly c. 1804 or c. 1880s. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height c. 85.2cm, width c. 31.4cm (exact dimensions unavailable). Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced from Fenollosa 1901

with whom they had been involved). There is also a slightly earlier two-panel screen treating the same theme by Hokusai dating to around 1799–1801 in the collection of the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.³³

This attractive ex-Cowles 'painting' on silk invites closer examination when viewed in relation to other deluxe paintings on silk of the period. As with *Woman Spinning Silk*, the pigment in some areas seems thin and pale: the black robe is flat and very thinly painted overall. But that is not the only complication when the work is examined more carefully, and this analysis is both helped and complicated by the existence of at least two other versions, albeit presently only known through photographs. At first glance it appears to be the same work as the one displayed in the 1901 Ueno Hokusai exhibition. Yet, it is immediately noticeable that the 'Kimō dasoku' seal stands out more in the black-and-white image than in The Met example. (This could be explained if The Met's example had been washed and restored.) Closer comparative examination reveals there are



Plate 12.13a After Hokusai, *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival*, probably c. 1880s. Hanging scroll, partly woodblock printed, partly painted in ink and colour on silk, height 85.2cm, width 31.4cm. Whereabouts unknown. Images courtesy of Matthi Forrer

numerous small differences in the textile patterns that are impossible to account for even as the work of an overzealous restorer. Although it is hard to rely on low-resolution photography, one can see in various details that the works are different; it is impossible to reconcile all the small discrepancies. Clark's personally communicated observations corroborated what we observed when comparing the 1901 catalogue reproduction and this work: 'what really does look different to me between the two works is the arrangement of the petals of the white flower "roundels" on the black kimono of the woman on the right. There are so many differences here that I cannot explain them either by photography or overzealous "restoration".³⁴



Plate 12.13b–c Comparison of details of the faces of the private French collection (top) and The Met version (bottom)

When I asked various colleagues if they had seen other examples of *Women Carrying Pots*, I received a number of helpful leads from specialists in Japan and Europe. Kubota provided an account from a 1969 publication by Kaneko Fusui recalling how he had come across a version of this painting at an auction preview in Ryōgoku, Tokyo. Receiving permission to borrow the 'painting' for an evening, he showed it to Kobayashi Bunshichi, who immediately declared it to be woodblock-printed reproduction.³⁵ This account was further confirmed when Matthi Forrer located a reproduction of one of the facsimiles in a periodical published in 1903, although he noted 'the medallion-like ornaments on the lower part of the kimono of the woman at right are in two distinctly different tones'.³⁶

My colleagues Marco Leona and Masanobu Yamazaki, Conservator of Japanese Painting at The Met, and I carefully checked to see if any trace of restoration could be detected in the areas where there were discrepancies. While a good restorer can disguise repairs, it is impossible for literally several dozen changes to be made to a painting without being detectable. Summarising a detailed scientific analysis of the pigments, Leona observed:

Women Carrying Pots is definitely a Meiji-era work since some of the pigments used appear no earlier than the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, the appearance of the painted surfaces is also somewhat different than what we usually see: here the paint saturates the weave of the silk, and in some areas there are gaps between *sumi* outlines and paint fills that make me think of poor registration when printing, or the brushwork of a less than competent painter. The green pigment on the sleeve of the

woman on the proper left contains amorphous arsenic sulfide. This is a yellow pigment related to orpiment, but obtained by synthesis, from low-grade orpiment ores. Note that the blue mixed with the yellow to obtain green in this case is indigo. Through our work on woodblock prints we have discovered that it begins to be used in the Meiji era.³⁷

Further evidence lending weight to the theory of hybrid printed-painted compositions was provided by the serendipitous discovery of slides of yet another version of *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival* that my colleague Matthi Forrer, former Curator for Japanese Arts at the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden, Netherlands, had kept for over three decades after being shown them by a Paris-based collector (Pl. 12.13). When I first examined them I thought these were simply images of the same painting discussed above, that is, the one now belonging to The Met, although with different mounting silks. A closer comparison, however, reveals that this is yet another version of the same facsimile composition, most certainly also created in the Meiji era. While the outlines are identical, it is possible to note, even from comparing photographs, that there are numerous small variations in the hand-painted areas, and there are small discrepancies, too, in the way the colours have adhered in printed areas. Also, it appears that the types of silk are different, although both seem to be of high quality. These observations reconfirm the existence and special characteristics of hybrid painted-printed 'Hokusai' works: facsimiles made in the Meiji era that Nagata and others had observed.

In addition to the slides that Forrer discovered, I was surprised to learn from Clark that he too had been asked to examine the same painting, then in a French collection, over 30 years ago, around 1988: the same time Forrer saw the work, and the same time it was offered to auction houses in America for sale.³⁸ Clark was informed that the work was originally purchased in Japan c. 1886 by Alban Benet (1844–1915), a French naval officer who from 1886 to 1890 was stationed in the Division navale d'Extrême-Orient.³⁹ Fortunately, Clark preserved his notes at the time and observed that he did not consider the painting genuine, partly because 'the colours were not consistent with my knowledge of genuine paintings by Hokusai from the first decade of the 19th century, and also that the seal appeared to be forged. The painting was mounted on board and covered with a layer of transparent plastic.' Four years later, in 1992, when Clark was shown the painting again, perhaps as a part of a legal issue surrounding the work, he reconfirmed that he thought the painting was a 'copy executed in the second half of the 19th century'.⁴⁰

Adding to the complexity of this issue, The Met/ex-Cowles version comes in a storage box, clearly of a certain age, with an inscription thought to be by Takai Kōzan 高井鴻山 (1806–1883), a prominent patron of Hokusai in Obuse, Nagano prefecture (see also Haft essay, pp. 43–57).⁴¹ This inscription suggested that Kōzan was asked at a gathering to inscribe the title on the outer box lid and sign the inner lid. More research is needed, since if the handwriting of the box inscription is accepted, it would reinforce the hypothesis that such facsimiles were made in the early 1880s, that is, while Kōzan was still alive. Further research is required to



Plate 12.14 Circle of Hokusai, *Courtesan with a Mirror*, from an album of drawings by Hokusai and disciples, mid- to late 19th century, ink on paper, height 55cm, width 26cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.59.65

determine if Kōzan really was approached to add an inscription to a box made for the facsimile, or if it was simply part of the ruse to create an aura of authenticity surrounding the work.⁴²

In addition to these works created by the hybrid technique, over the years Hokusai specialists including Nagata, Calza and Forrer have noted there are a number of other Hokusai works that are known in more than one remarkably similar version, and I have seen numerous examples myself (see also Hare essay, pp. 236–44). It is presently impossible to say if they were made by the same



Plate 12.15 Hokusai, *Whistling with a winter cherry*, from the series *Seven Fashionable Useless Habits* (*Fūryū nakute nana kuse*), c. 1798. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), ink and colour on paper, vertical ōban, height 38.1cm, width 26cm. Private collection, USA



Plate 12.16 After Hokusai, *Whistling with a winter cherry*, from the series *Seven Fashionable Useless Habits* (*Fūryū nakute nana kuse*), early 20th century, after a print of c. 1798. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), ink and colour on paper, vertical ōban, height 36.4cm, width 24.8cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1922, JP1290

technique of woodblock-printed outlines, or by the tracing techniques of a skilled forger. Calza reported in detail about various examples in his essay 'Imitations, copies and fakes after paintings by Hokusai' in *Hokusai and His Age*.⁴³ To open his argument, he presented the intriguing case of two paintings, by master and pupil, both of which should be accepted as genuine: *Ohara Maiden with an Ox*, signed 'Gakyōjin Hokusai ga' and sealed 'Kimō dasoku' of around 1805 (Edoardo Chiossone Museum of Oriental Art, Genoa); and the very similar composition signed by his pupil Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850), probably of a decade or more later, in the British Museum. Such cases remind us that Hokusai's pupils were perfectly capable of creating works that were just as accomplished, if not superior, to those of the master.

Calza went on to introduce two different beauty paintings that are known in at least three versions each, although it is impossible at this point to confirm whether these are copies created in Hokusai's time, or executed by some variety of mechanical reproduction such as hybrid printed and hand-painting, or even created, as Calza suggests in one case, by the highly skilled Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889), who is known to have owned Hokusai paintings (see also Sadamura essay, pp. 212–19). Needless to say, we know there were artists of Kyōsai's day, either in his own circle or forgers, who were

capable of making expert copies of both Hokusai and Kyōsai works, so we must remain vigilant concerning Meiji-era forgeries. There is also, of course, the well-known case of the Hokusai *Courtesan with Umbrella in the Snow*, which exists in two versions. The one directly inscribed by Shokusanjin with a poem in his own hand is widely accepted as genuine, an opinion with which I concur (albeit keeping in mind that Shokusanjin II also later inscribed paintings in a similar handwriting style).⁴⁴

Along the same lines, Forrer earlier observed in his essay 'Hokusai's draftsmanship: a preliminary study' in *Hokusai Paintings* that among surviving drawings from the Hokusai studio there are full-size drawings that must have been used as templates of sorts to create paintings of beauties or other subjects.⁴⁵ And this makes us wonder if some of these might have been intended as block-ready drawings (*hanshita-e*) for woodblock-printed outlines that may have been used to create 'part-paintings': what else would they have been used for? Ford and Forrer in the past have drawn attention to examples in The Met's collection (e.g., **Pl. 12.14**). While we have ascertained that works such as The Met's *Women Carrying Pots* could not have been created during Hokusai's lifetime, we cannot rule out that some of the known duplicate versions might have been devised by this means of

woodblock-printed outlines already during Hokusai's period, and of course subsequently by his pupils and followers.

While this essay focuses on issues of authenticity related to Hokusai paintings, it should be pointed out that the same kind of reproductive techniques and skill were applied to making remarkably faithful facsimiles of woodblock prints by masters such as Hokusai, Sharaku and others (see also Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35). We also know of the remarkable printed facsimiles of *kyōka surimono* created around the 1880s and 1890s (see Matsuba essay, p. 234).⁴⁶ For instance, an exceedingly rare beauty print by Hokusai, signed 'Kakō', which dates to approximately the same period as *Woman Spinning Silk*, shows two women, one of whom is blowing through a hole in a dried husk of a *hōzuki* (winter cherry or Chinese lantern) to make a whistling noise. It is from the series *Seven Fashionable but Useless Habits* (*Fūryū nakute nana kuse*), which, if intended to include seven subjects, was apparently never completed, since only two designs are known. Very few original impressions of this print have survived, including one from a private collection illustrated in **Plate 12.15** and a severely damaged example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁴⁷

The specimen in The Met's collection appears to be an impression in fairly good condition, with some minor losses in the upper right corner, and has been published as genuine a number of times by prominent Japanese experts, including Nagata (Pl. 12.16).⁴⁸ Recently, however, when Leona and I had the opportunity to closely examine the two impressions reproduced here side by side, it immediately became apparent that The Met's version is not an original: the paper seems to be machine-made, without the tray lines of the original; the mica background seems dull in comparison; and there are a few discrepancies in the key-block that are inexplicable when compared to the impression in the private collection and the one in Boston. When analysed, the original print was shown to be executed with muscovite mica, the same kind as that used for original actor prints by Sharaku (worked 1794–5). The Met's facsimile version of the Kakō design employs a mixture of muscovite and talc, which must have been an intentional mixture, not a natural co-occurrence of the two minerals (which are not generally found associated). It can be thought of as a cheaper substitute. Interestingly, the metal pigment used for the hairpin in both cases is tin, but it is mixed with muscovite in the original print and an admixture of muscovite and talc for The Met's facsimile impression.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, The Met's impression is a tour-de-force facsimile using some of the same reproductive technology employed to create *Women Carrying Pots for the Tsukuma Festival*. While conducting pigment analysis using Raman spectroscopy, Leona discovered that the green areas of the facsimile print contain synthetic arsenic sulfide, an artificial orpiment that was not available until the Meiji era. Furthermore, as is often the case with Meiji facsimiles, the mica has a different chemical composition (and is not true mica at all). Although this is not the place to elaborate on print facsimiles, it does seem clear that sometime in the 1880s through to the 1910s, there was a concerted effort to make reproductions of rare ukiyo-e paintings, prints and



Plate 12.17 Possibly by Katsushika Hokusai II (worked c. 1815–40), formerly attributed to Hokusai, *At a Dumpling Shop on a Snowy Day*, mid-19th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 125cm, width 49.8cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.34 (ex-collection Captain Francis Brinkley)



Plate 12.18 Manjirō Hokuga (Hōtei Gosei, d. 1856), formerly attributed to Hokusai, *Monkey Trainer and Clam Seller in the Snow*, mid-19th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 32.5cm, width 57.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.45

surimono. The process required not only a collector or dealer with access to rare or unique originals, but also someone with connections with people skilled in both traditional woodblock-printing techniques as well as modern photographic and lithographic technologies. For both the painting and print facsimiles, it is noteworthy that the entrepreneurial Kobayashi Bunshichi always seems to be a common denominator in the stories of these works, although firm evidence of his involvement in making fraudulent facsimiles has yet to come to light.

Formerly attributed to Hokusai

A work that has received very little attention in the past century or so since it was acquired, except for viewings in storage by specialists, is the charming painting *At a Dumpling Shop on a Snowy Day*, which shows a group of people and puppies – all depicted in the manner of Hokusai – gathered in or in front of a shop that specialises in *manjū*, or bean-paste dumplings (Pl. 12.17). The signature reading ‘Katsushika Tokimasa ga’ includes the art-name ‘Tokimasa’ used by the master early in his career, c. 1799–1800, as mentioned above, but the handwriting does not resemble the master’s, at any age. The unusual rectangular relief seal reads ‘Raishin’ 雷震. It does not appear on any other painting to my knowledge (although Hokusai did use another seal with this reading), and seems to be based on a close copy of a printed seal from the colophons of either *Hokusai Manga, Part I* (1814) or *Ehon jōruri zekku* (1815).⁵⁰ This is another of The Met’s Hokusai-related works that was acquired by Charles Stewart Smith from Captain Francis (Frank) Brinkley.⁵¹ Some specialists have given it the benefit of doubt, while others have dismissed it outright: Lee thought that it was ‘probably okay’; Alan Priest said, ‘being a little generous, perhaps [genuine]’; Stern said it was ‘not Hokusai, poor, bad signature’. Similarly, both Narasaki in 1966 and Nagata in 1994 declared it ‘not by Hokusai’; Ōnishi said he ‘could not say if by Hokusai or not, but in any case it is in the Hokusai style’.⁵²

I had expected that *At a Dumpling Shop on a Snowy Day* might end up being put into the category of Meiji-era fakes,

but after Leona examined it and determined that the green was created by indigo mixed with an organic yellow, with no trace of artificial arsenic sulfide, there is no reason to believe this is a later 19th-century painting. The work is in fact quite well painted, even if static, so it might even be considered to be by one of the two pupils who took over – probably paid to receive – one of the master’s discarded art-names, keeping in mind that Hokusai II used both the name ‘Tokimasa’ and a ‘Raishin’ 雷震 seal. Such an attribution would require further study of the small known corpus of works by the artist.⁵³ Or perhaps the painting is simply by another pupil who styled himself Hokusai in order to sell his works.

Another work in the category of a skilled painting in the Hokusai style, but lacking the distinctive brushwork or compositional bravura of the master, shows a monkey trainer traipsing in the snow holding an umbrella and carrying his pet monkey, along with a clam seller balancing baskets of shellfish: both bespeak Hokusai’s figural style (Pl. 12.18). The setting, along a riverside, close to a boat landing, with a pair of geese taking flight, also evokes Hokusai’s visual vocabulary. When the work came into The Met’s collection in 1914 as part of the Charles Stewart Smith Collection, it was ascribed to Hokusai, though in the post-war period records of viewings by visiting scholars kept by the Department of Asian Art challenged the attribution. Lee in 1952 dismissed it as a ‘poor’ painting. Stern in 1965 took it to be a later copy of Hokusai, declared the ‘unlively detail not in his hand’, and assumed that the Manjirō seal was associated with the master. Ōnishi correctly observed that the attribution to Hokusai was ‘spurious’ but did not offer an alternative opinion. Nagata in 1994 immediately and correctly observed that the work indeed was not by Hokusai, and assumed it was probably by Manjirō Hokuga, and based on images from *Hokusai manga*. Ultimately this is a case where the painting is a perfectly genuine work by a pupil of Hokusai, but simply confused as being by the master. If we back away from trying to regard it as the output of Hokusai, it can be thoroughly enjoyed as a painting by one of his skilled pupils, brushed with a vibrant palette.

Another work from The Met's collection no longer accepted by most specialists as a work of the master is the quickly executed *Kingfisher and Bulrushes* (Pl. 12.19). Some scholars in the past allowed the possibility that it might be an authentic impromptu work. It features a signature reading 'Hachijūku-sai Manji hitsu' (painted by Manji, aged 89). The too casual handwriting, however, does not seem to be Hokusai's, and the damaged rectangular seal containing the legend 'Hyaku' (百, One-Hundred) was inadvertently impressed upside down, and this author has yet to see a similar seal anywhere else. Nonetheless, when Stern viewed it in 1965, he wanted to give it the benefit of the doubt, describing it as 'a puzzler, which could be correct; an old painting without question; seal upside down; signed "at age 89 Manji"; a signature so weak and scattered, could hardly be forgery.' In 1966 Narazaki said he considered it 'questionable'. In the early 1990s Ōnishi also felt it was a witty composition and labelled it 'genuine'. In 1994 Nagata completely ruled it out.⁵⁴ It seems that, in this case, the more comparative evidence we have, the less chance we will accept it as by the master.

The complicated impressions of the 'Katsushika' seal

Other than the rapidly executed sketch painting of a rooster reproduced in Plate 12.7, there is but a single signed and sealed painting in The Met, *Chinese General Guan Yu*, that purports to be from Hokusai's middle career (Pl. 12.20). During this period, from 1820 to about 1840, he often employed a signature on prints, illustrated books and paintings that used a new art-name, 'Iitsu', while at the same time reminding people of the name Hokusai by which he was always best known, both in his own day and today. Sometimes he used 'Hokusai aratame Iitsu' (Hokusai, changing to Iitsu) or, as for this painting, 'Saki no Hokusai, Iitsu hitsu' (brushed by Iitsu, formerly Hokusai). I concur with those who believe the seal used here should be read 'Katsushika' (the character for 'katsu' 葛 combined with the archaic *kana* forms 'shi' 帅 and 'ka' 可). There are at least three accepted versions of the 'Katsushika' seal, and the seal impressed here appears to be type 1.⁵⁵ Surveying all of the paintings in The Met with 'Katsushika' seals types 1, 2 and 3, what seems clear, especially when studied in tandem with pigment analysis carried out by Leona, is that these must have been created by Hokusai himself or by artists working in his circle who were familiar not only with the master's style, but also who had direct access to his preferred formulae for mixing pigments. Based on biographical information, it seems that later in his career Hokusai was not operating a formal studio as might have been common for other prominent artists of the day, but had a restricted number of pupils, including his daughter, working close by. Generally speaking, Katsushika seals types 1 and 2 might be categorised as 'studio' seals, since as a rule they lack the master's flair and the signatures are often weak although there are some notable exceptions that should be ascribed to the master and included in Zone A of Tsuji's categorisation.

When he viewed the *Guan Yu* painting in 1965, Stern's curt comments were recorded as, 'Cheap painting done for trade; signature and seal both bad. Cheap market silks on painting and mount both'. A year later, when Narazaki



Plate 12.19 Formerly attributed to Hokusai, *Kingfisher and Bulrushes*, mid-19th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 112.5cm, width 23.4cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Howard Mansfield Collection, Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1936, 36.100.29



Plate 12.20 Follower of Hokusai, *The Chinese General Guan Yu*, mid-19th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 85.5cm, width 34.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Seymour Fund, 1959, 59.37

viewed the work, he seems to have been more accepting and said it was 'Okay'. Ōnishi counted it as 'genuine'. Nagata in 1994, however, felt that it was 'Not Hokusai; something is wrong in the way motifs are arranged in the pictorial space. Signature and seal are not correct, but perhaps by one of his top pupils'.⁵⁶ The matter will require further deliberation, but I concur with Narazaki and Nagata that this is not a Meiji-era forgery made for the tourist trade but a product of someone in Hokusai's circle. This evaluation is supported by the pigment analysis by Leona, which confirms typical colourants from the palette of Hokusai and his studio of the mid-19th century: Prussian blue, vermillion, natural orpiment and lac dye over vermillion – none of the artificial pigments that came to be used in the Meiji era.

Furthermore, the work has documentation attesting to an impressive provenance, formerly in the collection of a Viscount Ishiguro Tadanori (1845–1941), who stated that it was originally presented by Hokusai to one of his pupils, one Yamaguchi Sanzō. Yet, as mentioned above, everything about the work – the composition, the colouration on rough silks, the weakly brushed signature (albeit with an apparently genuine seal) – has led most scholars not to allow it into the corpus of works by the master. So, perhaps it qualifies as a studio work.⁵⁷ Indeed, in the final analysis, maybe we can take the letter of provenance at face value and treat this work as a product of Hokusai's studio, perhaps even impressed with the 'Katsushika' seal by the pupil Yamaguchi Sanzō, with permission from the master.

While raising the issue of the 'Katsushika' seal being used by pupils, we should also point out that this is the seal (in forged form) that appears more often than others on outright fakes, including those produced in the wake of the master's death, and in the Meiji era for the Western tourist trade. Tucked into one of the various albums of drawings created by Hokusai's pupils in The Met's collection is an intriguing drawing of two snakes, accompanied by various Hokusai-impersonating practice signatures of a pupil, and a fake impression of the 'Katsushika' seal, perhaps made by stencil (Pl. 12.21). Segi Shinichi has published his discovery of a cache of practice 'Katsushika' seals in an archive in Obuse, Nagano prefecture.⁵⁸

While mentioning works that feature variants of the 'Katsushika' seal used by Hokusai and his studio, allow me to bring up an intriguing work in The Met's collection showing a Buddha's Hand Citron (Japanese: *bussukan* 仏手柑), an unusually shaped fruit that is segmented into finger-like sections, fancifully thought to resemble the hands on a Buddhist sculpture (Pl. 12.22). The work rendered with botanical precision does not seem to have any connection to Hokusai, except that it was impressed at some point in the lower right corner with a 'Katsushika' seal. Close examination shows that there are various small but still conspicuous differences from accepted seals; this 'Katsushika' seal is yet another forged version. Leona's analysis discovered that the yellow is certainly organic, probably gamboge; the background is indigo, while the greens of the stem contain Prussian blue. Only in exceptional cases – just three examples are known in the extensive National Museum of Asian Art collection – was Prussian blue used to create green. Yet, all are still pigments



Plate 12.21 (left) Follower of Hokusai, *Sketches of Snake Heads, Practice Signatures and Imprint of a Copy of 'Katsushika' Seal Type 2*, mid-19th century. Leaf from an album of drawings, ink on paper, height 19.2cm, width 14.9cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Annette Young, in memory of her brother, Innis Young, 1956, 56.121.37

Plate 12.22 (above) Formerly attributed to Hokusai, *Buddha's Hand Citron (Busshukan)*, mid-19th century. Matted painting, ink and colour on silk, height 34.3cm, width 24.4cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H.O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.536

associated with the early to mid-19th century. Also, quite unusually for works associated with Hokusai, the background seems to be reverse painted, as pointed out by Jennifer Perry, specialist in Japanese painting conservation at The Met. No ukiyo-e painting expert who has seen the work, whether Stern in 1965, Narazaki in 1966 or Nagata in 1994, or anyone since, has accepted this as a genuine Hokusai work. Nagata, while pointing out that the seal is not authentic, observed that it is 'an interesting, attractive painting done by a contemporary of Hokusai'.⁵⁹ I agree that this work may be enjoyed as a mid-19th-century botanical painting, a memento of a favourite literati subject.

Later works by Hokusai and his studio

While hardly strong or comprehensive in its holdings of Hokusai paintings, The Met has a wide range of works ostensibly dating from the last decade of his career, roughly the 1840s, by which time the master's daughter Ōi, a highly talented artist in her own right, was living and working with her father (see Davis essay, pp. 58–70). For instance, a painting in the collection of The Met that raises all sorts of issues of authenticity and the operation of a Hokusai studio during the final stage of the master's career is *Gamecocks* (Pl. 12.23). The bantam cock on the right aggressively faces off against his companion to the left, as the latter eyes us, the viewers, as if to ask whether it should engage in battle. In the trademark fashion of Hokusai's animal paintings, the expressions of the birds convey humanlike emotions. Their plumage is meticulously rendered, suggesting a deluxe commission. From ancient times in Japan, gamecocks

(*shamo*) were specifically bred as fighting birds. There has long been debate among specialists over the authorship of this painting, due in part to the overly elaborate signature, the likes of which has been seen on no other indisputably genuine work associated with the artist. The artist's age is given as 79, and the work is dated to the sixth month of 1838, which is an entirely plausible date of execution. The signature reads 'Saki no Hokusai Gakyō Rōjin (Formerly Hokusai, the Old Man Mad about Painting), Nakajima Gozaemon Fujiwara Iitsu' (note that Gakyō Rōjin is alternatively translated elsewhere in this volume as the 'Old Man Crazy to Paint'). Although Nakajima was Katsushika Hokusai's actual (adoptive) family name, Gozaemon is not known to be among the given names used by the artist. The variant of the 'Katsushika' (type 2) seal, seen here, however, matches that found on other accepted paintings and suggests the work was created in the close context of Hokusai and his immediate circle.

Through the years, this painting has attracted a lot of attention. In 1965 Stern proclaimed, 'this is the only right one of the hanging-scroll paintings in [The Met's] collection by Hokusai. Age is correct...; painted in 1838 according to inscription.' In 1966 Narazaki observed that part of signature was unusual and needed further study. In 1973 Tsuji, then teaching at Tōhoku University, opined 'very good, though may be Hokusai school'. Ōnishi felt it was genuine. Nagata, in 1994, observed, 'It would doubtlessly be Hokusai's work without the signature, which I have never seen before.' Nagata further noted that it was the first time he had seen 'Gozzaemon' in a signature and wondered if Gozaemon was mentioned in any *kakochō* 過去帳 (ancestral records maintained by temples) after Hokusai's death.⁶⁰

Here, again, is a case where the scientific analysis by Leona of the red, yellow, green and blue pigments reaffirms



Plate 12.23 Circle of Hokusai, *Gamecocks*, mid-19th century, perhaps 1838. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 55.3cm, width 85cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.56

Plate 12.24 Hokusai, *Geese by a Stream*, 1839. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 28.4cm, width 70cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H.O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.1403



that all the colourants conform with Hokusai paintings of this period.⁶¹ Red pigments detected included red lead, vermillion and lac; yellow pigments included orpiment and gamboge; both Prussian blue and atacamite (copper chloride green) were detected in the blue and green areas of the foliage. Whatever the circumstances of its production, this is a masterpiece of avian painting created in the distinctive style of Hokusai. Because of the meticulous brushwork, and the correlation of painting techniques to those found in *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*), I have speculated previously that *Gamecocks* might have been the kind of work created by Ōi, or another pupil in the master's close circle (see Davis essay, pp. 58–70).

The next Met work to be briefly introduced here, *Geese by a Stream*, gives the artist's age as 80, aligning with 1839, and depicts a most curious, albeit charming, seasonal image of wild geese alongside a brook with roiling waves (Pl. 12.24). Yet, the painting again raises various connoisseurial conundrums. The signature, 'Gakyō Rōjin Manji hitsu, yowai hachijū sai' (Painted by Manji, the Old Man Mad about Painting, at age 80), incorporates the reverse swastika character Manji 万, a Buddhist symbol, and a name the artist used often on paintings created during the 1830s and 1840s. The 'Katsushika' (type 2) seal impressed here seems to conform to accepted comparable examples. Although the rendering of the rippling river – relying in this case entirely on indigo as a colourant – appears to come straight out of the Hokusai repertory, the geese on the shore, rendered impromptu without outline, and the formation of geese in flight are lacklustre, even clumsy in places. Moreover, the balance of the entire composition seems askew. Based just on these observations we might dismiss the painting altogether as the work of Hokusai. Yet, Nagata and others argued that despite these apparent weaknesses, the composition could be attributed to the master, and published it as such.⁶² It belongs to a cluster of works giving the artist's age as 80, which has led to the speculation that we should not take this literally as a work of 1839, when the master turned 80, but perhaps signifying that it was done when he was in his eighties. In corroboration of Nagata's connoisseurial observations, Leona's microscopic analysis concurs that the palette and brushwork of the *Geese* painting is identical to *Fisherman*, discussed below.

The Chinese Warrior Gongsun Sheng, referring to one of the military heroes of the popular martial epic *The Water Margin* (*Suikoden*), seems based on an illustration by Hokusai in Volume 58 of the *Shinpen Suiko gaden* (Pl. 12.25). This painting of an exultant warrior has a long history of being dismissed as a fake, though not by everyone. The signature, 'Gakyōjin Manji hitsu, yowai hachijū' (Painted by Manji, the Man Mad about Painting, age 80), with a 'Katsushika' seal that is hard to read on the rough silk, but appears to conform to type 2, does not immediately disqualify it. In 1952 art historian Katsuki Takashi, who quirkily referred to the subject as 'Sword Dancer', branded it 'Class F, or poor painting, not by Hokusai'. Stern in 1965 declared it a 'modern fake', and Narazaki in 1966 also judged it a 'questionable attribution' to Hokusai. Onishi felt it was 'genuine'. Nagata during his visit of 1994, was more accepting, and stated it was 'okay' as Hokusai and identified



Plate 12.25 Follower of Hokusai, *The Chinese Warrior Gongsun Sheng*, c. 1839. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 69.5cm, width 27.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Howard Mansfield Collection, Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1936, 36.100.28



Plate 12.26 Hokusai, *Fisherman*, 1840. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 78.5cm, width 24.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H.O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.507

the subject as similar to Hokusai's illustrations for *Suikoden*.⁶³ Leona observes that none of the pigments used to colour this work are unusual for the mid-19th century: indigo, indigo mixed with organic yellow for the green; iron oxide red and natural orpiment to create the flesh tones. Perhaps it is reasonable to categorise this as a work by a pupil in Hokusai's studio.

The next work, *Fisherman*, featuring another version of the 'Katsushika' seal, in this instance referred to as type 3, bespeaks the master's impromptu but authoritative brushwork. Dated to Hokusai's 81st year – that is, 1840 – a spontaneously but assertively brushed image of a fisherman shows the ageing master still on top form (Pl. 12.26). The use of imagery of fishermen and woodcutters to convey the aspiration to a free and unfettered life in the countryside can be traced back to classical Chinese poetry and was incorporated in the Japanese visual idiom in the Edo period, especially by artists of the Nanga and Maruyama-Shijō schools. Hokusai created his own take by giving his figures a more plebeian, almost humorous demeanour, in line with his print and illustrated book designs. Of course, the culmination of Hokusai's engagement with this theme is found in the diptych of paintings *Fisherman and Woodcutter* (1849; National Museum of Asian Art), completed in the last few months of the artist's life, aged 90.⁶⁴

Fisherman was given a vote of approval by Narazaki in 1972 as a 'very good Hokusai'. Earlier, in 1965, Stern had expressed admiration for the painting, although thought the signature did not look quite right. But rather than a studio work, he felt that it was by the master. Ōnishi noted that he 'could not be absolutely sure it was genuine, but that the brushwork was skilled'. Nagata in 1994 leant towards the judgement that it might be by a top student.⁶⁵ The 'Katsushika' (type 3) seal used here is the one most closely associated with the master, and is found not only on accepted high-quality paintings, but also on personal letters and other documents. Works featuring seals type 1 and 2, on the other hand, often come across as by an artist close to the master, as represented above in Plates 12.20, 12.24 and 12.25, but lacking the verve as seen in *Fisherman*. Recent pigment analysis by Leona has revealed that the colours conform to the period: in this case, 'the blue of the leggings is entirely in indigo, without an admixture of Prussian blue. The red of the *mino*, fisherman's straw skirt, is a combination of vermillion, red ochre, and *gofun* [shell white]. The green of the bag is a mixture of indigo with an organic yellow'.⁶⁶ In a case like this, viewers have to establish their own criteria as to what constitutes brushwork typical of the master, but the present author detects no aspect of the composition, brushwork, signature or seal that would disqualify *Fisherman* from being accepted as genuine.

Another work in The Met's holdings that appears to date to around the same period is a painting on silk portraying the legendary Empress Jingū (Pl. 12.27). It is signed 'Saki no Hokusai Manji hitsu, yowai hachijū-roku sai' (From the brush of Hokusai Manji, in his 86th year), with a seal reading 'Katsushika' (type 3). Depictions of Jingū, who led an expedition in the 4th century against the ancient kingdoms of Korea while pregnant with the child who would become Emperor Ōjin, became popular in early modern times.⁶⁷

I had always assumed that this work signed Hokusai was most probably of the Meiji era, and of the type created for the Western market, since the colours were so vivid and the composition, overall, had a static quality to it. Sherman Lee in 1952 did not accept it, while in 1966 Narazaki said it was 'passable'. Ōnishi felt there was a 'possibility that it is genuine'. Yet, when I reviewed comments made by Nagata and recorded by Watanabe in 1994 in Asian Art Department Records, I was surprised to see that he observed:

Fresh colours may raise some doubts of authenticity to some scholars, but this is a painting by Hokusai. The signature and seal are authentic. This MMA painting was introduced by Edward Morse; the first introduction of Hokusai in the States. Hokusai often used a kind of thin silk (not of good quality) as seen in this painting. On the other hand, he did not often use the thick silk of good quality used on *Woman spinning silk* (14.76.30).⁶⁸

I was among those who had assumed that the bright red was an artificial colour, as found in Meiji prints, but the analysis by Leona revealed that all the pigments are completely consistent with what Hokusai and his pupils used in the mid-19th century, as in *Gamecocks*. Again, Leona summarised the complex analysis as follows, 'Empress Jingū to me is from Hokusai's studio and he was in the room when it was painted. Straight from his bag of tricks. Prussian blue and indigo both present, lac dye over vermilion, and the right kind of orpiment for an Edo-period painting'.⁶⁹

The mention of Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925) in Nagata's observations took me by surprise since I was not aware that any paintings previously owned by the noted collector and writer – who visited Japan in 1877, 1878–9 and 1882–3 – had entered The Met's holdings. In 'Notes on Hokusai, the founder of the modern Japanese school of drawing', published in the *American Art Review* in 1880, Morse notes:

By rare good fortune I came into possession to two kakemonos (hanging pictures) by Hokusai, as well as some hasty sketches made by him as a lesson for one of his pupils. This pupil, now an old gentleman, had for a long time treasured these precious objects, and gave them to me, accompanied by some additional information regarding Hokusai, which so far as I am aware, had never before been published.⁷⁰

One of the paintings from his own collection that Morse illustrates in the same essay is *Empress Jingū*, although he mistook the identification and gender of the female warrior and referred to it as 'Yamato-dake No Mikoto. A Japanese hero. Born 77, died 150, A.D. Painted by Hokusai. From a Kakamono [sic] in the possession of Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem Mass.'⁷¹ Nagata further pointed out in comments preserved in Asian Art Department Records that the work was also included in the first exhibition of Japanese paintings ever held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1893. It remains a mystery, however, how the painting changed hands and entered the collection of Charles Stewart Smith, and eventually ended up at The Met, although we can surmise that in the 1890s the collector-dealer Captain Brinkley was an intermediary.⁷²

While researching this work, I was also surprised to discover a remarkably similar painting of Empress Jingū in



Plate 12.27 Circle of Hokusai, *Empress Jingū*, 1845. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 80.7cm, width 31.7cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.36 (ex-collection Edward Sylvester Morse)



Plate 12.28 Circle of Hokusai, *Empress Jingū*, 1845 (signed Hokusai 86 years old). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 76.2cm, width 30.2cm. Hara Yasusaburō Collection, Japan. Reproduced from *Ginza Mitsukoshi* 2005

the Hara Yasusaburō Collection, Japan, which must have been created at around the same time and features the same signature and seal ('Katsushika' [type 3]), although placed in different positions (Pl. 12.28). While not quite as meticulous in detailing as The Met's example and allowing that there are small difference in the composition (it is a not a facsimile made by a photomechanical process), the two works must



Plate 12.29 Kōsai Hokushin (1824–1876), *Empress Jingū*, c. 1850. Hanging scroll, ink, colour, and gold on silk, height 73.3cm, width 32.9cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Asian Art Gifts, 2014, 2014.513

have been produced from the same template. The expert on Edo painting Kobayashi Tadashi notes in his comments on the scroll, 'This work dates to Hokusai's eighty-sixth year (by Japanese reckoning), and because of the vivid palette and well executed depiction of the figure we must consider the possibility that the artist's daughter Ōi, who lived with her father in his final years, had a hand in the production of

this work.⁷³ While it is impossible to verify undisputedly Ōi's collaboration in any of the paintings in this style, Kobayashi's point is well taken, and I find it even more plausible that The Met's highly refined work, which Nagata and others consider to be from the hand of the master, could possibly have been created by his daughter. In any case, a work of this superior quality may be placed in Zone B of Tsuji's classification system (see Clark essay, p. 143).

It is instructive to compare a work on the same subject by Kōsai Hokushin (1824–1876), a lesser-known pupil of Hokusai who we speculate may have been one of many artists close to the master at the end of his life, who could have created some of the paintings that bear the master's signature and seal (Pl. 12.29). Yet, it is also instructive to observe the shift in colourants in the palette as we move into the Meiji era. Leona, when analysing the pigments, found some that began to be used in the Meiji era, such as the artificial arsenic sulfide on the bow. He notes:

The palette is different than that used by Hokusai and his circle. Arsenic sulfide was used in the bow. The dark and light blues on the seated man are azurite, keeping in mind that the very dark blue is very large size azurite, which would have been expensive. This raises interesting questions on the use of arsenic sulfide pigments: we argued that the artificial orpiment that appears at the end of Edo and is consistently used during Meiji was less expensive and thus preferable to natural orpiment. Its use in a painting where expensive azurite was used (indicating that money was not a problem) may show that natural orpiment had become either impossible to find or was simply completely superseded by the new material. The red robe of the seated woman contains vermillion and red lead (a combination that we find in other paintings as well). The light blue on the robe of Jingū contains indigo, Prussian blue, and *gofun*.⁷⁴

This Hokushin painting is emblematic of how the Hokusai style of historical figure painting and the master's vibrant palette of his later works was transferred to a number of his talented pupils.

Versions of Shōki, the demon queller

The Met has three painted versions by or attributed to Hokusai of Zhong Kui, or Shōki in Japanese, the demon queller, all dating from the end of the master's career. All three raise intriguing issues of originality and authenticity, principally because each is known in more than one, remarkably similar, version. The first to be introduced is the most famous, most cherished and most published: *Red Shōki, the Demon Queller* (Pl. 12.30). Hokusai gives his age in the signature as 87 (86 by Western reckoning), so we know it dates to 1846, just three years before the artist died. Here, the belligerent figure – the artist perhaps injecting his own personality into the painting – looks right at us with a completely transfixing, piercing gaze. He will brook no dissent and overcome any opponent, human or spiritual. The fierce facial features, coupled with the Chinese robes, cap with two flaps, sword and military boots, confirm his identity as Zhong Kui, a scholar of early 7th-century China who committed suicide after being cheated out of the first rank in civil service examinations, yet who was buried with honours after the emperor heard of the tragic tale. To show his gratitude, Zhong Kui appeared as an exorcist in a



Plate 12.30 Hokusai, *Red Shōki, the Demon Queller*, 1846. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 59.1cm, width 30.2cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.37 (ex-collection Captain Francis Brinkley)

subsequent Chinese emperor's dream and vowed to quell demons and banish disease from the realm.⁷⁵

In Japan, auspicious images of Shōki were displayed for the Boys' Day Festival, traditionally celebrated on the 5th day of the fifth month. Also on that holiday, banners with Shōki often flew from the rooftops of homes with young boys. The Met scroll is painted entirely with vermillion (*shū*) pigment, with a small admixture of *sumi* ink in places. Red was not only associated with bravery in Asian culture, but also believed to have magical efficacy in warding off smallpox. Leona observed that in places the *sumi* was not



Plate 12.31 After Hokusai, *Shōki, the Demon Queller*, late 19th century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 60cm, width 29.5cm. Museum of Applied Arts (MAK), Vienna, OR 3780. Photo © MAK

applied as liquid, but rather as a pigment made from crushed inksticks. Such paintings of Shōki, produced in great numbers in either monochrome black ink or red, were amulets to ward off not only physical disease, but also the demons of our dreams and waking life. Hokusai certainly created images of Shōki throughout his career, and another iconic *Red Shōki* dates from the earliest years.⁷⁶

For most scholars *Red Shōki* no longer invites any debate over its authenticity, although we should not ignore a few voices of dissent in the past. Records of positive praise of the painting can be found even before it entered The Met's collection. In 1889 the English journalist and art critic Charles Holme (1848–1923) travelled to Japan and was shown the painting, which at the time was still owned by Captain Francis Brinkley. Holme recorded in his diary: 'We were greatly pleased with a *kakemono* he showed us by Hokusai, the subject as shoki or demon-queller painted in brick red colour. We



Plate 12.32 Style of Hokusai, *Shōki, the Demon Queller*, late 19th century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 57cm, width 28.7cm. Private collection, Japan. Photo courtesy of Masumi Corporation, Tokyo

coincided in thinking this to be one of the finest and most decorative drawings we had ever seen.⁷⁷ Three years later, Brinkley would sell the work to Charles Stewart Smith, whose family donated it to The Met in 1914. In 1966 Narazaki stated it should be accepted as by Hokusai,⁷⁸ and most specialists who have viewed it, whether in storage or in one of at least seven exhibitions in which it has appeared since the 1980 *Hokusai et son temps* at the Centre culturel du Marais, Paris, agree that this brusquely brushed painting, with its rigid but muscular outlining, emanated from the brush of the master. In the early 1990s Ōnishi labelled it as a 'fake', as he did for all three of The Met Shōki paintings, although he did not leave comments on



Plate 12.33 Unsigned, Follower of Hokusai, *Shōki, the Demon Queller*, mid-19th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 32.4cm, width 57.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.44

why he felt that. In 1994 Nagata stated that it was 'definitely by Hokusai'.⁷⁹ As far as I am concerned, this work should be categorised as from the hand of the master.

Yet, as happened with original paintings of every stage of Hokusai's career, the master or his pupils made other versions, or later forgers made excellent copies, sometimes availing themselves of photomechanical methods. If we assume that The Met's iconic *Red Shōki* is an original painting by the master, then how do we account for the existence of two nearly identical versions, albeit not in vermilion but rather entirely in monochrome ink. One example, acquired in the early Meiji era by the diplomat, collector and Japanologist Heinrich Philipp von Siebold (1852–1908), was given to the Museum of Applied



Plate 12.34 Attrib. Hokusai, *Zhong Kui (Shōki) Killing a Demon*, mid-19th century, 1842? Hanging scroll mounted on a panel, ink and colour on silk, height 85.6cm, width 42.3cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer F1902.221 (ex-collection Bunkio Matsuki [1867–1940], Boston)

Arts (MAK), Vienna (Pl. 12.31).⁸⁰ Another nearly identical monochrome version of Shōki surfaced only a few years ago, and was remounted in 2018; it became known when a fully mounted photographic facsimile of the original was publicly displayed in February 2019 as part of the *Hokusai to Ikenobō* exhibition of Hokusai-related paintings and ikebana flower arrangements held in conjunction with the first International Hokusai Conference (Kokusai Hokusai Gakkai) in Tokyo (Pl. 12.32). I have yet to see or study the original work in person, but clearly there is a connection between the two, whether it is by the master, a studio production or a later copy.

The next iteration of *Shōki* to be introduced here is a work that has basically been ignored since it entered The Met's



Plate 12.35 Hokusai, *Black Shōki*, 1849. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, height 107cm, width 37 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr, and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 1914, 14.76.57

holdings over a century ago as a gift of the descendants and heirs of the Charles Stewart Smith collection, who were the source of so many Hokusai and other ukiyo-e school paintings in the Museum's collection; it has never been put on display. Although a dynamic and compelling composition of Shōki subduing a demon, and clearly in the Hokusai style, it lacks a signature or seal, and has a stiff, static quality to it (Pl. 12.33). In 1952 Sherman Lee said he considered this a 'poor' painting of the 19th century, but did not elaborate why, and the work seemed to have received little subsequent interest from visiting scholars, or perhaps their impressions were simply not recorded. Ōnishi felt that this version of Shōki was also 'fake', as he considered the other two Shōki paintings. When surveying The Met's collection of Hokusai paintings and drawings in 1994, Nagata declared this work was 'not by Hokusai', and noted that the silk appeared to be machine-woven, with colouration that indicated a modern fabrication, and he suggested that it was probably produced in the Meiji era.⁸¹

Yet the work raises additional questions when we realise that a virtually identical composition exists in the collection of the National Museum of Asian Art (Pl. 12.34). The National Museum of Asian Art version, however, is signed 'Gakyō Rōjin Manji hitsu, yowai hachijūsan sai' (Brushed by Manji, the Old Man Mad about Painting, age 83 years), and impressed with an accepted variant of the 'Katsushika' seal, in this case type 3. What is the relationship between the two works? Why was The Met example made, at a later date we suppose, but then not signed or impressed with a seal? Asano assessed the Freer work as being modest overall, a bit too 'flat', but still that the brushwork compared well to the painting *Bunshōsei* (one of the Polar Star deities, also regarded as the god of learning) of Hokusai's 84th year, and stated that the signature and seal seem properly applied.⁸² The National Museum of Asian Art's website currently describes the work as 'attributed to Hokusai' and Frank Feltens, curator of Japanese art there, mentioned in an email, 'I hesitate to firmly say that the painting is "by" Hokusai, but I am inclined to accept it as very close to Hokusai's original style and time, and potentially by him or his atelier.'⁸³

Finally, Clark discusses in detail The Met's *Black Shōki* created by Hokusai in 1849 (Pl. 12.35), the last year of his life, in his essay in this volume, where he compares it to a very similar version in the Hokusai-kan, Obuse (pp. 139–47, cf. Pl. 11.5). The artist impressed the 'Hyaku' seal, meaning 'One Hundred', recalling that 15 years earlier Hokusai had in the postscript to Volume 1 of *Fugaku hyakkei* (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*) declared, 'At 80 my art will have greatly improved, at 90 will have attained real depth, and at 100 will be divinely inspired ...':⁸⁴

Opinions preserved in Asian Art Department Records on *Black Shōki* have always fluctuated both ways: in 1965 Stern from the Freer Gallery (now part of the National Museum of Asian Art) declared it an 'outright hack thing' and believed it to be a mid-Meiji era production, while a year later Narazaki pronounced it an 'excellent Hokusai'. In the early 1990s Ōnishi labelled it 'fake', along with the other two Shōki paintings in The Met's collection. In 1994 Nagata suggested that the brushwork, seal and signature did not

seem right, and that it was probably by one of the master's students. Clark in 2019 mentioned that he had examined this painting on two separate occasions at The Met, and also had a chance to study a nearly identical version that is in the collection of Hokusaikan in Obuse. He has persuasively argued that The Met's version should be considered a genuine original, from the brush of Hokusai. The seal is the same as impressed on the diptych of paintings *Tiger in the Rain* (Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo) and *Dragon in Rain Clouds* (Musée Guimet, Paris; see **Pl. 9.1**) by Hokusai, also dated to 1849. The handwriting of the signature here matches perfectly as well with the accepted works of Hokusai's final year. Clark observes that the relative lack of deliberation – perhaps Nagata was hinting at this – may indicate that it was brushed spontaneously as a 'painting done on the spot' (*sekiga*), created for the New Year of his 90th year. The overall contrapposto of the figure imparts dynamism. There is one small brushstroke that intrudes into the face, apparently a mistake, slip or later marking. Clark further notes that the ink accents on the hands, face and throughout are characteristic of Hokusai's style. The brushstrokes are lively compared to the Obuse copy.

In considering these issues of authenticity, we should always keep in mind the phenomenon of a remarkably large constellation of paintings dated to the master's final decade, when he was in his eighties. Could many have been the output of pupils with whom he worked closely, including of course his daughter Ōi? Similar to the fact that there seems to be a substantial cluster of paintings dated to age 88 (87 by Western reckoning), there are at least 15 surviving paintings on which the artist gives his age as 90. Asano Shūgō and others have speculated that perhaps sometimes Hokusai used the age 80 or 90 as an approximation, indicating a general date in his eighties or approaching his nineties, rather than giving his exact age.

Raising issues

In this wide-ranging, sometimes speculative, essay treating over a half century of Hokusai's output as a painter of diverse subject matter and styles, I have raised many issues relating to connoisseurship and proposed some ways of addressing them. Closer study and comparative work are still required as we attempt to identify, classify and contextualise works within the corpus of Hokusai and his putative studio. Our endeavour is only furthered and made more interesting if we extend our research to understand the independent work of the master's pupils, followers and later forgers. Importantly, even works made in subsequent generations help shed light on the original output of the master, probably preserving the appearance of works by him that no longer survive. As museums, collectors and dealers from around the world pool high-resolution images, not only of paintings, but also of drawings, prints and book illustrations, we can continue to formulate a more detailed and complete picture of the creative output of Hokusai and his school.

Finally, to bring this essay full circle, let me again give acknowledgement to all the specialists in Japanese art that I have come to know over the three decades and more since I attended the first Venice Conference devoted to Hokusai

paintings in 1990. I also reflect on the remarkable coincidence that so many paintings I thought and wrote about at that early stage of my career have since reappeared in various auction sales or gallery shows in New York and other cities, some now even under my curatorial supervision at The Met. As a token of gratitude to those who have shared their expertise with me and to continue the impetus of the Late Hokusai research project, I will do my best to muse further on issues raised in the pages above and pledge to leave my own curatorial notes for future generations of students of Japanese art.

Acknowledgements

Over the past 35 years, in the course of writing on Hokusai and editing or translating numerous essays by colleagues, I have benefited from a bounty of knowledge they have shared, and many of their names appear in the endnotes below. For this essay, I am particularly indebted to the earlier research on The Met's holdings by Gian Carlo Calza and Barbara Brennan Ford. For scientific analyses and close examination of materials I drew on the expertise of colleagues at The Met: Marco Leona, in the Science Department, and conservators Masanobu Yamazaki and Jennifer Perry in the Department of Asian Art. Kubota Kazuhiro was always so willing to share his encyclopedic knowledge of the paintings by and attributed to Hokusai and his daughter Ōi. I must also acknowledge the timely assistance in gathering information or images from Paul Berry, Cheney Cowles, Frank Feltens, Matthi Forrer, Sebastian Izzard, Henry D. Smith II and Mio Wakita-Elis. At the final stages of preparation, I owe a debt of gratitude to Tim Clark for his careful reading of the manuscript, and to Sarah Faulks and Linda Schofield for their patient assistance throughout the copy-editing process.

Notes

- 1 Leona had also earlier collaborated on seminal research on ukiyo-e paintings published in FitzHugh, Winter and Leona 2003. For The Met works, to analyse the chemical composition of colourants Leona employed various types of scientific testing, including XRF, FORS, Raman, SERS, FTIR and SEM-EDS analyses. Initial non-invasive XRF and FORS analysis was performed on the paintings to assess the pigments used, then selective sampling was undertaken in order to further characterise the red, yellow, green and blue pigments.
- 2 Hillier 1994, 9.
- 3 Asano 2006, 26–39.
- 4 Kubota 2015.
- 5 For a discussion of this issue, see Tanaka 1992.
- 6 Keyes 2005, 17.
- 7 Suzuki 2011. Suzuki Jun points out the collaboration between Hokusai (as illustrator) and Kakei (as calligrapher of texts) on the creation of *kyōka-bon*, during the Kansei era, including notably *Azuma asobi* in 1799. He states that the calligrapher died at the age of 51 in Kansei 12 (1800), although some sources give 1799. Suzuki notes that Kakei seems to have been supportive of Hokusai just at the time he was creating a new artistic identity and taking the new art-name Tokimasa.
- 8 See Carpenter 1994, 91–116; Carpenter 2005b, 32–61.

9 Keyes suggests that the preferred pronunciation might be 'Tatsumasa', although in 1845 Kimura Mokurō in *Gesakusha kō hoi* glosses 辰政 in *kana* as 'Tokimasa', and Iijima 1893 follows this precedent.

10 The poem reveals Kakei's deep familiarity with the canon of traditional Chinese verse. The expression *ikkin* or *hitomune* 一襟 literally means a collar (*eri*) of a cloak, but in Chinese poetry it can also refer to the chest (*mune*), suggesting that his entire chest or lungs are filled with refreshing air. Washing the feet of the horse is a metaphor for relinquishing the mundane aspects of everyday life and seeking a simpler and more spiritual existence. It can also symbolise the purification of the mind and the cleansing of one's thoughts and actions. I am indebted here to comments on interpreting the poem by Iwata Hideyuki and Tim Zhang.

11 The work has appeared in the following exhibitions, among others: *Dai Hokusai ten* (Katsushika Hokusai exhibition), Tōbu Museum of Art, Tokyo, 1993; *Nihon Ukiyoe Hakubutsukan shozō nikuhitsu ukiyoe meihin ten* (Exhibition of Masterpieces of Ukiyo-e Paintings from Japan Ukiyo-e Museum), Isetan Art Hall, Niigata, 1990; *Hokusai ten* (Hokusai exhibition), Tokyo National Museum, 2005; *Shin-Hokusai ten* (Hokusai Updated), Mori Arts Center Gallery, Tokyo, 2019.

12 Nagata discusses the Asahina and one other fan painting in the following articles published together: 'Senmen Asahina zu' (Fan painting of Asahina); 'Senmen kikyō zu' (Fan painting of a Chinese Bellflower), in Nagata 1986, 142–3.

13 Comments from an archived label text created in April 1992, preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

14 Lane 1994, 44.

15 Calza 1999, no. V.14.

16 Ford 1994, 191.

17 Keyes 2005, 23–5.

18 Asano 2005, 112. For example, *Courtesan Listening to a Cuckoo*, with a *kyōka* by Shokusanjin (see Carpenter 1994, fig. 5.10), or a painting depicting the Han general Zhang Liang (Chōryō) dated 1798.

19 Keyes 2005. Tokyo National Museum 2005, 321, cat. 140, gives a date of c. 1796 for the Nara painting, but I agree with Keyes that it is probably a year or two later.

20 In the discussions of various paintings in the Met's collection, I incorporate comments taken from Asian Art Department records, many of which were originally transcribed by Met staff at the time of viewings by visiting scholars, and at a later date transferred to digitised archives. Comments mentioned elsewhere by Harold P. Stern, Sherman Lee, Narazaki Muneshige, Nagata Seiji are also from departmental records. Sometimes the original comments in Japanese were not preserved, with only translations into English by Met staff preserved.

21 From comments preserved in handwritten Japanese in the Department of Asian Art Records. Ōnishi declared each work he commented on be either *shin* 真 (genuine) or *gan* 虛 (fake). Translations of Ōnishi's comments are by the author.

22 Published in Kobayashi 2005b, 57, 64, no. 24.

23 Curatorial notes from viewing sessions were originally kept on index cards, but were then transcribed into the museum's TMS database. Comments by Nagata Seiji and other Japanese visitors dating to the 1990s and early 2000s were translated by Masako Watanabe, at the time a Senior Research Associate in the Department of Asian Art, and preserved in departmental records.

24 Nagata had made these comments about the paintings on silk of a later period.

25 Sandy Lin has observed that, 'While *Kokka* mostly adopted the traditional method and tools described above, a decisive modification was made to the outline drawing process: instead of the artist creating the first outline drawing, a photograph of the original painting was taken to be used as a basis for the outline.' Lin 2016, 7–8.

26 What we believe is a facsimile of *Woman Spinning Silk* is published in *Bijutsu gahō* 30(1), 5 June 1911, formerly in the collection of Baron Kuki Ryūichi. It can be studied in a scan of a very clear, though black-and-white, illustration on the Tōbunken website at https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/materials-image/gahou/30_01/gh_30_01_0008.jpg (accessed 6 April 2022). This work was later sold in March 1936 at a sale hosted by the Tokyo Fine Arts Club (Tōkyō Bitjutsu Kurabu); current whereabouts unknown.

27 Email communication from Marco Leona to the author, 2 March 2022.

28 Nagata 2000, 221.

29 Fenollosa 1901. See also Yoshida 1930–1.

30 Kokka Kurabu, eds. Yoshikawa Tadashi, comp., *Risai bijutsuhin mokuroku* (Catalogue of artworks lost by fire) Tokyo, 1933; consulted online at <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1215483> (accessed 6 February 2023).

31 Asano 2010, 16–17; Yamato Bunkakan 2011, pl. 78.

32 Kano Hiroyuki, then Chief Curator of Japanese Painting of the Kyoto National Museum and a highly regarded expert on Japanese painting, published the painting in Kano 2010, frontispiece.

33 National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, F1904.177. Incidentally, woodblock-printed copies of this work were also produced around the turn of the century.

34 Email communication from Tim Clark to the author, 12 June 2020.

35 See Kaneko 1969, 62. Kaneko Fusui recalls learning about paintings on silk that were created by woodblock printing. He had just seen in an auction preview at the Bijutsu Kurabu in Ryōgoku, Tokyo, a copy of Hokusai's *Women Carrying Pots*, and he asked the person in charge (one Ogawa) if he could borrow the work for the night and return it the next morning. He brought it to Kobayashi Bunshichi (in Komagata) to authenticate it, and Kobayashi declared that it was a 'woodblock print' ('Kore wa mokuhanga da').

36 *Teikoku gahō* 10, 1903, 9. Information shared in an email of 18 March 2021.

37 For more information on the background of the discovery of the use of such artificial orpiment, see Vermeulen *et al.* 2020. According to an article by Takamatsu Toyokichi in 'On Japanese Pigments' (published by the Department of Science, University of Tokyo, 1878), orpiment had already been synthesised in Aizu in the Tenpō era (1830–44), and he places the discovery of the manufacturing process for synthetic arsenic sulfide in 1846, technically within Hokusai's lifetime. I thank Henry D. Smith II for this reference; email communication to the author, 20 June 2022. Leona, however, points out that even if we put aside the question of whether this refers to the actual discovery or simply the application of a process already developed elsewhere (most likely), it is nonetheless true that late Edo prints already showed the use of semi-synthetic and fully synthetic arsenic sulfide pigments. The pigment then became ubiquitous in the Meiji era. It is doubtful that it would have been common among painters during Hokusai's lifetime, even though its presence on a painting done in the last years of his life would be possible, purely on chronological grounds. For comparison, *Gamecocks*, discussed above, has natural orpiment,

which was the colourant used by Hokusai and his studio to create yellows and greens. *Women Carrying Pots* has the fully synthetic arsenic sulfide. According to Smith and Leona, the earliest date for fully synthetic arsenic sulfide in a print is in 'Hamamatsu, Kezori Kuemon', from the series *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865), second month, 1852, Henry D. Smith II Collection (15.07 h). Email communication from Marco Leona to the author, 29 June 2022.

38 British Museum, Department of Asia archive; various email communications to the author, March 2022. Although we know the name of the Paris-based collector, who passed in 1997, this will be kept confidential until we can get permission from surviving members of the family to share it. In the meantime, we are trying to locate the 'painting' so that it can be studied more closely and compared to The Met example.

39 See http://ecole.nav.traditions.free.fr/officiers_benet_alban.htm (accessed 21 May 2022).

40 British Museum, Department of Asia archive. Various email communications from Tim Clark to the author, March 2022.

41 The outer lid reads 'Hokusai hitsu sōbi no zu' 北斎筆叟美ノ図 (A Pair of Beauties, painted by Hokusai); the inner lid reads 'Sekijō ōju Kōzan' 席上應需 鴻山 ([Box inscription] By Kōzan, to request at a gathering). See The Met's website for images of the box inscriptions: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/845153> (accessed 30 March 2023).

42 Various examples of Kōzan's calligraphy are preserved in the archives of the Takai Kōzan Memorial Hall in Obuse, although none match up well with the inscriptions on this storage box.

43 Calza 2005, 134–55.

44 The genuine example of *Woman with Umbrella in the Snow* is published in Kobayashi 1994, 130–1.

45 Forrer 1994.

46 See Keyes 1985, 'Appendix: copies of surimono', vol. 2, 509–21.

47 The private collection example was displayed at the Hokusai exhibition in Paris and published in Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 2014, no. 115; see also MFA, Boston, acc. no. 21.10193.

48 The Met facsimile example has been published (as an original) in Oka 1974, pl. 10; Nagata 1990, vol. 3, no. 52; Tokyo National Museum 2005, 74, no. 48.

49 The results of the analyses of the pigments and mica were relayed to the author in direct discussion while examining the prints together, and through email communications December 2022, and on 18 January 2023.

50 The square intaglio 'Raishin' seal occasionally used by Hokusai on paintings in the early 1810s, including *Minamoto no Tametomo Battling Demons on Onoshima Island* (1811; British Museum, London, 1881,1210,0.1747) and a two-panel screen of cranes; see Narazaki 1982, no. 18.

51 *Nihon bijutsu gahō* (Journal of the Japanese Art Association) 3(1), 25 April 1897. There the Japanese title was given as *Setchū manjū ya zu* 雪中饅頭屋図, and the anonymous commentator suggests that the painting shows a *manjū* dumpling shop in Yanagishima, but there is no way to confirm this. Because of the use of the art-name 'Tokimasa', the work is attributed to Hokusai's forties or fifties. The work is identified as being from the collection of Captain Francis Brinkley, who was the primary source of Hokusai works acquired by Charles Stewart Smith in the 1890s, and perhaps after. I thank Kubota Kazuhiro for bringing this article to my attention.

52 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

53 For a discussion of Hokusai II and other pupils working closely with the master, see Clark 2005.

54 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

55 Examples of highly regarded paintings with 'Katsushika' (type 1) seal include *Shirabyōshi Dancer* (c. 1820; Hokusai, Obuse), *Pounding Rice for Mochi* (c. 1822; Freer Collection, National Museum of Asian Art) and *Seller of Fortune-telling Poems* (1827; British Museum).

56 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

57 The curatorial notes by Nagata in 1994 were transcribed and translated by Masako Watanabe. The painting is accompanied by two documents, one of which has been roughly translated by Alan Priest (former Curator of what was then known as the Department of Far Eastern Art, 1898–1969) as follows: 'Yamaguchi Sanzō, my mother's oldest brother, studied painting under Hokusai and later distinguished himself as one of the best pupils of Hokusai. Sanzō, who remained active as a painter all his life, was honored to have been given three paintings by his mentor as a token of his hospitality, and here is one of them. However, later this painting came into the possession of Mr Satō, a friend of mine who sent his son to the Tokyo Imperial University Medical School under my care. Upon his graduation he accepted a position as head of a hospital. As happy as his father was, Mr Satō gladly presented this art treasure to me in gratitude of kindness received from me.' Signed (Baron) Tadanori Ishigurō, 24 January 1900. The second document is a 'Commemorative Diploma' from the Japan/British Exhibition of 1910, awarded to Baron Tadanori Ishigurō, owner of the painting at that time.

58 Segi 1994, 254, 256, figs 15.14, 15.15.

59 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

60 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

61 In the summary of the full report of the scientific tests, Leona noted that XRF, FORS, Raman, SERS, FTIR and SEM-EDS analyses were used to characterise the colourants used on the *Gamecocks* painting. Initial non-invasive XRF and FORS analysis was performed on the painting to assess the pigments used. Selective sampling was undertaken in order to further characterise the red, yellow, green and blue pigments. All pigments detected are consistent with a date of c. 1838 for the work studied: red pigments detected included red lead, vermilion and lac, and yellow pigments included orpiment and gamboge. A copper chloride green pigment was detected with SEM-EDS, and Prussian blue was detected with Raman and SEM-EDS analysis. Cited from Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Scientific Research, examination and analysis report by Marco Leona and Stephanie Zaleski, 23 August 2017; updated results, email communication to the author, 3 March 2022.

62 Nagata 2000, no. 104. Commentary by others is found in curatorial notes in the archives of the Department of Asian Art.

63 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

64 Discussed in Narazaki 1994, 271–2.

65 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

66 Leona notes that 'a lone cluster of orpiment was detected in the green area, but it is not possible to say if it was an intentional addition or just an accident; it is however the expected kind of orpiment for the Edo period.' Email communication from Leona to the author, 23 March 2022.

67 For a discussion of the emergence of Empress Jinjū imagery as a symbol of Japanese national identity, see Trede 2006.

68 When viewing *Empress Jingū*, Nagata also recommended

comparing it to *Cao Cao at the Battle of Red Cliffs* (8th month, 1847; Shimane Art Museum, formerly Tsuwano Katsushika Hokusai Bijutsukan), another painting by Hokusai featuring similarly vivid, fresh colouration; see Tōbu Bijutsukan [Ikebukuro] 1993, no. 82 (entry by Nagata).

69 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

70 Morse 1880, 147, cited in Oka 2022, 47.

71 Morse, 1880, 144; the entire essay is available online: <https://archive.org/details/jstor-20559603> (accessed 30 March 2023).

72 See the discussion in Oka 2022, 49.

73 Ginza Mitsukoshi 2005, 11.

74 Email communication from Marco Leona to the author, 23 March 2022.

75 The description of the *Red Shōki* painting here borrows wording from a short description of it that I wrote for *Impressions: The Journal of the Japanese Art Society of America* 43b, Autumn 2022, 170–1.

76 The *Red Shōki* in the collection of Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto, a work of Hokusai's early career, captures a more dynamic Shōki in the act of subduing an unseen demon. See also Nagata 1992b, 108.

77 Holme travelled to Japan with the English painter Alfred East and Arthur Lasenby Liberty, the London-based merchant and the founder of Liberty & Co, along with the latter's wife. Cited in an entry for 30 April 1889, *The Diary of Charles Holme's 1889 Visit to Japan*, 38.

78 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

79 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

80 I thank Mio Wakita-Elis, Curator and Head of the Asian Collection at the Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna, for sharing this information on provenance with me.

81 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department Records.

82 Commentary by Asano Shūgō in Tokyo National Museum 2005, 40.

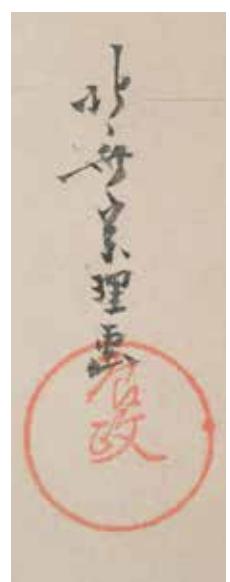
83 Email communication from Frank Feltens to the author, 6 April 2022.

84 Translation by the author, adapted from Narazaki 1994, 261.

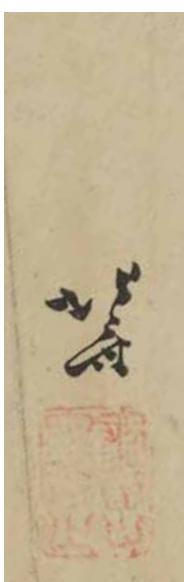
Appendix of seal impressions



12.1



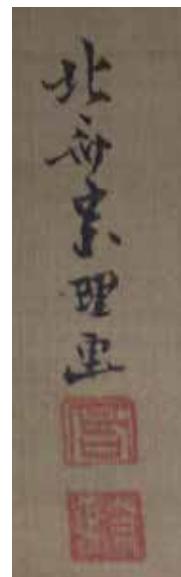
12.2



12.6



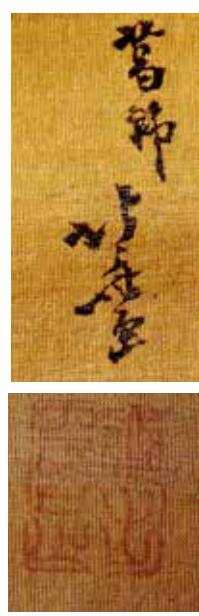
12.7



12.8



12.11



12.13



12.17



12.18

Key to seals

12.1 = Detail of **Plate 12.1** ('Shizōka' 師造化)

12.2 = Detail of **Plate 12.2** ('Tokimasa' 辰政)

12.6 = Detail of **Plate 12.6** ('Kimō dasoku' 亀毛蛇足)

12.7 = Detail of **Plate 12.7** ('Yoshinoyama' よしのやま)

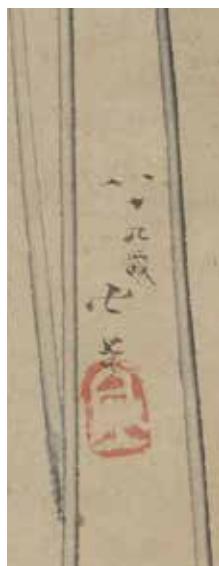
12.8 = Detail of **Plate 12.8** ('Toki / Masa' 辰・政)

12.11 = Detail of **Plate 12.11** ('Kimō dasoku' 亀毛蛇足)

12.13 = Details of **Plate 12.13** ('Kimō dasoku' 亀毛蛇足)

12.17 = Detail of **Plate 12.17** ('Raishin' 雷震)

12.18 = Detail of **Plate 12.18** ('Manjirō' 圓樓)



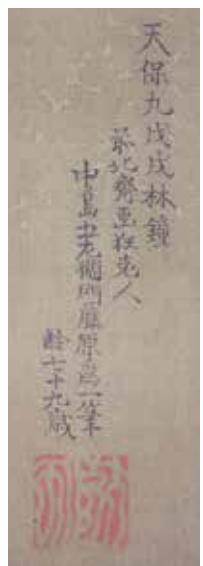
12.19



12.20



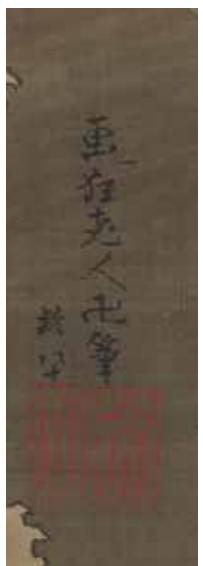
12.22



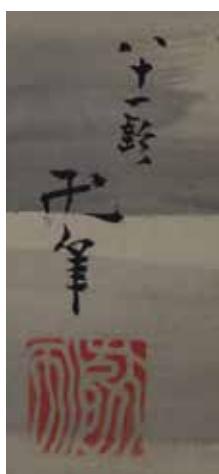
12.23



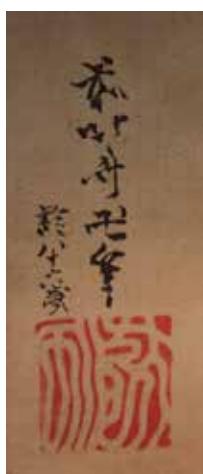
12.24



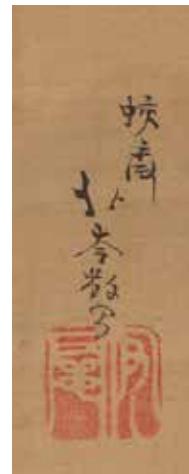
12.25



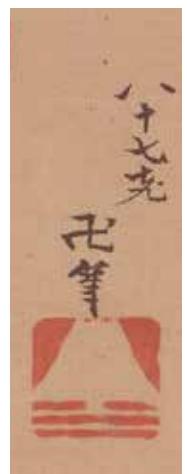
12.26



12.27



12.29



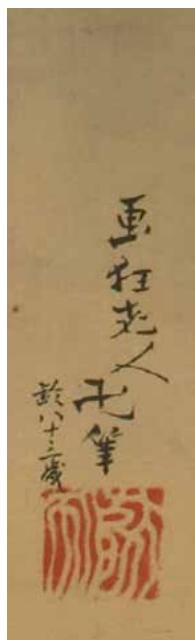
12.30



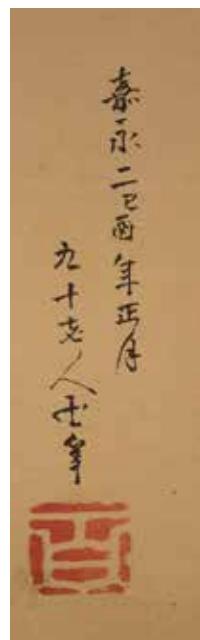
12.31



12.32



12.34



12.35

Key to seals

12.19 = Detail of **Plate 12.19** ('Hyaku' 百 [inverted])
12.20 = Detail of **Plate 12.20** ('Katsushika' 葛しか, type 1)
12.22 = Detail of **Plate 12.22** (Copy of 'Katsushika' 葛しか)
12.23 = Detail of **Plate 12.23** ('Katsushika' 葛しか, type 2)
12.24 = Detail of **Plate 12.24** ('Katsushika' 葛しか, type 2)
12.25 = Detail of **Plate 12.25** (Seal impression partly illegible, but appears to be 'Katsushika' 葛しか, type 2)
12.26 = Detail of **Plate 12.26** ('Katsushika' 葛しか, type 3)
12.27 = Detail of **Plate 12.27** ('Katsushika', 葛しか, type 3)
12.29 = Detail of **Plate 12.29** ('Kukushika' [or Kyūkyūshin] 九九蜃)
12.30 = Detail of **Plate 12.30** (Mt Fuji with trigram)
12.31 = Detail of **Plate 12.31** (Mt Fuji with trigram)
12.32 = Detail of **Plate 12.32** (Mt Fuji with trigram)
12.34 = Detail of **Plate 12.34** ('Katsushika' 葛しか, type 3)
12.35 = Detail of **Plate 12.35** ('Hyaku' 百)

Chapter 13

Connoisseurship of Unsigned Drawings by Hokusai – A Group of Works in the Collection of Hokusaikan, Obuse

Asano Shūgō

A considerable quantity of drawings by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) and his school have survived. They must number in their thousands, or even more. Some of these were created in the modern period. It is not a straightforward matter to separate those drawings by Hokusai himself from those in Hokusai style. It has to be said that individual scholars and collectors have in the past made quite arbitrary judgements. But I also must admit that I do not personally have any special opinions in this matter. Unless we conduct scientific analysis of paper, pigments, brush pressure, etc., then all we can rely on are the formal style and the movements of the brush. (I am not able to use statistical methods to analyse style, as has been proposed elsewhere; see Clark essay, p. 146.) Works with colour can be examined using pigment analysis. If there are inscriptions, then these can be compared with examples elsewhere. Does the work have formal characteristics typical for Hokusai? How close are the movements of the brush to the style accepted as by Hokusai himself? We can only sort the works according to their 'Hokusai-like qualities' (*Hokusai-rashisa*). Inevitably, personal bias will creep in. Nevertheless, we can apply some basic principles about Hokusai to the analysis, such as the fact that, as a rule, he never drew exactly the same thing twice.

In this brief essay I analyse 29 drawings either owned by, or loaned to, Hokusaikan, Obuse, and judge whether or not they can be accepted as works from Hokusai's brush. (Some of the works cannot strictly be classified as drawings. However, I will explain below why we should consider them to be part of the same group.) I hope the discussion that follows will contribute in a modest way to the ongoing debate concerning the connoisseurship of unsigned drawings by Hokusai and his school. The term drawing is here applied to preparatory drawings (*shita-e*), rough sketches (*sobyō*), model drawings to copy (*edehon*) and other forms of sketch composition: as a rule, they are done in monochrome ink or with the addition of a small amount of colour. The 29 Hokusaikan drawings considered here are not block-ready drawings (*hanshita-e*), that is, final stage preparatory drawings for the production of woodblock prints and illustrated books.

The criteria for classifying the drawings follow these five levels:

- A: considered to be by Hokusai
- B: strong possibility that it is by Hokusai
- C: possibly by Hokusai
- D: unlikely to be by Hokusai
- E: not by Hokusai

These criteria are designed to address just the question of whether or not the drawing is by Hokusai. The appeal of the work and its relative skill or clumsiness are not considered. We should also always keep in mind the following possibilities: a joint work with another artist (such as a pupil); a work done under Hokusai's direction; a work recognised by Hokusai as [of a quality to be] his own. However, I do not think any of these extra considerations apply to the 29 Hokusaikan drawings discussed below.

Daily Exorcisms (*Nisshin joma zu*) and 11 similar works

The most famous drawings in the Hokusaikan collection are from the set *Daily Exorcisms* (*Nisshin joma zu*). It was Hokusai's

daily custom in his later years to begin each day by drawing a Chinese lion (*shishi*) – or a lion dancer, or related subject – before getting on with his other work. As the title suggests, they were intended to ward off evil influences and were done rapidly in ink for private use. About 250 examples have survived. Of these, the 219 that were originally given by Hokusai to a certain Miyamoto Shinsuke (1822–1878) have in recent years been donated by Mr Sakamoto Gorō to the Kyushu National Museum. These are referred to below as the Miyamoto group. The name was given to the daily sketches by Hokusai himself: an accompanying letter by Miyamoto Shinsuke says, ‘He [Hokusai] called them ‘Daily Exorcisms’, and each morning drew one and threw it away’. This last phrase is a bit of an affectation. We can be pretty certain that Hokusai’s daughter Ei (art-name Ōi, c. 1800–after 1857?) gathered together the drawings and preserved them carefully. Apart from the *Daily Exorcism* drawings given to Miyamoto Shinsuke, there is also a group given to Honma Hokuyō (1822–1868), now in the collection of Hokusaikan; a group given to the Oyamada family (‘the Oyamada group’; these Oyamada drawings do not include inscriptions recording the month and day); and additional drawings that have become scattered around the world, in the British Museum and other collections. The full scope of *Daily Exorcisms* is not yet apparent. There is not space here to discuss the whole phenomenon of the *Daily Exorcisms*, but I would like to introduce fundamental data about the 11 drawings at Hokusaikan and give a personal assessment.

1) The Miyamoto group are splendid works in which Hokusai’s free and lively line is given full play. Each lion is drawn just in *sumi* ink on paper slightly larger than 30cm × 20cm, with the month and day written beside it. The group was accompanied from the beginning by a related text and there can be no hesitation in accepting them all as works from Hokusai’s brush. In the modern period, each of the 219 drawings has been mounted onto a separate card, and it is necessary to re-examine the order in which they were originally done. Several drawings carry the dates Tenpō 13 (1842) and Tenpō 14 (1843) and it is thought that all – or nearly all – were done during these two years. One drawing is inscribed ‘Sixth month, 23rd day, 18 days before the end of summer (*doyō no iri*)’, so we know this corresponds to 1843, when this particular calendar event fell on that day.

2) Within the Miyamoto group, there are 16 pairs of drawings that are inscribed with the same month and day. This is not a problem if we assume that each pair represents one drawing from 1842 and another from 1843. It seems unlikely that Hokusai and Ōi kept the drawings sorted into any particular order. If we conjecture that they simply gave whatever was left as a group to Miyamoto Shinsuke, then it is natural that there would be these duplicate dates.

3) None of the Oyamada group bears a date. It is thought that all of this group of drawings are by Hokusai himself. We can conjecture that by the time they were drawn, all of the works bearing dates had already left Hokusai’s possession.

I will now consider each of the 11 drawings in turn. Of these, 10 belonged to Honma Hokuyō and were passed down to his descendants; the 11th was purchased separately by Hokusaikan. First, the 10 from Hokuyō:



Plate 13.1 Hokusai, *Man Holding a Battleaxe*, c. 1842–3. Ink on paper, height 30.2cm, width 22.5cm. Hokusaikan, Obuse

[a] *Lion (Tenth month, 10th day)*, ink on paper, height 31.9cm, width 23.4cm

[b] *Lion (Tenth month, 11th day)*, ink on paper, height 32.0cm, width 23.5cm (drawing with same date in Miyamoto group)

[c] *Lion dance (Tenth month, 13th day)*, ink on paper, height 32.0cm, width 23.0cm

[d] *Lion dance (Tenth month, 25th day)*, ink on paper, height 31.8cm, 23.0cm (drawing with same date in Miyamoto group)

[e] *Lion dance (Tenth month, 26th day)*, ink on paper, height 31.9cm, width 23.0cm

[f] *Lion dance (Eleventh month, 5th day)*, ink on paper, height 32.0cm, width 22.8cm

[g] *Lion dance (Eleventh month [shimozuki], 13th day)*, ink on paper, height 30.2cm, width 22.4cm (drawing with same date in Miyamoto group)

[h] *Lion dance (Eleventh month [shimozuki], 18th day)*, ink on paper, height 29.7cm, width 23.0cm (drawing with same date in Miyamoto group)

[i] *Lion dance (Eleventh month [shimozuki], 25th day)*, ink on paper, height 30.5cm, width 23.1cm (drawing with same date in Miyamoto group)

These nine drawings, a–i, are in the same style as the Miyamoto group and their provenance is fully recorded. The brush style can be recognised as by Hokusai, so they should be classed as A above. As previously explained, it is not problematic that there are five examples which have the same date as drawings in the Miyamoto group.

[j] *Man Holding a Battleaxe*, ink on paper, height 30.2cm, width 22.5cm (Pl. 13.1)



Plate 13.2 Hokusai, *Lion (Intercalary ninth month, 21st day)*, 21st day of the intercalary ninth month, 1843. Ink on paper, height 34.7cm, width 25.4cm. Hokusaikan, Obuse

A man holds a large battleaxe. At first glance he may look like a woodcutter; however, Hokusai always drew Japanese woodcutters wearing straw sandals and carrying a practical axe with a narrow blade – they are not shown with such a large, theatrical-looking weapon. The figure here looks like the character Li Kui, the Black Whirlwind from a kabuki play on the theme of *The Water Margin* (*Suikoden*). The subject is not apparently connected to lions; nor does the drawing have a date. So, for the time being, this drawing should probably be excluded from the *Daily Exorcisms*. On the other hand, there is also a drawing of a Chinese warrior who does not appear to be connected to lions in the Miyamoto group, so we should consider this matter further. The composition is similar to *Warrior Holding a Large Battleaxe (Third month, 8th day)* in the Miyamoto group, and the brushwork is Hokusai's, so it should be classed as A.

[k] *Lion (Intercalary ninth month, 21st day)*, ink on paper, height 34.7cm, width 25.4cm (Pl. 13.2)

The drawing has been mounted as a hanging scroll. It was purchased by Hokusaikan separately from the group formerly owned by Hokuyō. There was an intercalary ninth month in 1843, so the drawing was done on the 21st day of the intercalary ninth month, 1843. It is an impressive and imposing drawing of a lion that bears favourable comparison with those in the Miyamoto group. The inscribed *kyōka* poem is full of the rhyming puns that were Hokusai's forte:

No lion [lying] around – / implion [implying] that this lion / feels quite sullen [sullen], / except when he starts to draw: / then he feels he's flion [flying] high.'

(*Isogashishi / sewashishi shishi mo / muzukashishi / kaki hajimetaru / kokoro okashishi*; trans. Alfred Haft)

Among the Miyamoto group (*Twelfth month [gokugetsu], 12th day*) is a drawing of a lion calculating on an abacus (Pl. 13.3). The inscription alongside reads:

Multiplion (multiplying) one and four to make four, / And allion (allying) two twos to make four, / And applion (applying) four to four for sixteen. / Four complion (complying) sixes make twenty-four, / And four complion (complying) sevens make twenty-eight.

(*In shishi ga shi shi / ni hiki ga shishi / shishi no jūroku / shi roku nijū shishi / shishi chi nijūhachi*; trans. Alfred Haft)

The calligraphic style of the inscription is the same as frequently seen in the Miyamoto group. Furthermore, the style of writing the phonetic characters 'mo' and 'tsu' is similar to the inscription on Hokusai's self-portrait (aged 83) in the collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden (see Pl. 0.3). So, there is no room for doubt: it should be classed as A.

There is not space here to explain in detail, but it can be surmised that Hokusai continued to draw lions with date inscriptions for about two years in 1842 and 1843, or maybe from 1842 to 1844: in the Miyamoto group alone, there are many duplicate dates from the second month through the twelfth month; there are no dates in the intercalary ninth month in the Miyamoto group, just the one in Hokusaikan ('k' above). We do not know whether Hokusai drew a lion each and every day, but if he did then more than half of those drawings are now lost. It is quite possible that they have become scattered in collections around the world: we need to consider the whole phenomenon of *Daily Exorcisms* from this perspective. For instance, I believe that the four dated drawings of this kind in the British Museum are from the *Daily Exorcisms* done by Hokusai.

Sixteen works formerly in the collection of Ralph Harari

A group of 16 large-format drawings, some now mounted as hanging scrolls or framed, were formerly in the collection of Ralph Harari of London.¹ According to ukiyo-e scholar Jack Hillier, they were mounted in a folding album whose pages measured 75cm × 33cm. We can conjecture that the drawings were pasted into the album sometime after Hokusai's death, that is to say, during the Meiji era (1868–1912). It is necessary, therefore, to consider each work separately. I describe them below with the same reference letters 'a' to 'p' as in Hillier's Harari catalogue of 1970.

[a] *Fisherman under a Full Moon (Gekka no ryoshi)*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, height 66.4cm, width 23.2cm

A fisherman walks beneath the full moon, with a scoop net on his shoulder and carrying a basket for fish. The subject of a fisherman with scoop net and fish basket is already found in *Hokusai manga (Hokusai's Sketches), Part I* (1814). However, in comparison to paintings such as *Cormorant Fishing* (c. 1817–19; MOA Museum of Art, Atami) and *Dialogue between Fisherman and Woodcutter* (1849; National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC), the Hokusai-style forms and the



Plate 13.3 Hokusai, *Lion Calculating on an Abacus (Twelfth month [gokugetsu], 12th day; Miyamoto group)*, c. 1842–3. Ink on paper, height 19.5cm, width 27.8cm. Important Cultural Property, Kyushu National Museum, A123, given by Sakamoto Gorō

brushwork are lacking in power and tension. The colours are carefully applied but are laid on thickly. Class D.

[b] *Mountainous Landscape (Sansui zu)*, hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 62.2cm, width 27.1cm

A snow-covered mountain landscape. The cracked ice at the bottom of the composition suggests a body of water. On the shore, three dwellings nestle beneath an overhanging cliff. Light colour has been applied, but this is neither a preparatory drawing nor a model drawing and it seems to have been abandoned before completion. The work is definitely in Hokusai style: the towering distant mountains recall *Landscape with Ferryboat* (1847; Hokusai-kan, Obuse) and *Dialogue between Fisherman and Woodcutter* (1849; National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC); the houses are similar to *Landscape in Rain and Mist* (1845; Private collection, Japan). The brushwork is gentle and the overall impression warm and peaceful. The fact that the work is incomplete may explain a lingering sense of inadequacy, however. Class C.

[c] *Pine-tree and Oxen (Matsu ni ushi zu)*, ink and light colour on paper, height 63.6cm, width 29.0cm (Pl. 13.4)

A pine tree extends to the right from an earthen bank on the left side. Additional low trees are depicted beyond the pine, and in the middle ground are three oxen eating grass. The technique is one used by Hokusai (and also by many other artists of the period): forms are roughed out in red ink before switching to black to complete the drawing. Local corrections are made by pasting small pieces of paper on top. This would therefore seem to be a preparatory drawing for a hanging scroll painting. Several small pieces of added paper can be seen for corrections halfway up the left side and around the oxen. The earth bank and the pine and other trees are exactly what one would expect for the Hokusai style and the soft lines of the oxen may be accepted as Hokusai's. Also admirable is the lack of hesitation in the movement of the brush. I agree with Hillier's observation that there is a similarity with the tall-format (*naga-ōban*) prints in the series

Plate 13.4 Attrib. Hokusai, *Pine-tree and Oxen*, c. 1825–35. Ink and light colour on paper, height 63.6cm, width 29.0cm. Hokusai-kan, Obuse



True Mirror of Chinese and Japanese Poems (*Shūka shashin kyō*, c. 1833–4). Class B.

[d] *Chinese Warrior Holding a Sword* (*Tsurugi o motsu Chūgoku bujin zu*), ink on paper, height 67.2cm, width 24.6cm

A drawing in *sumi* ink of a warrior, trimmed on both the left and right sides. The style is similar to Hokusai's illustrated books of warriors; regrettably it is not possible to specify who is depicted. The strongly modulated lines of the drapery and the woven boots are consistent with Hokusai's style. However, the brushwork is unoriginal and lacking in character. There are eight images of Chinese warriors among the 16 works. The present author broadly agrees with Hillier's suggestion that these were intended for the panels of a folding screen (one image per panel, not a continuous composition). The relationship of this work to the other warrior drawings is considered below. Class D.

[e] *Dragon* (*Ryū zu*), ink and light colour on paper, height 70.5cm, width 32.0cm

A dragon in the Hokusai style. Hokusai painted many dragons and invariably they have a unique weirdness and pathos. The composition here is well formed, but there is no wildness to the spines along the back and the line quality is subdued. It is not possible to accept this as a work by Hokusai himself. Class D.

[f] *Chinese Warrior Holding a Glaive* (*Naginata o motsu Chūgoku bujin zu*), ink on paper, height 67.2cm, width 24.5cm

Like 'd' above, a warrior image drawn in *sumi* ink, trimmed on both the left and right sides. Indeed, the style and brushwork (and also the size) are the same, so they were surely done by the same artist. Class D.

[g] *Warrior General Holding a Spear* (*Yari o motsu bushō zu*), ink on paper, height 68.0cm, width 28.4cm

A Japanese warrior general seated on what looks like a container for a severed head. The iconography suggests a warrior such as Katō Kiyomasa (1562–1611). The overall style is Hokusai's, but the brushwork is different from that of the Chinese warriors in 'd' and 'f' – it is soft and without the exaggerated tapering and swelling – so this work should be considered separately from the other warrior drawings. It is some way off from a drawing by Hokusai himself. Class D.

[h] *Fish* (*Uo zu*), ink and light colour on paper, height 29.2cm, width 68.0cm

The work combines seven types of fish. As with *Pine-tree and Oxen*, 'c' above, forms roughed out in red are then drawn more fully in black. The format is horizontal and so it looks to be a preparatory drawing for a painting. If the flying fish is placed at the top, then the types of fish can be tentatively identified as follows, based on sources such as *Hokusai manga*. Left, from the top: flying fish (*tobi-uo*), marbled rockfish (*mo-uo*), dotted gizzard shad (*konoshiro*); right, from the top: large-eyed bream (*suefukidai*), bora fish (*bora*) (?), monkfish (*ankō*) and halfbeak (*sayori*). The drawings are certainly in Hokusai style and the movements of the brush are convincing. However, since this is a very early stage of preparatory drawing, it is difficult to judge with any certainty. Class C.

[i] *Warrior Zhao Yun* (*Chōun zu*), ink on paper, height 74.8cm, width 27.1cm

A Chinese warrior holding a spear who is facing directly to the front. The composition is the same as that of a portrait

of the warrior Zhao Yun included in the group of paintings *Portraits of Heroes from the 'Romance of the Three Kingdoms'* (*Sangokushi eiyū shōzō*) by Katsushika Hokusai II (worked c. 1815–40) in the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK), Vienna.² There is close similarity between the present drawing and the Hokusai II painting in Vienna, down to small details such as the patterning. Therefore, the present drawing may be a work by Hokusai II. It is not inconceivable that it is by Hokusai I; however, the relative lack of power in the brushwork makes that unlikely. We must await the reappearance of the original model for this composition to be able to confirm whether or not that original is indeed by Hokusai. Class D.

[j] *Japanese Warrior Holding a Glaive* (*Naginata o motsu Nihon bujin zu*), ink on paper, height 74.5cm, width 27.0cm

The warrior stands holding a glaive. He wears a monk's stole (*kesa*) over his armour, a cloth hood and straw sandals. The composition is somewhat similar to Hokusai's depictions of the warrior monk Benkei (1155–1189); however, the hood here looks more like that of a mountain brigand and so the precise identity is uncertain. An alternative identification might be the legendary thief Kumasaka Chōhan. Comparison with the drawing 'Kumasaka Chōhan' in the album of block-ready drawings entitled *Ehon Katsushika-buri* (*Picture Book in Katsushika Style*, c. 1836–7; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) in terms of the power of the brushwork leads to the conclusion that the present drawing cannot be by Hokusai. Class D. The brushwork and sense of form here are similar to *Warrior Zhao Yun*, 'i' above, so perhaps they are by the same artist.

[k] *Zhong Kui* (*Shōki zu*), ink on paper, height 66.2cm, width 26.5cm

Zhong Kui strikes a pose with his sword held at his side. The composition is the same as that of the hanging scroll painting on silk, *Zhong Kui Painted in Red* (1846; Sumida Hokusai Museum, Tokyo), done when Hokusai was aged 87. The sizes of the two works are almost the same, so this drawing may be a copy of the Sumida painting (or a similar work). Hokusai is not thought to have used the technique whereby just an outline of the composition is neatly drawn and then the finished painting is created based on that outline sketch. Therefore, the person who made the copy here was surely not Hokusai himself. The brushwork is weak. Class D.

[l] *Skeleton Carrying a Hanging Lantern* (*Tsuri-dōrō o motsu gaikotsu zu*), ink on paper, height 69.8cm, width 30.0cm

The skeleton walks carrying a lantern in its right hand, with the left hand on its hip. The subject relates to the so-called 'peony lantern' (*botan-dōrō*) ghost story. The composition is quite similar to that of a painting on silk, *Skeleton Carrying a Hanging Lantern*, owned by Seikyōji, Hokusai's mortuary temple in Asakusa, Tokyo. However, there is an even closer similarity to a painting on silk of the same subject by the artist Gen Ki (1747–1797), owned by the temple Kinshōji at Minami-Sōma in Fukushima prefecture.³ The Gen Ki work, in turn, bears an inscription saying that it is based on a conception by Shen Quan (Shen Nanpin, 1682–1760), the Chinese painter who came to Japan in 1731. The relationships between these various works requires further investigation. All that can be said about the brushwork of the present drawing is that it is carefully done. Class E.

[m] *General Guan Yu (Kan'u zu)*, ink on paper, height 74.6cm, width 27.2cm

As with *Warrior Zhao Yun* (i) above, this shows the figure of a Chinese warrior standing looking directly out at us. With his special weapon known as the 'blue dragon lance' (*seiryūtō*) and his magnificent beard, this definitely depicts the warrior general Guan Yu (AD 160–220); see, for example, Hokusai's comparable depiction in *Ehon Chūkyō (Illustrated Classic of Loyalty*, 1834). Like Zhao Yun, the subject derives from the Chinese historical novel *Sanguo yanyi* (J. *Sangokushi engi*, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*). The balance of the composition and brushwork are similar, so I would like to propose that they are by the same artist. *Japanese Warrior Holding a Glaive* (j) also seems to have the same touch. Class D. In the group of 16 works is another with the same composition, which has added colour and is inscribed with written comments about that colouring (it is the final work, 'p', in the Harari catalogue of 1970). I consider that work next.

[p] *General Guan Yu (Kan'u zu)*, hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 73.1cm, width 26.8cm (Pl. 13.5)

This has the same composition as *General Guan Yu* (m), but with added colour and written instructions about that colouring. The detailed inscription may be transcribed and tentatively translated as follows (right to left, top to bottom):

Kao wa benigara no niku usuku abise, taisha no kakiokoshi, shu no kime benigara no kime shirura inji [shiru enji?] sanpin awase nido kumadoru, shu no kime bakari sukoshi koku tori ittai ni abise, shu no kime o koku tori shirura inji [shiru enji?] o tokikukuru nari, me no kuma ae nezumi no gu, me no hoshi benigara-zumi, hitomi koe sumi, hige wa benigara sumi nite kuma, koi sumi kegaki

(For the face, apply a red-lead flesh colour thinly and then begin drawing in red ochre. Apply gradation two times with a mixture of essence of vermillion, essence of red lead and ?cochineal. Take quite a thick (consistency) of just the essence of vermillion and apply overall. Take a thick (consistency) of the essence of vermillion and blend it with the ?cochineal. For the gradation in the eyes, indigo-grey and shell white. For the highlights in the eyes, red lead and *sumi*. For the pupils, thick *sumi*. For the beard, gradate in red lead and *sumi* and draw the whiskers in thick *sumi*.)

'Shu usuku abise, shu me kime nite, toita shirura inji [shiru enji?] kuma'

(Apply vermillion thinly. Vermilion ?eyes in essence, gradate with dissolved ?cochineal.)

'Gofun usuku abise, ae usuguma gofun kukuri'

(Apply shell white thinly. Gradate thinly with indigo. Finish off with shell white.)

'Benigara no gu, usuku abise, shu usuguma'

(Apply red lead-shell white thinly. Gradate thinly with vermillion.)

[top:]

'Koi sumi, kusa no shiru'

(Thick *sumi*, liquid green.)

[right side:]

'Shōenji-guma'

(Gradation in ?cochineal.)

[from the waist downwards:]

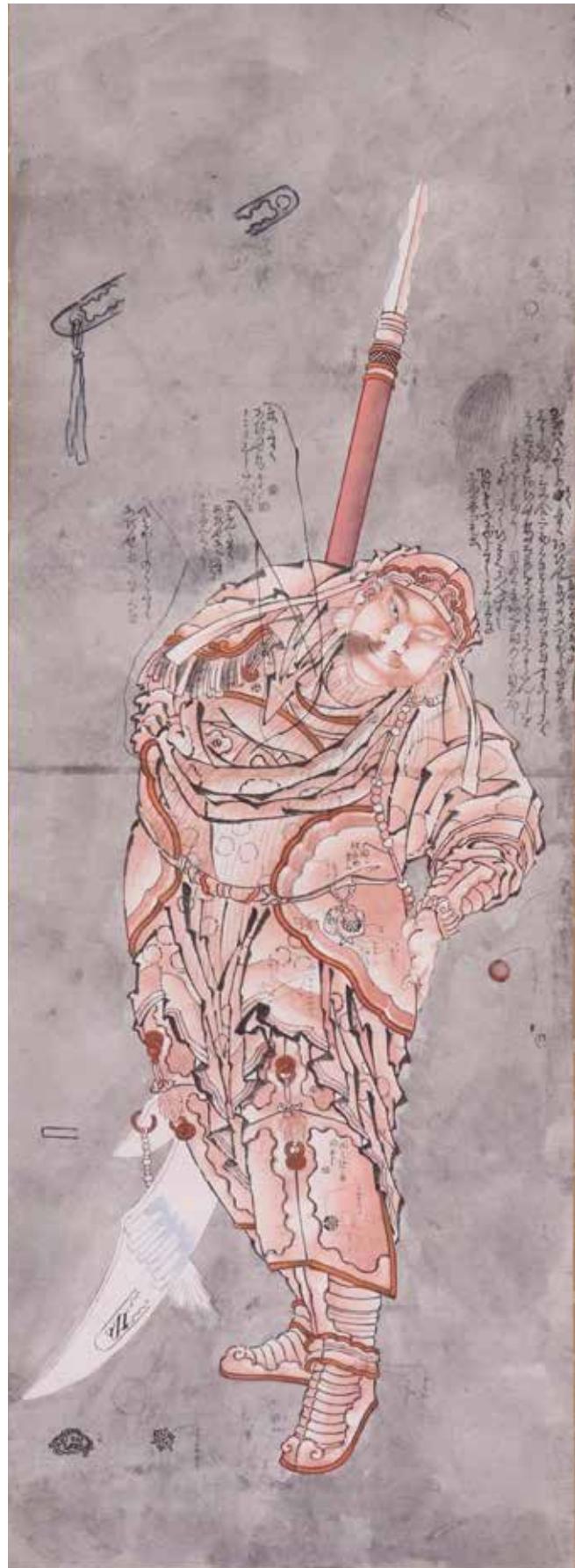


Plate 13.5 (Not by Hokusai), *General Guan Yu*, c. 1820–40. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 73.1cm, width 26.8cm. Hokusai-kan, Obuse



Plate 13.6 Attrib. Hokusai, *Subduing a Carp*. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 26.7cm, width 72.2cm.
Hokusaikan, Obuse

‘Onaji shikata no shirushi Δ, shiro-kachinoki no gu’

(Use the same method where you see this mark Δ. Chinese sumac with shell white.)

‘Hoshi kienji, bero, asagi no gu, naka no hoshi, ki no gu, kin-pun, yakai-fun, ai no ayakari, sumi no gu’

(The dots in violet, Prussian blue, pale blue-green with shell white. The inner dots in yellow with shell white, gold powder, ?yakai powder, hint of indigo in shell white, *sumi* with shell white.)

‘Onaji shikata no shirushi ⊕, kusa no shiru, bero, kienji’

(Use the same method where you see this mark ⊕. Liquid green, Prussian blue, violet.)

‘Bengara-zumi, bengara, ai no ayakari, bero’

(Red lead-shell white, red lead, hint of indigo in shell white.)

The reference to what seems to be a pigment called *shirura inji* (=*shiru enji*? cochineal?) is a bit hard to understand, but otherwise the gist is quite clear. We can compare the style of the written characters with the inscription on *Preparatory Drawing for Monk Nichiren Writing on the Waves* (c. 1830–44; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).⁴ This work is a model given by Hokusai to a pupil to copy, and scholars are generally agreed that the drawing and its inscriptions – instructions for colouring – are from the hand of Hokusai himself.

On the Obuse warrior drawing under consideration, the phrase ‘pour on thinly’ (*usuku abise*) appears in four places. The equivalent characters and terms used by Hokusai on the Boston preparatory drawing are different: ‘paint thinly’ (*usuku nuri*), ‘apply thinly’ (*usuku kake*), ‘thinly’ (*usuku*), ‘use thinly’ (*usuku shite*). The written characters for ‘*suku*’ in both cases could be said to be similar; however, the respective mannerisms for writing the character ‘*u*’ are patently different. And there is another categorical difference: while the circumlocution ‘pour on thinly’ is seen on the Obuse drawing, this is not employed at all by Hokusai on the Boston work. The term ‘*gofun*’ (shell white) occurs in two places on the Hokusai preparatory work, and in three places on the Obuse drawing. On the Obuse drawing either the katakana ‘*ko* 古’ or the Chinese character for ‘*ko* 古’ (old) is used, whereas in the Hokusai preparatory drawing the phonetic character ‘*ko* 己’

(self) is used. Also, the shape of the character for ‘*fun*’ is different in each case. ‘*Kuma/guma*’ (shading) appears in seven places in the Obuse drawing and in four places in the Hokusai preparatory drawing. In the Obuse drawing this is written with either the phonetic character ‘*ma* 末’ (end) or the katakana ‘*ma* マ’; in the Hokusai preparatory drawing the phonetic character ‘*ma* 滿’ (full) is used. In the Hokusai preparatory drawing the colour ‘*bengara*’ (red iron oxide) is written either ‘ベンがら’ or ‘べんがら’, whereas in the Obuse drawing it is written either ‘*benigara*’ (べにがら; five places) or ‘*bengara*’ (ベンガラ; two places). The inescapable conclusion is that the colour indications on the Obuse drawing were not written by Hokusai.

Therefore, even though the brushwork is impressive:
Class E.

[n] *Cormorant and Iris (Kakitsubata ni u zu)*, ink on paper, height 74.4cm, width 27.2cm

A cormorant is perched on a post at the water’s edge and looks up. Behind the bird is a single iris. The composition of the post and the cormorant is similar to that in *Cormorant and Cancock (Kōhone ni u zu*, 1847; British Museum, London; also known as *Cormorant on a Post*), but with the lefts and rights reversed. Hokusai frequently depicted cormorants and irises and the work is undeniably in Hokusai style. However, there is no power to the line, it bears all the hallmarks of being a copy and cannot be considered to be by Hokusai himself. Class E.

[o] *Subduing a Carp (Koi taiji zu)*, hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, height 26.7cm, width 72.2cm (Pl. 13.6)

It is not easy to decide if this is a vertical or horizontal hanging scroll. Two boys are battling with a giant carp. The boy with the sword resembles Oniwakamaru (the childhood name of warrior monk Benkei), as frequently depicted by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861) in his colour woodblock prints. However, Kuniyoshi’s images do not include the second, younger boy that we see here. To date, no works by Hokusai portraying Oniwakamaru subduing a carp have been identified. Kuniyoshi also frequently depicted Kintarō grappling a carp. In the case of Hokusai, the only known image of battling with a carp is ‘The exploit of Shibuya no Konnōmaru Masatoshi in capturing a fish’ (*Shibuya no Konnōmaru Masatoshi gyoryō*) in the illustrated book of warriors *Ehon Musashi abumi* (Illustrated Stirrups of Musashi, 1836).

Ukiyo-e scholar Iwakiri Yuriko has referenced an image of Oniwakamaru subduing a carp, the frontispiece illustration of the first volume of *Musashibō Benkei iden* (*Alternative Biography of Musashibō Benkei*), an adventure story (*yomihon*) with text by Hakutōshi Ryūgyō (worked 1823–32) and illustrations by Keisai Eisen (1790–1848).⁵ The inscription accompanying the illustration of Oniwakamaru reads: ‘Benkei subduing the ghost of the carp appears later; however, it is a concept originated by the artist to draw the character of Oniwaka [here]’ (*Benkei koi no kai o taiji suru koto ato ni mietari, todashi Oniwaka no sugata ni egakitaru wa gakō no wazakure nari*). So, the claim is that when depicting Benkei subduing the carp it was Eisen’s new idea to show this as ‘Oniwakamaru subduing the carp’. If this is correct, then all images of ‘Oniwakamaru subduing the carp’ must date from after the publication of this frontispiece illustration in the spring of 1832. This means, in turn, that all other versions of the subject must be based on Eisen’s conception: Kuniyoshi’s various depictions; the *surimono* print ‘Oniwakamaru subduing the carp’ (horizontal double-*shikishi* size, early 1830s) by Aoigaoka Hokkei (1780–1850); and the present Obuse drawing. The Obuse drawing is closest in composition to the Hokkei *surimono*, except that there is no second, younger boy in the Hokkei design.

Looking again at the drawing itself, the waterweed drawn in red is a motif that Hokusai invariably includes in his pictures of carp. Also, the figure of Oniwakamaru is similar to that of Tamonmaru in the composition ‘Kusunoki Tamonmaru Masashige kills a ghostly beast in the dead of night’ (*Kusunoki Tamonmaru Masashige shin’ya ni aiju o kiru*, from *Ehon Katsushika-buri* [Picture Book in Katsushika Style], c. 1836–7; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The depiction of the carp is in Hokusai style and the idiosyncratic brushwork is unique to the artist. We can perhaps explain the addition of the second young boy as a creative idea of Hokusai’s old age. I resist the notion that Hokusai directly copied Hokkei’s composition. Class B.

In summary, the 16 drawings formerly in the Harari collection can be grouped into the classifications as follows: B (2), C (2), D (9), E (3).

Two framed works

I would like to consider here two additional preparatory drawings for scroll paintings in the collection of Hokusai-kan, Obuse, which are the same size and in the same style as each other and may have been done by the same artist.

[a] *Hitotsuya Inn on Adachigahara Moor* (*Adachigahara no Hitotsuya*), ink on paper, height 48.5cm, width 24.0cm

An old woman(?) holds what looks like a large knife in her right hand. She has rope wound around her left hand and is cutting the rope, seemingly with the aim of bringing down a large rock from above. A young woman tries desperately to stop her. In the bottom left corner has been impressed a red seal in the form of a bundle of decorative strips (*noshi*), but the reason for this seal is unclear. This preparatory drawing is in Hokusai style and is done with considerable power. However, I am unable to decide whether or not it is by Hokusai. Class C.

[b] *Amanouzume-no-mikoto and Sarutahiko* (*Amanouzume-no-mikoto to Sarutahiko*), ink on paper, height 48.2cm width 23.8cm

The Shinto deity Sarutahiko, with his distinctive long nose, is shown holding a polearm, which means that the woman standing beside him dressed in court robes (*suikan*) must be the deity Amanouzume-no-mikoto. A double-page illustration of Sarutahiko and Amanouzume-no-mikoto by Hokusai appears in *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai’s Sketches*), Part V (1816). However, the appearance of Amanouzume-no-mikoto in *Hokusai manga* is different: she is depicted with the chubby face of Okame and carrying sacred jingles and paper streamers. Another work formerly in the Harari collection, no. 125 in the 1970 Hillier catalogue, has a composition closer to the present drawing. It is an unsigned hanging scroll, done in ink and colour on silk. Amanouzume-no-mikoto, on the right, and Sarutahiko, on the left, stand facing each other. Both are holding polearms and Amanouzume-no-mikoto is dressed in court robes, with long trailing trousers (*nagabakama*). She is shown as a beautiful young woman, not as a chubby Okame, and is thus closer to the Obuse drawing. The idiosyncratic crinkled lines of the drapery are a style used by Hokusai; however, there is no sense of freedom and expansiveness in the brushwork and the work cannot be recognised as by Hokusai himself. The style and artist are the same as for drawing ‘a’ above and they were probably originally intended as preparatory drawings for a pair of hanging scrolls. Class C.

Conclusion

Connoisseurship of drawings is challenging, and it is even more challenging to describe these judgements in words that are persuasive to others. In the case of unsigned drawings, with their paucity of corroborative information, this is particularly difficult. The present author is aware that this essay is only a preliminary attempt: it is offered as reference for further study.

In recent years, scientific analysis of painting materials – paper, silk and pigments – has made considerable progress and the results are continually being published. Art historians can look forward to a new era of collaboration with scientists to achieve more definitive results.

Notes

- 1 Hillier 1970, 266–87, no. 146.
- 2 Hirayama and Kobayashi 1994, 81–3, nos 32–7.
- 3 Yasumura 2016, 73, no. 28.
- 4 Tsuji 2000, 190–2, no. 72.
- 5 Iwakiri 2011, pl. 43 (commentary). Iwakiri Yuriko gives the publication date of *Alternative Biography of Musashibō Benkei*, Part One as 1828. However, I believe that the first printing of this work appeared in 1832: no example has been identified containing a publication date earlier than 1832; in the Osaka publishing records *Kaihan on-negai kakihikae*, there is an entry for a five-volume *Alternative Biography of Benkei* that was petitioned in the intercalary third month, 1830, and approved on the 24th day of the fourth month, 1831. *Alternative Biography of Musashibō Benkei*, Part Two, written by Akatsuki no Kanenari and illustrated by Katsushika Taito II, was published in 1842. It also contains an illustration titled ‘Benkei’s heroism, subduing a ghost carp’ (*Benkei no yū, kairi o taiji su*), but Benkei is depicted here as an adult.

無署名の北斎のドローイングの選別について —北斎館所蔵品を例に—

浅野秀剛

はじめに

北斎および北斎派のドローイングはかなりの量が現存する。それを一枚一枚数えるとおそらく数千か、それ以上になるであろう。なかには近代以降に描かれたものもある。それら北斎様式のドローイングから、北斎自筆のものを選別するのは容易ではなく、現在まで、研究者や所蔵者が恣意的にそれを判断してきたというのが現状である。残念ながら私にも特別な考えがあるわけではなく、紙や絵具や筆圧などの科学的な分析を行わないすれば、造形と運筆で判定するしかないと思っている（造形分析に数学的方法を用いたりするのは私にはできない）。彩色されたものはその分析も加わり、文字があれば、その比較分析も加わる。つまり、その作品が北斎の造形の特徴を有しているのか、運筆の特徴が北斎自身のものとの程度近似するのかを考えて、北斎らしさを選別するしかないと思っている。だから、当然、判定者の主觀が入る。ただし、北斎は全く同じものを2点描くことは原則としてない、というような北斎の個性なども分析には援用できるかもしれない。

この小稿の目的は、現在、小布施町の北斎館に所蔵、寄託されている29点のドローイング（一部にドローイングといえないものも含む。後述するが、それらは一連のものなので了とされたい。）について私なりに分析し、北斎自身の筆と認めうるかどうかを判定することにある。その結果、無署名の北斎派のドローイングの選別について、ささやかなりとも一石を投じることができると考えている。なお、ここでいうドローイングは、下絵、素描、絵手本、スケッチなど、墨一色、あるいはそれにわずかに色を加えたラフな図像を指す。北斎館の29点には、版画制作のための最終下絵である版下絵はない。

選別判定の基準

判定には、次の5段階表示を用いる。

- A 北斎筆と考えられる
- B 北斎である可能性が高い
- C 北斎筆の可能性がある
- D 北斎筆の可能性は低い
- E 北斎筆ではない

この判定は、北斎筆であるかそうでないかだけを問題にするのであり、作品の魅力・巧拙などは問わない。また、北斎と（門人などの）他人の合筆、北斎指揮下の作品、北斎が自身の作としてよいと認定した作品なども可能性として視野に入れなければならないが、私は、北斎館の29点に、それらに該当する作品はないと考えている。

「日新除魔図」およびそれに類似する11点

北斎館所蔵の北斎のドローイングで最も知られているのは、「日新除魔図」である。晩年の北斎は、朝起きると、まず獅子（獅子舞なども含む）を描き、それから他の仕事を始めるという生活を続けたことがあった。その獅子図が「日新除魔図」と呼ばれるもので、墨だけでサッと描かれた私的な絵である。現存する「日新除魔図」は250図くらいある。そのうちの宮本慎助に与えた219図（以下、「宮本本」という）は、近年、坂本五郎氏が九州国立博物館に寄

贈し、現在同館の所蔵となった。日課として始めたドローイングを日新除魔と言ったのは北斎自身で、宮本慎助に添えた一紙には「日新除魔と号して朝な朝な書き捨てた」ものと書かれている。「書き捨てた」というのは一種の衒いで、実際には同居していた娘のお栄が保管していたことは間違いない。「日新除魔図」は、宮本慎助に与えたもの以外に、本間北曜に与えたもの（現在、北斎館蔵）、小山田氏に与えたもの（小山田本と呼ばれる、小山田本には日付がない）があり、それ以外にも、大英博物館蔵など世界に散在していて、未だその全貌はつかめていない。ここで「日新除魔図」そのものを論じるには紙数の関係で無理があるのでないが、北斎館蔵の11点を論じるうえで基本的な情報と私見を整理したい。

1) 宮本本は、30cm余×20cm余のサイズの紙に、墨だけで獅子を描き、傍らにその日の日付を記したもので、北斎の自在な墨線が躍動する見事な作品群である。これは伝来も付属の文書も完備しており、全部を北斎自身の筆として問題がない。219図は近代になってバラバラに台紙に貼られたので、順不同で検討しなおす必要がある。なかに、天保13年と天保14年の制作と明記したものが複数あり、全部あるいはほとんどがその両年の制作と考えられる。また、「六月廿三日土用之入」とあるのは、天保14年の土用の入りが6月23日なので、同年のものと考えられる。

2) 宮本本のなかに、同一の日付のものが16組確認できる。これは、天保13年と同14年のものが混在したと考えれば、特に問題はない。北斎と応為が「日新除魔図」を整理して保存していたとは考えにくく、宮本慎助に、その時点できっていたものを全部与えたと考えれば、日付がダブるのは必然である。

3) 小山田本には日付がない。小山田本も全部が北斎筆と考えられるが、その時点で、日付入りの「日新除魔図」はすべて北斎の手を離れていたと推定される。

以上のことを前提に北斎館蔵の11点を検討したい。

11点は、本間北曜（1822～68）旧蔵としてその子孫に伝存した10点と、それとは別に購入した1点に分けられる。北曜旧蔵品は以下の通りである。

a 獅子図「十月十日」 紙本墨画一枚

31.9×23.4cm

b 獅子図「十月十一日」 紙本墨画一枚

32.0×23.5cm 宮本本にも同一の日付のものあり

c 獅子舞図「十月廿三日」 紙本墨画一枚

32.0×23.0cm

d 獅子舞図「十月廿五日」 紙本墨画一枚

31.8×23.0cm 宮本本にも同一の日付のものあり

e 獅子舞図「十月廿六日」 紙本墨画一枚

31.9×23.0cm

f 獅子舞図「十一月五日」 紙本墨画一枚

32.0×22.8cm

g 獅子舞図「霜月十三日」 紙本墨画一枚

30.2×22.4cm 宮本本にも同一の日付のものあり

h 獅子舞図「霜月十八日」 紙本墨画一枚

29.7×23.0cm 宮本本にも同一の日付のものあり

i 獅子舞図「霜月廿五日」 紙本墨画一枚

30.5×23.1cm 宮本本にも同一の日付のものあり

a～iの9点は、宮本本と同一の様式であり、伝来も明らかであるだけでなく、筆致も北斎のものと認められるので、A判定でよい。宮本本と同一の日付のものが5点あるが、既述したようにそれも問題がない。

j 鉄を持つ男 紙本墨画一枚 30.2×22.5cm

大鉄を持つ男の図（図13.1）。一見、樵に見えるが、

北斎が描く日本の樵は、草鞋を履き、実用的な細身の刃の斧を持つので、このような芝居がかった大鉄は持たない。水滸伝の黒旋風李達か、歌舞伎に出てくるような人物と思われる。「獅子」とは関係がないと思われ、かつ、日付もないので、「日新除魔図」からはひとまず除外しなければならない。しかし、宮本本にも「獅子」との関係が不明な中国武人図もあるので、今後の課題したい。大鉄を持つ姿は、宮本本の「大鉄を持つ武人図…「三月廿八日」…」と類似し、筆致も北斎のものと認められるので、A判定よい。

k 獅子図「閏九月廿一日」 紙本墨画一幅

34.7×25.4cm

掛幅になっているこの作品は、北斎館が北曜旧蔵品とは別に購入したものである(図13.2)。天保14年は、閏9月があったので、天保14年閏9月21日に制作されたとしてよい。見ごたえのある堂々とした獅子図で、宮本本と比較しても魅力的な獅子図といつてよい。「いそか獅子世話獅子獅子もむつか獅子書はしめたるこゝろおか獅子」という韻を踏む地口で構成された狂歌も北斎が得意とするところで、宮本本の「極月十二日」にも算盤を弾く獅子が描かれ、傍らに「一獅々かし二疋か獅々獅子の十六四六廿獅子獅子智廿八」という書き入れがある(図13.3)。文字も、本図の「獅子」と宮本本にしばしば出てくる「獅子」とは同一筆跡と認められる。また、「も」や「つ」は、ライデン国立民族学博物館蔵の北斎自画像(図0.3)の筆跡と共通するなど、疑う余地がない。したがってA判定よい。

詳細に論じることはできないが、宮本本だけを見ても、同一の日付のものが2月から12月まで連続的に認められること、閏9月のものが宮本本ではなく、北斎館蔵の1図だけであることなどを勘案すると、北斎は、天保13、14年、あるいは天保13年～15年のおよそ2年に亘って日付入りの日新除魔図を描き続けたと推定される。毎日欠かさず描いたかは分からぬが、もしそうだと仮定すると、その過半は失われたということになる。当然、散逸したものかなりにのぼると考えられるので、世界に散在する日新除魔図をそういう観点から検討する必要があるであろう。たとえば、大英博物館に所蔵されている日付入りの4点は、北斎筆の日新除魔図であると思う。

旧ハラリーコレクションの16点

現在、掛軸や額装に改装されているものもあるが、計16点の大きなドローイングは、もとはハラリーコレクションにあったものである(Jack Hillier, *The Harari Collection of Japanese Paintings and Drawings*, London, Lund Humphries, 1970)。ジャック・ヒリア氏によると、それらは、75×33cmのパネルに貼り込まれて折本体裁であったという。パネルに貼り込まれたのは、北斎生存時から一定の年月が経過した明治以降と推定されるので、各図は個別に検討しなければならない。以下、ハラリーコレクション図録の順にしたがって記す。

a 月下の漁師 紙本着色一幅 66.4×23.2cm

月下に、さで網を担ぎ、魚籠を持って歩む漁師。漁の帰りであろうか。さで網、魚籠姿の漁師は『北斎漫画初編』にも描かれている。北斎様式の造形ではあるが、やはり漁師を描いた「鶴飼図」(MOA美術館蔵)や「漁樵問答図」(フリーア美術館蔵)などに比して、運筆に勢いや緊張感はなく、賦彩も丁寧ではあるが、塗っているという印象である。したがってD判定したい。

b 山水図 紙本墨画淡彩一幅 62.2×27.1cm

雪中山水図である。下方に氷の割れ目が見えるので、そこは水面なのであろう。岸辺の崖下に三棟の家屋が描かれている。淡彩が施されているが、下絵や手本ではなく、完成に至らず、中途で筆を描いたように見える。屹立する遠山の造形は、「渡船山水図」(北斎館蔵)や「漁樵問答図」(フリーア美術館蔵)などに類似し、家屋の造形は「雨霧山水図」(個人蔵)に似ていて、紛れもなく北斎様式であるが、運筆は穏やかで温和な印象である。何か物足りない感じがするのは未完成作ゆえであろうか。C判定としたい。

c 松に牛図 紙本墨画淡彩一面 63.6×29cm

左辺に土坡があり、そこから一本の松が右に伸びている(図13.4)。松の奥には他の低木も描かれ、中央の草原では三頭の牛が草を食んでいる。朱で当りを描き、その上から墨で描きおこし、その上に部分的に紙片を貼って描き直していくというのが北斎のスタイル(当時の多くの絵師が同様であったと思われる)であるが、そのような手順で描かれた掛軸の下絵であろう。左辺中央や牛の周囲には、訂正のために貼られた紙が何枚か確認できる。土坡や松などの樹木は北斎様式そのもので、柔らかな筆致で描かれた牛も北斎として違和感がない。運筆にためらいがないのもいい。ヒリア氏は長大判「詩哥写真鏡」と類似するというが、同感である。B判定としたい。

d 剣を持つ中国武人図 紙本墨画一面

67.2×24.6cm

墨で描かれた武人図で、左右が切れている。北斎の武者絵本と類似する様式であるが、残念ながら誰であるか特定できない。肥瘦の強い衣裳の襞や編み上げの靴などは、確かに北斎の様式であるが、筆致に切れがなく、なぞっている感じが残る。16図中、武人図は8図あり、ヒリア氏は、それらは屏風用(押絵貼屏風)と推定しているが、筆者もおおむね同意見である。他の武人図との関連については後述する。D判定としたい。

e 龍図 紙本墨画淡彩一面 70.5×32.0cm

北斎様式の龍図。北斎は数多の龍を描いているが、どの龍も獨得の凄みと哀愁がある。本図はよくまとまっているが、背の突起などに荒々しさがなく、筆線もおとなしい。したがって、北斎自身の筆とは認めがたい。D判定としたい。

f 長刀を持つ中国武人図 紙本墨画一面

67.2×24.5cm

dと同様に墨で描かれた武人図で、左右が切れている。様式、筆致とも(寸法も)dと同一と認められるので、同一人によるものとみてよい。D判定としたい。

g 槍を持つ武将図 紙本墨画一面 68×28.4cm

首桶のようなものに座る日本の武将図。加藤清正あたりをイメージしたものであろうか。北斎様式としていいと思われるが、dやfの中国武人図とは筆致を異にし、肥瘦を強調せずに柔らかいので、他の武人図とは別にして考えるべきであろう。しかしながら、北斎のものとは径庭があるので、D判定としたい。

h 魚図 紙本墨画淡彩一面 29.2×68cm

7種の魚を取り合わせた作品。「松に牛図」と同様に、朱で当りを描き、その上から墨で描きおこしている。横幅のための下絵と思われる。とびうおを上として、『北斎漫画』などをもとに魚種を特定すると、左上から下に、とびうお、藻魚、このしろ?、右上から下に、ふゑふきだい、ぼら?、あんこう、さより、となるであろうか。北斎様式の魚であることは確実であり、運筆にも違和感はないが、ごく初期の下絵であるため、判断が難しい。したがって、C判定としたい。

i 趙雲図 紙本墨画一面 74.8×27.1cm

槍を持って正面を向いて立つ中国武人図であるが、この図像は、ウィーン国立工芸美術館蔵の二代葛飾北斎画「三国志英雄肖像」（紙本着色6面、現在は額装されているがもとは6曲1隻の押絵貼屏風か、『秘蔵日本美術大観 ウィーン国立工芸美術館・プラハ国立美術館・ブダペスト工芸美術館』講談社、1994年、など参照）のなかの趙雲図と同一であることが知られている。詳細は、講談社版の筆者の解説を参照していただきたいが、二代北斎には紙本墨画の「三国志英雄肖像」もあり、求めに応じて三国志の英雄を描いていたことが分かる。本図とウィーン本の趙雲を比較すると、文様などかなり細かなところまで一致するので、両者には密接な関連が認められる。本図が二代北斎筆である可能性もあると思う。（初代）北斎筆である可能性もゼロではないが、筆致の勢いから北斎とは認めがたい。本図の祖型を北斎が描いた可能性は、祖型が出現してからのこととしたい。D判定としたい。

j 長刀を持つ日本武人図 紙本墨画一面

74.5×27.0cm

鎧の上に袈裟を着し、頭巾を被った草鞋姿の男が長刀を持って立つ。北斎が描く弁慶図に似るが頭巾が山賊の被るものとのイメージでありしきりこない。熊坂長範のようなイメージなので、北斎の図像を探すと、『画本葛飾振』（版下絵一帖、メトロポリタン美術館蔵、1836、37年頃）に「熊坂長范」図を見出した。その図との比較や筆致の勢いから、本図を北斎とは認めがたく、D判定としたい。造形と筆致は「趙雲図」に似るので、あるいは同じ絵師によるものであろうか。

k 鍾馗図 紙本墨画一面 66.2×26.5cm

剣を提げてポーズを取る鍾馗。この図像は、すみだ北斎美術館蔵の「朱描鍾馗図」（絹本着色一幅、「齡八十七歳」とある）と同一である。大きさもほぼ同じなので、すみだ本かそれに類似するものを写したものと考えてよいであろう。北斎は輪郭線だけをきれいに描き、それから本画を仕上げるという方法を採らなかったと思われるので、写したのは北斎以外の人物と考えられる。筆致も弱く、D判定としたい。

l 釣灯籠を持つ骸骨図 紙本墨画一面 69.8×30cm

右手に灯籠を持ち、左手を腰に当てて歩む骸骨。いわゆる“牡丹灯籠”ものの図である。この図の骸骨図は北斎の菩提寺である浅草の誓教寺蔵の「釣灯籠を持つ骸骨図」（絹本着色一幅）とほとんど同一の図像であり、それを写したものかと思っていたが、より類似する図像があった。福島の金性寺蔵の源琦（1747～97）筆「釣灯籠を持つ骸骨」（絹本着色一幅、『大妖怪展』図録、読売新聞社、2016年、など参照）である。比較すると、その類似度は一目瞭然で、胸から腰にかけての描写は源琦筆の方に断然近い。源琦のものの落款には「衡斎沈詮筆意」と記されているので、1731年に来日した中国人画家、沈詮

（1682～？）の作品を写したということになる。そうすると、北斎は源琦のものを参考に「釣灯籠を持つ骸骨図」を制作したのかということになるが、事はそう単純ではない。もし、沈詮筆の「釣灯籠を持つ骸骨図」があったと仮定すると、沈詮は、明代の伝奇小説『剪灯新話』を念頭に制作したということになる。多言はしないが、このような特異な図像を沈詮が制作した可能性はかなり低いと思う。したがって、北斎や源琦の掛軸の検討もしなければならないが、今回、そこまでは言及しない。本図の運筆は丁寧ではあるが、それだけのものであり、E判定としたい。

m 関羽図 紙本墨画一面 74.6×27.2cm

iの「趙雲図」同様、正面を向いて立つ中国武人図であるが、青龍刀と呼ばれる独特の武器と美髯などから、関羽を描いたものに相違ない（『絵本忠経』1834、など参照）。「趙雲図」と同じく『三国志演義』に取材したものであり、図像のバランスや筆致も似ることから、同一の筆者によるものと推定したい。jの「長刀を持つ日本武人図」も同一の筆致のように見える。したがって、D判定となるが、この図と同一図様でありながら、淡彩を加え、かつ彩色についてのアドバイスも記されている図も16図のなかにあるので、それを次に述べることとする（ハラリーコレクション図録では最終図pとなっている）。

p 関羽図 紙本墨画淡彩一幅 73.1×26.8cm

mの「関羽図」と同一の図像ながら、淡彩が施され、かつ彩色についての指南書がある（図13.5）。指南書は以下のように記されている（右から左、そして、上下方の細かな記載の順に記す）。

「かをハヘにがらにくうすくあびせ たいしやの書おこし 朱のキメヘにがらのきめしるらいんじ（しるゑんじ？）三品合二度くまどる 朱のきめ斗すこしことり一たみにあびせ 朱のきめをこくとりしるらいんじ（しるゑんじ？）をときくいりなり 目のくまあへ鼠のぐ 目のほしへにがらずミ ひとみこへすミ ひけはべにがらすミにてくま こゑ墨毛書」「朱うすくあびせ 朱メキメニテ トヒタしるらいんじ（しるゑんじ？）くま」「ゴふんうすくあびせ あへうすぐまごふんくいり」「へにがらのくうすくあびせ 朱うすぐま」、（上部）「こい墨 草の汁」、（右辺）「セウエンジグマ」、（腰から下）「同ジ仕方の印△白カチノキノグ」「ホシキエンジ ベロ アサギノグ 中ノホシ キノグ 金フン ヤカイフン アイノアヤカリ スミノグ」「同じ仕方の印
⊕ 草のしる べろ キエンジ」「ヘンガラズミ ヘンガラ アイノアヤカリ ヘロ」。絵の具の種類と思われる「しるらいんじ（しるゑんじ？）部分が読みにくいが、他は了解していただけるであろう。この字を、ボストン美術館蔵、北斎筆「日蓮上人波題目画稿」（紙本墨画淡彩、『ボストン美術館 肉筆浮世絵III』（講談社、2000年）など参照）に書かれている文字と比較してみたい。「日蓮上人波題目画稿」は北斎が弟子に与えたお手本と考えられるもので、図と書入れ（彩色についての指南）は北斎自身によると研究者が一致して認めている作品である。

本図で「うすくあびせ」と4箇所に記されて部分に北斎の画稿で対応するのは「うすくぬり」「うすくかけ」「うすく」「うすくして」とある文字、用語である。「すく」の字は似ていないとはいえないかもしれないが、「う」の字の癖は明確に異なる。第一、本図の筆者が「うすくあびせ」という言い回ししかしていないのに、北斎は「うすくあびせ」の言い回しを使っていないという決定的な違いがある。「ごふん」は、本図で2箇所、北斎画稿で3箇所出てくるが、「こ」を、本図ではカタカナと「古」の仮名を用いているのに対し、北斎画稿では「己」の仮名を用いており、また、両者は「ふん」の字形が違う。「くま」「ぐま」は、本図で7箇所、北斎画稿では4箇所出てくるが、「ま」を本図では「末」の仮名かカタカナ、北斎画稿では「満」の仮名を用いている。さらに、北斎画稿での「ベンがら」「べんがら」を本図では「べにがら」（5箇所）「ヘンガラ」（2箇所）と表記していることから、本図の指南の文字が北斎のものでないのは明白であろう。

したがって、筆致はなかなかのものであるが、E判定としたい。

n 杜若に鶴図 紙本墨画一面 74.4×27.2cm

水辺の杭に停まり上を見上げる鶴。背後に一本の杜

若が描かれている。杭と鶴の姿形は、1847年に制作された「河骨に鶴図」（紙本着色一幅、大英博物館蔵）を左右反転した形に似る。杭も鶴も杜若も北斎がしばしば描き、北斎様式の図であることは間違いないが、線に力がなく、なぞった感が顕著であり、北斎自身のものとは考えられない。E判定としたい。

o 鯉退治図 紙本着色一幅 26.7×72.2cm

豎幅か横幅かにわかれに判ることはできないが、二人の童子が巨鯉と格闘している図である（図13.6）。剣を持つ童子は、歌川国芳がしばしば錦絵にした鯉退治の鬼若丸（弁慶の幼名）に似るが、国芳の図には、この図に描かれているような幼子は登場しない。また、遺憾ながら北斎画の「鬼若丸の鯉退治」図も確認できない。国芳はまた、金太郎の鯉つかみ図もしばしば描いているが、北斎の図で、鯉と格闘しているものは、『絵本武蔵鎧』（1836年刊）のなかの「渋谷の金王丸正俊魚獵手柄」図しか確認できなかった。

岩切友里子氏は、白頭子柳魚作、渓斎英泉画の読本『武蔵坊弁慶異伝』に鬼若丸の鯉退治の口絵があることを指摘している（注）。今、その読本を確認すると、巻一の口絵に鬼若丸の鯉退治が描かれ、左上に「弁慶鯉の怪を退治する事後に見へたり 菅（ただし）鬼若の姿に画（ゑがき）たるは画工の格思（わざくれ）なり」と記されている。つまり、弁慶の鯉退治を描くに際し、「鬼若丸の鯉退治」図としたのは、絵師、英泉の創意だという。それが正しければ、すべての「鬼若丸の鯉退治」図は天保3年（1832）春刊『武蔵坊弁慶異伝』の口絵から始まるということになる。当然ながら、国芳の諸作品や、葵岡北渓の摺物「鬼若丸の鯉退治」（横色紙倍判、天保前期頃）、そして、本図もその制約を受ける。本図は北渓の摺物に図様が類似するが、北渓には幼子が描かれていません。

今、改めて、本図を見ると、朱で描かれた藻は、北斎が鯉図を描くときに必ず添えるものであり、鬼若丸の姿も、『画本葛飾振』（版下絵一帖、メトロポリタン美術館蔵）の「楠多門丸正重真夜に怪獣を斬」図の多門丸に似る。鯉の図も北斎画として違和感がなく、筆質も北斎獨得のものと認めていいように思う。なぜ、幼子を添えたかについては、晩年の北斎の創意としていいのかもしれない。ただし、英泉が作り上げた図様を直ちに北斎が取り入れることには違和感がある。B判定としたい。

以上をまとめると、旧ハラリーコレクションの16図は、Bが2、Cが2、Dが9、Eが3となった。

額装の2点

大きさや様式が同じであるだけでなく、同一筆者による掛軸の下絵かと思われる作品なので、一緒に検討する。

a 浅茅ヶ原の一つ家 紙本着色一幅 48.5×24.0cm

老婆と思われる人物が右手に持っているのは鉈であろうか。左手に紐（縄）を巻き付けているので、鉈で紐を切り、大石を落とそうとしているのであろう。それを娘が必至で止めている場面と思われる。左下に束ね熨斗と思われる朱印が認められるが、何らかのはずみで捺されたものであろうか。北斎様式の下絵であり、かなりの力量と思われるが、北斎かどうかは判断できない。C判定としたい。

b 天鉗女命と猿田彦 紙本着色一幅

48.2×23.8cm

矛のようなものを持つのは鼻高異形の猿田彦の神である。したがって、傍らの水干様の衣裳の女性は天鉗女命ということになる。北斎は『北斎漫画五編』で「猿田彦太神」「天白女命（天鉗女命）」を見開きに描いている。その天白女命は御幣と鈴を持ち、おかめ顔なので、本図とは異なる。本図と類似の二人は、ハラリーコレクション図録の125図「鉗女と猿田彦」に認められる。絹本着色無款の掛幅で、向かって右に天鉗女命、左に猿田彦を配し、二人が向かい合っている図様である。両者とも矛を持ち、天鉗女命は水干・長袴姿であり、おかめでなく美人に描かれているのが本図に近い。しかし、衣裳に獨得の縮れがある北斎様式となっているものの、筆の運びに自在な伸びやかさがなく、北斎筆とは認めがたい。aと同一筆者による同一様式の下絵であり、おそらく双幅と思われる。したがって、aと同じC判定としたい。

おわりに

絵の鑑定は難しく、その結果を第三者が納得するように記述するのは更に難しい。ましてや、無款のドローイングは、情報量も少なく、至難となる。したがって、本稿もどれほど意味を持つのか疑問であるが、ともかく何らかの参考になればと願っている。

近年は、自然科学的手法で紙や絵の具を分析し、成果を挙げつつあるので、そういった人と共同して、より高い成果を目指していく時代になってきているように思う。

注 『没後150年 歌川国芳展』（日本経済新聞社、2011年）43図解説。岩切氏は、『武蔵坊弁慶異伝』前編の刊年を文政11年（1828）とするが、天保3年（1832）刊本より早い伝品を確認できないことと、大坂の「開板御願書扣」に「弁慶異伝」5冊が載り、その出願が文政13年閏3月、許可が天保2年4月24日であることから、初版の刊年は天保3年と考えられる。『武蔵坊弁慶異伝』後編5冊は、暁鐘成作、二代葛飾戴斗画、天保13年刊であり、それにも図「弁慶の勇怪鯉を退治す」があるが、それは成人した弁慶の図となっている。

Chapter 14

The Making and Evolution of Hokusai's 'The Great Wave'

Capucine Korenberg

'Under the Wave off Kanagawa' by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), or 'The Great Wave' as it is commonly known, is the most famous Japanese woodblock print in the world. It was produced in the early 1830s and is part of the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*, which depicts Mt Fuji from different places. In this print, a huge wave is about to engulf three fishing boats with their occupants crouching and hugging the deck (Pl. 14.1). The main subject of the print, Mt Fuji, is present in the background but can easily be mistaken for another ocean crest.

'The Great Wave' was very popular in Japan when it was published in the 1830s and, although the exact number is unknown, many impressions were produced. The number of impressions made from a given set of woodblocks was generally not recorded but it has been estimated that a publisher had to sell at least 2,000 impressions from a design to make a profit.¹ For instance, some of the designs by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865) are estimated to have been printed between 3,000 and 4,000 times.² Very popular prints could be issued in even greater numbers: *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō Highway* by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) is thought to have been printed between 12,000 and 15,000 times.³ Presently, experts believe that up to 8,000 impressions were made of 'The Great Wave'.⁴

There are usually small differences in impressions made from a given set of woodblocks, which are of great interest to collectors and curators of Japanese prints.⁵ For instance, some prints in the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* series were initially printed as blue monochromes (*aizuri*) and later in other colour schemes (for example, see the different impressions of 'Ushibori in Hitachi Province' in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York⁶). As impressions are not dated or numbered, the only way to determine the chronological evolution of a design is to compare impressions of the same print and search for signs of woodblock wear. Ukiyo-e scholar Roger Keyes extensively studied prints by Hokusai and in particular 'The Great Wave'.⁷ Keyes's research included comparing surviving impressions of 'The Great Wave' and deducing a sequence of numbered 'states' (see Keyes essay, pp. 220–7). He defined a new state as a change in an impression caused by woodblock damage, re-carving of a woodblock or the use of a completely new woodblock. For instance, a break in the wave line on the right-hand side of the design can be observed in many later impressions of 'The Great Wave' (Pl. 14.2) and corresponds to a new state. Keyes's task was not easy as he had to rely on postcards, illustrations from books and small black-and-white photographs. Based on his observations, he listed 21 states of Hokusai's 'The Great Wave' (see Table 14.1), and for each state he gave examples of corresponding impressions. However, when re-examining Keyes's photographs, variations corresponding to certain states have been found not to occur consistently. For instance, losses in the title cartouche corresponding to states 5 and 6 are not present in states 13 or 17 (Pl. 14.3). Independently of Keyes, Matthi Forrer⁸ also studied the evolution of 'The Great Wave' and his findings are summarised in Table 14.2. Forrer described five signs of damage, with four of those corresponding to states defined by Keyes. Whereas Keyes listed 19 sequential breaks to the cartouche, Forrer noted only two. Forrer's study



Plate 14.1 Hokusai, 'Under the Wave off Kanagawa' (*Kanagawa oki namiura*, 'The Great Wave'), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), c. 1831. Colour woodblock, height 25.8cm, width 37.9cm. British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA, acquired with contributions from the Brook Sewell Bequest and Art Fund

Plate 14.2 Break in the wave line caused by woodblock damage, as indicated by a red arrow. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1914, JP10



State	Description
1	Cartouche intact
2	Clouds block reduced
3	Cartouche breaks on inner border left of 裏 and outer border of 川
4	Cartouche breaks in left outer and right inner borders beside 十
5	Cartouche break in outer border right of 三
6	Cartouche break in outer border right 神
7	Double cartouche break in borders below 裏; wear shows on double borders left of 神奈川
8	Break near peak in the upper right slope of Mt Fuji; cartouche break in outer border left of 巍
9	Cartouche break in outer border directly right of 沖
10	Narrow break in inner border above and to the left of 富; long break in outer border below 裏
11	Long break in double borders left of 富; 神奈
12	Wear in outer border right of 三十
13	Break in wave directly behind stem of boat at right; break in outer border near corner below 沖
14	Wide break in inner border above and to the left of 富
15	Double break in borders at top left over 富; break in top inner border at right over 富
16	Break in inner border left of 富
17	Double break in borders at top and to right of 富
18	Break in outer border right of 奈
19	New light blue block for waves; new colour block for clouds
20	Blue block at lower right edge reduced
21	Break in inner border right of 景; light shading on horizon below peak

Table 14.1 The 21 states of 'The Great Wave' defined by Keyes and Morse 2015

was much more concise than that of Keyes; he did not illustrate his findings and gave no reference as to which impressions of 'The Great Wave' he had examined to study the evolution of the print. This makes it difficult to assess the validity of his findings.

In the present research project, the evolution of woodblock damage in impressions of 'The Great Wave' was examined using digital photographs. First, a census of

surviving impressions was taken using various sources and 111 photographs of original impressions were gathered. Then, in order to understand how 'The Great Wave' was made, the number of woodblocks used to produce it and how many printings were made using each woodblock for a typical impression were investigated. Finally, signs of woodblock damage and the use of newly carved woodblocks were identified.

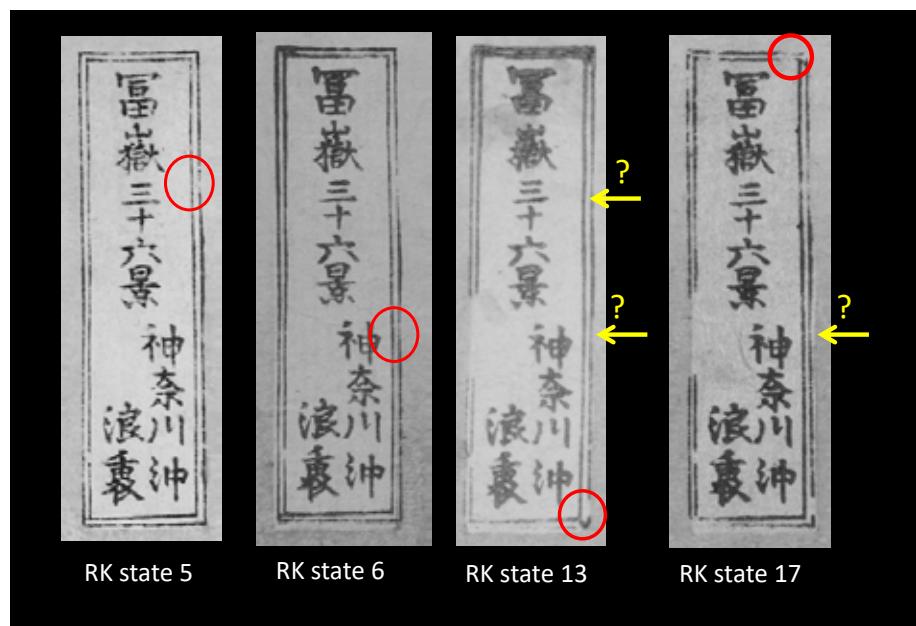


Plate 14.3 Damage to the title cartouche corresponding to states 5 and 6 defined by Roger Keyes (Keyes and Morse 2015) – indicated in red – does not consistently occur on impressions corresponding to later states, for example, 13 and 17 (the photographs shown here are from Keyes's notes)

State	Description	Corresponding Keyes state
A	Small cartouche break on the left-hand side near the bottom on the inner border	3
B	Much larger cartouche break on both borders on the left-hand side	4
C	Damage to the line of the wave at right behind the boat	13
D	Damage to the top of 'what can be called The Great Wave's lower group of protruding fingers'	Not described by Keyes
E	New light blue block	19

Table 14.2 Evolution of damage to 'The Great Wave' according to Forrer (1991)

Locating impressions of 'The Great Wave'

Keyes listed 62 impressions of 'The Great Wave' and had 30 photographs of impressions in his notes. Many impressions of 'The Great Wave' from museums and galleries were located for the present research thanks to Keyes's work. While his notes were extremely useful, they were not detailed or always accurate. For example, Keyes referred to an impression as 'Manchester' but The Whitworth and Manchester Art Gallery, the only two institutions in Manchester known to have a collection of Japanese woodblock prints, do not hold an impression of 'The Great Wave'. In another instance, Keyes listed a 'Blackburn' impression as an example of state 16 with a small black-and-white photograph of it. However, when a more recent photograph of 'The Great Wave' from the collection of Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery was obtained, it did

not match Keyes's photograph and further examination revealed that it was a reproduction, not an original impression (Pl. 14.4). This was subsequently confirmed by consulting the records of Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

The print in Keyes's photograph was eventually identified as the impression belonging to Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. Finally, Keyes examined eight impressions of 'The Great Wave' owned by private collectors, whom he did not always name in his notes; no attempt was made to locate these.

The search engine Ukiyo-e Search developed by John Resig⁹ was also used to identify museums, libraries and galleries holding impressions of 'The Great Wave'. Images of the impressions were then downloaded from the institutional websites or, if unavailable online, requested. However,

Plate 14.4 Impression of 'The Great Wave' in the collection of Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery LC 1024 (courtesy of Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery). Differences, such as the shape of the clouds at the top of the print, show that this is a reproduction, not an original impression





Plate 14.5 Two small shapes in the sea (left) are printed in the same colour (here black) as the outlines in original impressions (Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA, 1916.685; detail of Pl. 14.22), but in light blue or medium blue in a reproduction (right, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 02018u)



Plate 14.6 A small imperfection is visible (left) on all the high-resolution images of original impressions of 'The Great Wave' (British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA; detail of Pl. 14.1) but missing from all the high-resolution images (middle) of the reproductions examined in the present research (Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 02018u). The location of this small imperfection (right, British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA; detail of Pl. 14.1)

Ukiyo-e Search mostly lists impressions of 'The Great Wave' from large national institutions and the websites of a number of art dealers, and many of these were reproductions, not original: out of 56 images of prints identified by the search engine, only 25 were original impressions. Photographs of additional impressions were obtained from online auction websites, books, art dealers and private collectors. Finally, several impressions were located using the Google Arts & Culture online platform, the image hosting service website Flickr and the social media website Pinterest.

All the photographs of the impressions were carefully examined to ensure they corresponded to original impressions rather than reproductions. Experience showed that most reproductions did not reproduce the colour of two small shapes in the sea accurately: whereas these shapes are of a dark grey-blue or black in original impressions – the same colour used for the outlines, the cartouche and the signature – they are of a lighter blue in reproductions – the colour used for the medium blue or light blue shapes in the sea (Pl. 14.5). Also, in photographs of sufficiently high resolution, a small dark blue shape is present in a spot of sea foam in original impressions. According to David Bull, an experienced woodblock cutter and printer, it most likely corresponds to a sliver of wood that the woodblock cutter did not remove during the carving of the woodblock at the time.¹⁰ This imperfection was absent in all the reproductions examined (Pl. 14.6).

In total, 77 impressions in the collections of national institutions were located worldwide (see Table 14.3) and photographs of 34 further impressions were gathered from auction websites, art dealers, books and private collectors.

Not all photographs were of high resolution: high-resolution images (jpeg file larger than 1 MB) were obtained for 67 impressions. These are listed in Table 14.4 and were useful for studying woodblock damage in the cartouche and the summit of Mt Fuji. Of the rest of the images, 16 were of low resolution (jpeg file smaller than 200 KB).

Woodblock prints in the Edo period (1615–1868) were often made using light-sensitive colourants, such as turmeric or orpiment,¹¹ and many surviving impressions of 'The Great Wave' have been affected by light. Typically, the most faded areas are the yellow parts of the boats and the pink clouds (compare Pl. 14.1 and Pl. 14.2). In fact, out of the 111 impressions located, no clouds were discernible in 26 impressions, most probably because the ink had faded completely, although it cannot be excluded that the clouds had not been printed at all. An example of a very faded impression is shown in Pl. 14.7. It was found that one way to reveal whether the clouds are present but faded is to view an impression using ultraviolet (UV) light. For instance, the impression 1937,0710,0.147 from the British Museum, London, has very little colour left in the sky, but clouds become visible under UV light (Pl. 14.8).

In the past, Japanese woodblock prints were sometimes retouched in an attempt to increase their value.¹² This involved filling in breaks, especially in the title cartouche, and applying colour to faded areas. The presence of retouches could have an impact on the study of woodblock damage, and all the photographs obtained were carefully examined for signs of retouching. For instance, the impression JP 2972 in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows retouching in the clouds (Pl. 14.9).

Locations	Institutions
Australia (1)	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Austria (1)	Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna
Belgium (1)	Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels
Canada (1)	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
France (5)	Claude Monet Museum, Giverny French National Library, Paris (2) Guimet Museum, Paris (2)
Germany (4)	Grassi Museum of Applied Arts, Leipzig Museum of Arts and Crafts, Hamburg Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden
Israel (1)	Tikotin Museum, Haifa
Italy (4)	Chiessone Museum, Genoa (2) Civic Museum of Oriental Art, Trieste Museum of Oriental Art, Turin
Japan (16)	Edo-Tokyo Museum Hagi Uragami Museum, Yamaguchi Hokusai Museum, Obuse Isago no Sato Museum, Kawasaki Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto Keio University Library, Tokyo MOA Museum of Art, Atami Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo (2) Shimane Art Museum, Matsue Sumida Hokusai Museum, Tokyo Tokyo National Museum (3) Tokyo Fuji Art Museum Yamatane Museum of Art, Tokyo
Netherlands (1)	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Poland (1)	National Museum, Krakow
UK (6)	British Museum, London (3) Bristol Museum and Art Gallery Victoria and Albert Museum, London Maidstone Museum
US (35)	Art Institute of Chicago (3) Brigham Young University Museum of Art, Provo Chazen Museum of Art, Madison Cincinnati Art Museum D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield Hammer Museum, Los Angeles Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington Honolulu Museum of Art Legion of Honor, San Francisco Los Angeles County Museum of Art Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (4) Minneapolis Institute of Art Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (7) Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City Reading Public Museum Portland Art Museum Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) Museum, Providence Saint Louis University Museum of Art Seattle Art Museum Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence Toledo Museum of Art University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

Table 14.3 Locations of original impressions of 'The Great Wave'.
Total: 77 impressions (this table lists only national institutions)

Locations
Art Institute of Chicago (3)
Auction websites (12)
Brigham Young University Museum of Art, Provo
Bristol Museum and Art Gallery
British Museum, London (3)
Chiessone Museum, Genoa (2)
Cincinnati Art Museum
Civic Museum of Oriental Art, Trieste
Claude Monet Museum, Giverny
D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield
Edo-Tokyo Museum
French National Library, Paris
Guimet Museum, Paris (2)
Hammer Museum, Los Angeles
Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge
Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington
Honolulu Museum of Art
Keio University Library, Tokyo
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Maidstone Museum
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (3)
Minneapolis Institute of Art
Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna
National Gallery Victoria, Melbourne
National Museum, Krakow
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City
Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo
Private collections (4)
RISD Museum, Providence
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels
Saint Louis University Museum of Art
Shimane Art Museum, Matsue
Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden
Tikotin Museum, Haifa
Tokyo Fuji Art Museum
Tokyo National Museum (2)
Toledo Museum of Art
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

Table 14.4 List of impressions for which high-resolution images were obtained (total: 67 impressions). If high-resolution photographs of several impressions were obtained, the number of those is indicated in brackets



Plate 14.7 The clouds are absent in this impression (Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, 20.1195. Gift of Mrs. Gustav Radeke). Have they faded or were they never printed?



Plate 14.8 The clouds are barely visible in the photograph (left), but become apparent in the UV reflectance image (right) (British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147, bequeathed by Charles Hazelwood Shannon RA)

while the impression in the collection of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery had the break in the wave line filled in with blue ink (Pl. 14.10). In total, signs of retouches were found on 16 impressions among the 111 impressions located. This included impressions from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (impressions 34.317 and 21.6765), the Keiō University Library, Tokyo, the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, the Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (impressions JP10 and JP1849). It is possible that other impressions had been retouched, but were not identified here because the resolution of the images available did not allow sufficiently detailed examination.

The making of 'The Great Wave'

None of the woodblocks used to produce 'The Great Wave' in the 1830s have survived. Careful examination of all 111 impressions showed that at least seven separate templates had been used for producing the early design of 'The Great Wave'. Each template most likely corresponded to one side of a woodblock that was carved on both sides. For the sake of clarity, each template is referred to as a 'woodblock' in the text. These are listed in **Table 14.5**.

There are currently several publishing houses in Japan that produce modern reproductions of 'The Great Wave' using traditional techniques. It is useful to see how



Plate 14.9 Retouched clouds (left, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Henry L. Phillips Collection, Bequest of Henry L. Phillips, 1939 JP2972) versus the original design (right, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, JP1847)

contemporary craftspeople produce these reproductions to help understand how 'The Great Wave' was produced in the 1830s. For instance, the Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints is a publishing house attached to the Adachi Foundation for the Preservation of Woodcut Printing, which was established in 1994 to promote and preserve traditional woodcut printing techniques. The printing sequence used by the craftspeople at the Adachi Institute to reproduce 'The Great Wave'¹³ is shown in **Plate 14.11**. It consists of eight printing steps using seven woodblocks.

Four shades of blue can be distinguished on original impressions of 'The Great Wave'. Three were produced using three individual blue shades (referred to in the text as 'light blue', 'medium blue' and 'dark blue'). They were applied using at least three separate woodblocks (corresponding to steps 1, 7 and 8 in **Pl. 14.11**), while the darkest shade of blue was produced by overlapping dark blue and medium blue. The overlapping of these two shades of blue is visible, for instance, in the sea (**Pl. 14.12**). Viewing one of the impressions using infrared light revealed that the outlines of the print, the cartouche title, the signature and the dark blue areas of sea were printed using the same ink (in this case an ink rich in indigo, which appears bright red in false colour infrared images, **Pl. 14.13**). There are very few areas of the design printed in dark blue only: the area in the top left corner and some small areas in the centre of the impression, as highlighted in **Plate 14.13** (and shown in **Pl. 14.5**).

According to David Bull,¹⁴ the dark blue areas are more likely to have been applied on the paper using two



Plate 14.10 The break in the wave line (as shown in Plate 14.2) has been filled in on this impression (Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives / Bridgeman Images)

woodblocks, rather than one: one woodblock for the solid areas and another one for the outlines. This is because more pressure is required to print a solid area than a line and the fine ridges in the woodblock that produce the lines in the print would get squashed by excessive pressure and be printed too wide. Using two separate woodblocks would also have reduced the risk of damage to the woodblock used to print the fine details. In fact, during a visit in March 2019 to the Takahashi Kōbō Inc. publishing house in Tokyo that specialises in reproducing famous Edo prints using traditional methods, it was observed that the printer employed two separate woodblocks for the dark blue colour

Table 14.5 Woodblocks used to produce the early impressions of 'The Great Wave' print

Colour	Areas printed	Notes
Dark blue	Outlines, cartouche, signature, body of Mt Fuji and sea	Probably two woodblocks
Light blue	Sea	Replaced by new block
Medium blue	Sea, body of Mt Fuji, fishermen's garments	
Light grey/dark grey	Sky and boat furthest in the background	Used twice
Light grey	Two boats in the foreground	Replaced by new block
Yellow or beige	All boats	Replaced by new block
Pink or beige	Clouds	Not apparent on all impressions. Possibly not always used

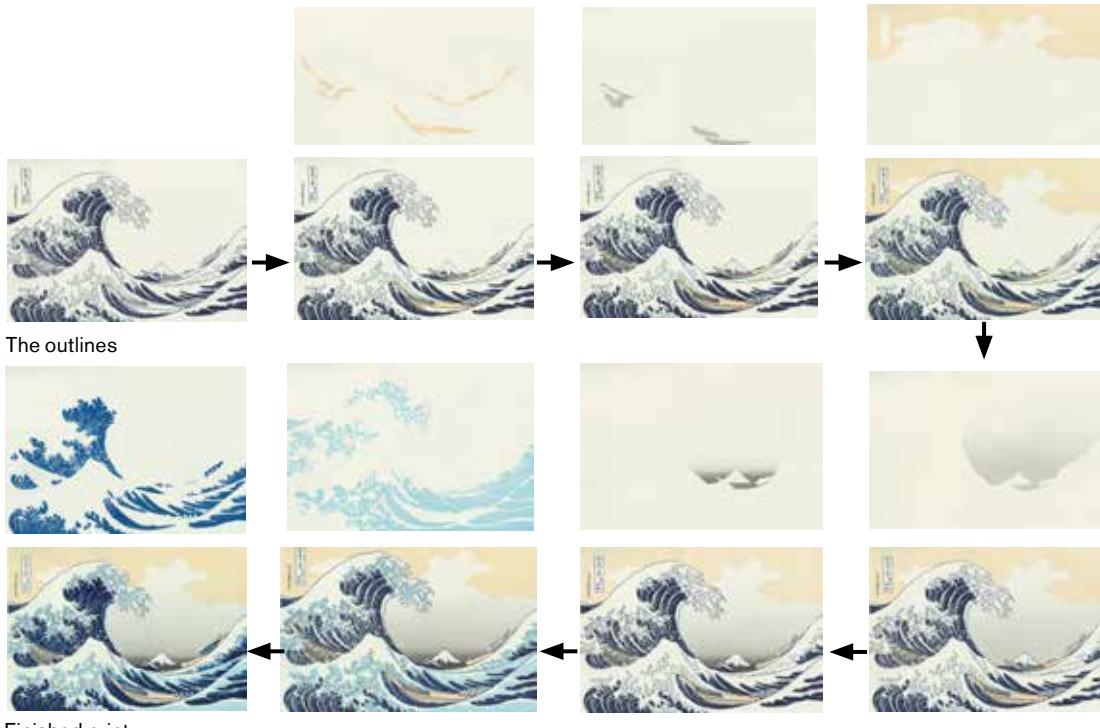


Plate 14.11 Printing sequence used by the Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints for its reproduction of 'The Great Wave' (courtesy: The Adachi Foundation for the Preservation of Woodcut Printing)



Plate 14.12 Evidence of overprinting (indicated by red arrows) showing that the darkest blue areas were produced by overlapping dark and medium blue inks (British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147; detail of Pl. 14.8)

in its reproduction of 'The Great Wave': the key-block for the outlines and another woodblock for the dark shadows of the sea (Pl. 14.14).

It is difficult to determine whether the outlines and the dark blue areas were printed using two different woodblocks in Hokusai's 'The Great Wave'. However, on late impressions the lines of the boat on the left-hand side of the print are not worn out to the same extent as the line of a wave nearby (Pl. 14.15). This strongly suggests that the lines of the boats with their fine details were not printed using the same woodblock as the lines of the waves and the dark blue areas.

Two shades of grey are present on most impressions of 'The Great Wave' and they were, most probably, each printed using a separate woodblock. A woodblock was used to produce the light grey areas for the two boats in the foreground (Pl. 14.16) – printing step 3 in Plate 14.11 – and

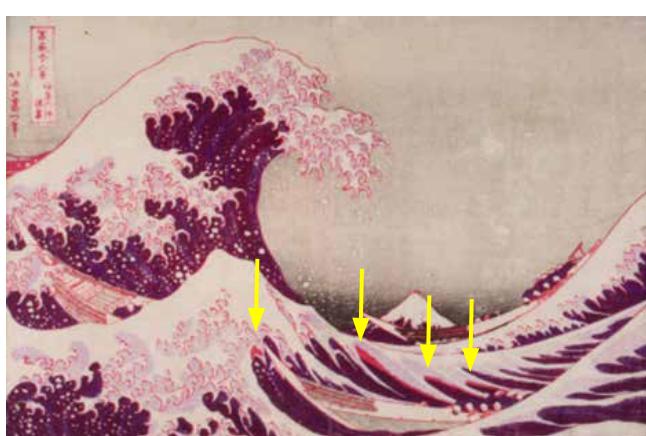


Plate 14.13 Infrared reflectance false colour (IRRFC) image of 'The Great Wave' (British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533, ex-collection Arthur Morrison). Areas of the waves that appear dark blue-grey in visible light, but red in IRRFC images are shown by yellow arrows

another one was used for the dark grey areas of the print, that is, the straw mat of the boat furthest at the back and the dark grey *bokashi* (gradual shading) of the sky around Mt Fuji (Pl. 14.17) – printing step 6 in Plate 14.11. The shapes of the sea foam in the sky below 'The Great Wave' were the same in all the impressions studied, showing this woodblock was used throughout runs, even when the sky was depicted with rain (Pl. 14.18). There is also evidence that this woodblock was used for two printings in most impressions: to produce the dark grey *bokashi* surrounding Mt Fuji and the light grey wash in the sky (Pl. 14.17), respectively, printing steps 5 and 6 in Plate 14.11.

It is possible that a single woodblock was used for all the grey areas (that is, the grey areas on the three boats and the sky around Mt Fuji), with separate areas of the design being produced through partial printing from this woodblock.



Plate 14.14 Impressions from the key-block of 'The Great Wave' of Takahashi Kōbō Inc. (left) and from that of the Adachi Institute (right; courtesy: The Adachi Foundation for the Preservation of Woodcut Printing). The Takahashi key-block prints the outlines of 'The Great Wave' only, while both the outlines and dark blue areas are carved on the Adachi key-block



Plate 14.15 The outline of a wave has almost disappeared in late impressions, while the features of the adjacent boat are still apparent (left, British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147; detail of Pl. 14.8). Compare this with an early impression (right, British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1JA; detail of Pl. 14.1). This suggests the wave and the details of the boat were printed using two different woodblocks



Plate 14.16 Light grey areas on the two boats in the foreground printed using the same woodblock (British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147; detail of Pl. 14.8)



Plate 14.17 Dark grey areas on the boat furthest at the back and the sky around Mt Fuji (left). Evidence of overprinting on the straw mat on the boat (middle) and on the sky (right). (Left and middle impressions: British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147; detail of Pl. 14.8; right impression: British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1JA; detail of Pl. 14.1)



Plate 14.18 As shown by the shape of the sea foam below the large wave (red circle), the same grey woodblock was used for printing the sky around Mt Fuji in all impressions located for the present study, even when it has a different appearance, such as the rainy sky seen here. The colour of the sky also appears unfaded in this impression (Art Institute of Chicago, 1952.343. Clarence Buckingham Collection)

However, as discussed below, the light grey areas in the two boats at the front were printed in very late runs using a completely different woodblock. This is not the case for the sky around Mt Fuji, which was printed using the original woodblock in all impressions. This suggests that the light and dark grey areas of the print were carved on two separate woodblocks, the light grey woodblock being replaced by a new one at some point.

Many of the surviving impressions of 'The Great Wave' have faded colours, especially in the sky and the boats (Pls 14.1, 14.7-14.8), but impressions with relatively bright colours have survived, for instance JP10 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Pl. 14.2), or the impressions in the collections of the Yale University Art Gallery and the French National Library, Paris. These impressions show the

presence of yellow or beige areas on the boats, which were printed using a separate woodblock. Lastly, another woodblock was used for the pink or beige clouds in the sky, as visible in **Plate 14.18**.

Keyes¹⁵ and Forrer¹⁶ reported that very late impressions of 'The Great Wave' were printed using a different woodblock for the light blue pattern in the white foam and this was observed in 16 out of the 111 impressions gathered for this study. As illustrated in **Plate 14.19**, the light blue areas in the sea have a more angular shape than in earlier impressions, especially in the bottom right corner of the print. Additionally, unnoticed by Keyes and Forrer, these late impressions were printed using a different yellow woodblock for the boats. This new yellow block was not a perfect replacement for the previous yellow woodblock as



Plate 14.19 Light blue areas in late impressions (left, Chiossone Museum, Genoa, S 2583-13, courtesy: Chiossone Museum) were not printed with the same woodblock as in early impressions (right, British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA; detail of Pl. 14.1)



Plate 14.20 A different yellow woodblock was used in late impressions such as that at the Chiossone Museum, Genoa (above, S 2583-13, courtesy: Chiossone Museum). Compare with the original yellow woodblock used in the impression at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (below, JP10; detail of Pl. 14.2)

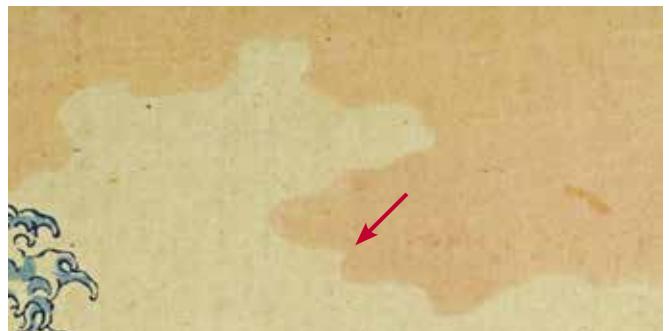


Plate 14.21 As indicated by red arrows, a feature of the clouds on 'The Great Wave' print changed from a rounded shape to a pointed one: (left) before re-carving (Minneapolis Institute of Art, 74.1.230. Bequest of Richard P. Gale) and (right) after re-carving (Chiossone Museum, Genoa, S 2583-13, courtesy: Chiossone Museum). Note that the contrast in the images was enhanced using Photoshop

several sections of the boats were omitted from the new woodblock, that is, all the yellow sections on the boat on the left-hand side and the bottom of the bow of the boat in the foreground (Pl. 14.20). It is possible that, rather than producing a new woodblock, sections of the original woodblock were scraped away, but this seems unlikely.

There is evidence that the woodblock used for printing the clouds was re-carved at some point as a feature of the clouds changed from a rounded shape to a pointed one (Pl. 14.21). Keyes noticed this change and believed that a new woodblock had been made for the clouds (see 'state 19' in Table 14.1) but, given the similarities in the shape of the clouds in all the impressions otherwise, this seems doubtful. Note that it is not always possible to state with certainty whether the woodblock on a given impression was used before or after re-carving as the clouds are often very faded or, as noted earlier, are sometimes not visible.

Finally, four impressions were found to have the whole of the boats printed in one colour, that is, pink instead of grey and yellow (Pl. 14.22). This printing could not have been done using the light grey and yellow woodblocks one after the other with pink ink because the areas printed in pink do not match exactly the areas printed in grey and yellow (Pl.

14.23). Therefore, a new woodblock was used to colour the bodies of the boats in those four impressions. The use of this new woodblock has never been reported before. Also, at the same time this new woodblock was used, the woodblock for the dark grey areas was re-carved: as can be seen by comparing Plates 14.17 and 14.23, the grey mat of the boat furthest in the background was not printed at the same time as the grey sky, and was probably scraped away from the woodblock.



Plate 14.22 Impression printed with a different woodblock for the bodies of the boats (Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Dr. Denman W. Ross, 1916.685. © President and Fellows of Harvard College)



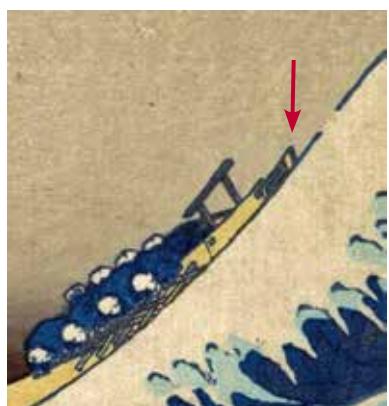
a1



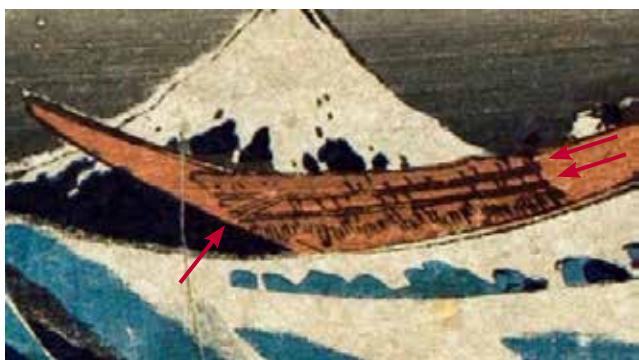
a2



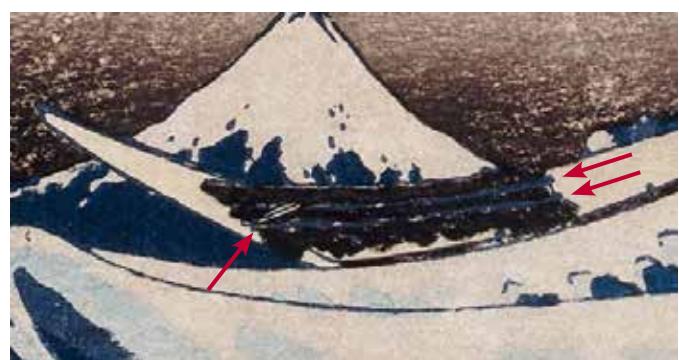
b1



b2



c1



c2

Plate 14.23 Differences in the bodies of the three boats, as indicated by red arrows, between an impression with pink boats (a1, b1, c1: details of Plate 14.22, Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge, MA, 1916.685; detail of Pl. 14.22) compared with details in earlier impressions (a2, b2: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, JP10 (detail of Pl. 14.2); c2: British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533; detail of Pl. 14.13). On the impression with the boats printed in pink, a section of the boat on the left-hand side has been left white (a1) while it is light grey on earlier impressions (a2); a section of the boat furthest in the background has been left white (b1) while it is printed yellow on earlier impressions (b2); sections of the boat furthest in the background have been printed pink (c1) while these are not covered by the dark grey ink in earlier impressions (c2)

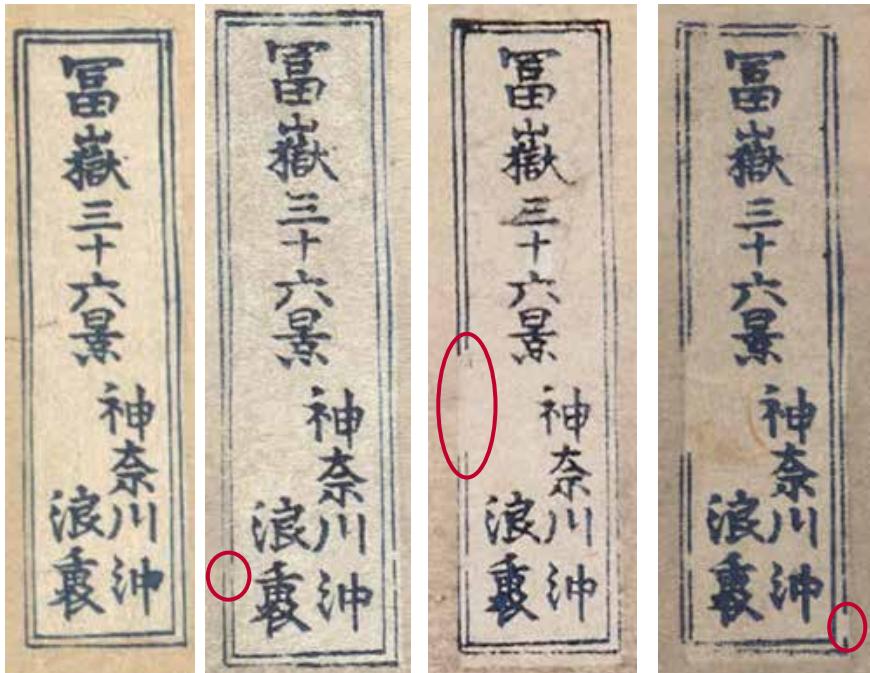


Plate 14.24 Breaks in the cartouche. From left to right: pristine cartouche (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, JP1847), break 1 (Tokyo Fuji Art Museum. © Tokyo Fuji Art Museum), break 2 (British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533) and break 3 (British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147; detail of Pl. 14.8)

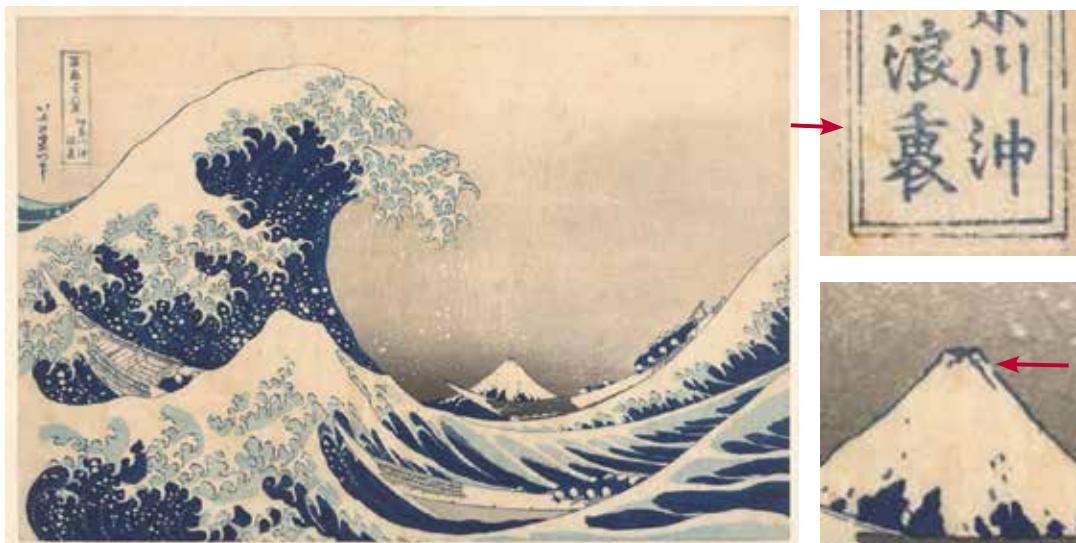


Plate 14.25 Break 1 and the break in the slope of Mt Fuji are present on this impression (see inserts), but not break 2 in the cartouche (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1956-733. Purchased with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt and the Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen)

Evolution of 'The Great Wave'

Woodblock damage

Woodblocks deteriorate with time. This typically results in breaks and in lines becoming faint or losing sharpness. There is some controversy regarding the mechanism of woodblock damage. It has long been assumed that woodblocks deteriorate through the repeated inking and pressure applied during the printing process, but S. Blair Hedges¹⁷ showed the woodblocks used to print medieval European books degraded mainly through the natural ageing of the wood under ambient conditions and there was little effect from the printing process. The printing technology was different in Japan from that in Europe and the main cause of the deterioration in Japanese woodblocks is unclear.

In order to study the evolution of 'The Great Wave', all the photographs of the impressions gathered for this research were carefully examined for signs of woodblock

deterioration and compared. As noted by Keyes,¹⁸ evidence of woodblock damage was found to appear first in the borders of the title cartouche, which was printed from very narrow ridges. Only three breaks were found to occur systematically in the cartouche and in the following order (Pl. 14.24):

- Break 1: single break on bottom left
- Break 2: double break on the left
- Break 3: single break on the right, at the bottom

Two other breaks listed by Keyes occur systematically: a break near the peak of Mt Fuji in the upper right slope ('state 8' in Table 14.1) and a break in the wave line ('state 13' in Table 14.1). The break in the slope of Mt Fuji occurs after break 1 but before break 2, as evident from some impressions (Pl. 14.25). The wave line was damaged after the cartouche was damaged in break 2 but before break 3, as some impressions exist with breaks 1 and 2 and the break in the wave line, but not break 3 (Pl. 14.26).

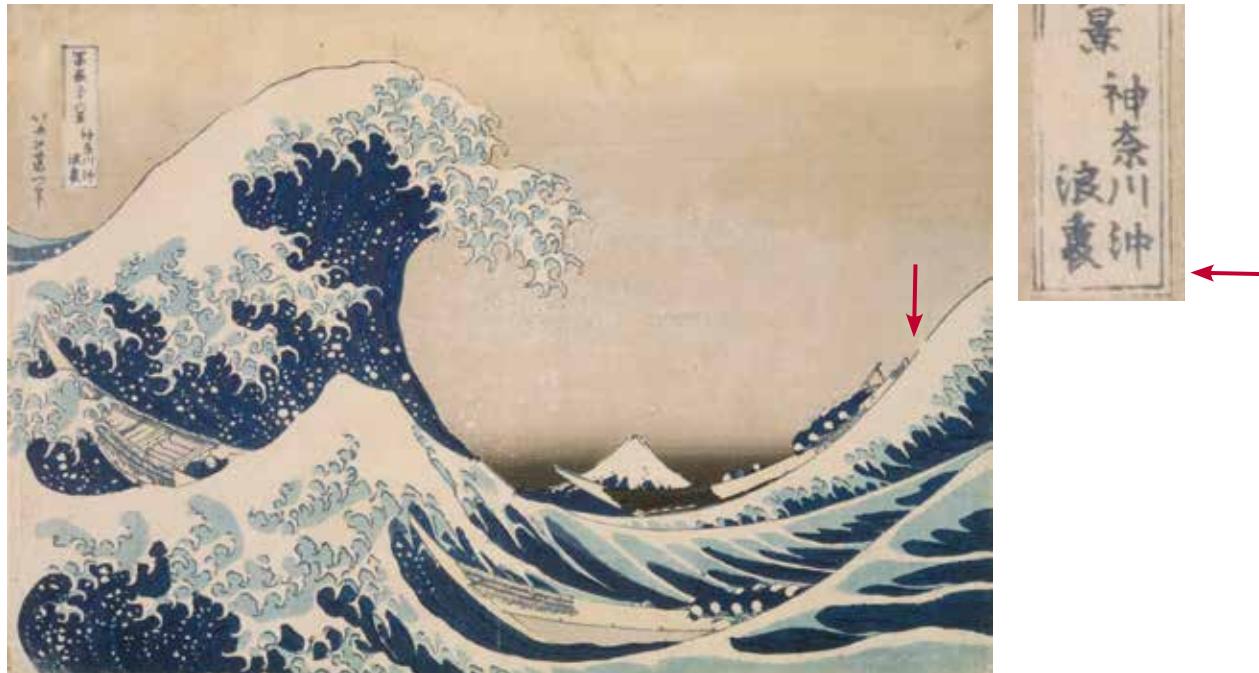


Plate 14.26 The break in the wave line is present on this impression but not break 3 in the cartouche (see insert) (Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, KS, William Bridges Thayer Memorial, 0000.1027)



Plate 14.27 Break on Mt Fuji: (a) state 3 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1956-733; detail of Pl. 14.25), (b) present but smaller in state 4 (British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533; detail of Pl. 14.13) and (c) absent in state 7 (Chiossone Museum, Genoa, S 2583-13, courtesy: Chiossone Museum)

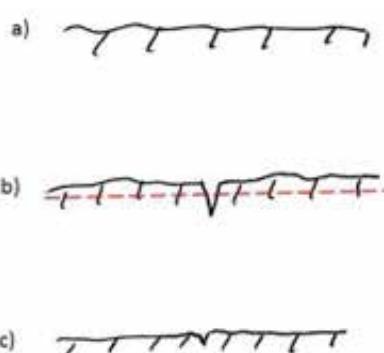


Plate 14.28 Schematic representation as to how a break in a woodblock could become smaller with time: (a) pristine ridge; (b) loss in the ridge, wider at the top of the ridge than within the ridge; and (c) as the woodblock wears down, the loss in the ridge narrows

Also, the break in the slope of Mt Fuji is generally much larger in early impressions than in later ones and even disappears in very late impressions (Pl. 14.27). This could be due to the shape of the defect in the ridge causing the break: if the indent is wider at the top of the ridge than within the ridge, the corresponding break would become

smaller as the ridge gets worn off, as illustrated in **Plate 14.28**.

The new light blue and yellow woodblocks mentioned earlier were introduced after the occurrence of the three cartouche breaks and the break in the wave line. The new yellow woodblock was used alongside the new light blue woodblock, at least for the 12 impressions identified for this study produced using the light blue woodblock. These two new woodblocks could have been used because the original light blue and yellow blocks, possibly carved on the recto and verso of the same woodblock, had been lost. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that the new blue and yellow woodblocks are considerably different from the original ones since it would not have been difficult to reproduce the latter more faithfully. This seems to indicate a lack of care, inconsistent with the reputation of the publisher of 'The Great Wave', Nishimura Yohachi. Indeed, according to Laurence Binyon,¹⁹ Nishimura Yohachi was an important publisher 'remarkable for the high standard of engraving and printing'. However, according to a letter dated 1836 he experienced economic difficulties in the mid-1830s.²⁰ Could the woodblocks of 'The Great Wave' have been sold to another publisher who had new woodblocks carved less meticulously?

State	Description	Number of impressions
1	No breaks in the cartouche	7 (8%)
2	Break 1	7 (8%)
3	Break in right slope of Mt Fuji	11 (13%)
4	Break 2	19 (22%)
5	Break in wave line	3 (4%)
6	Break 3	22 (26%)
7	Introduction of new light blue and yellow blocks, possibly alongside the re-carving of the woodblock for the clouds	11 (13%)
8	Introduction of a new woodblock for the boats' pink bodies replacing the light grey and yellow woodblocks, possibly alongside the re-carving of the woodblock for the dark grey areas	5 (6%)

Table 14.5 States of damage of 'The Great Wave'. (Note that 26 impressions of the 111 impressions gathered for this study are not included here as it was not possible to see clearly breaks in the cartouche or retouches on these. However, none of them had been produced using the new woodblocks corresponding to state 7 and so they were state 6 or earlier.)

State	Impressions
1	Minneapolis Institute of Art, Hammer Museum Los Angeles, National Gallery of Victoria, Metropolitan Museum of Art JP1847, British Museum 2008,3008.1.JA, Metropolitan Museum of Art JP2569
2	Tokyo Fuji Art Museum, Guimet Museum EO3285, Museum of East Asian Art Cologne, Museum of Arts and Crafts Hamburg, Edo-Tokyo Museum
3	Rijksmuseum, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, Legion of Honor, Chiossone Museum S 2583-13, Museum of Fine Arts 06.1283, Shimane Art Museum, D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts
4	Tikotin Museum, British Museum 1906,1220,0.533, Guimet Museum EO174, Ōta Memorial Museum of Art (2), Art Institute of Chicago 1925.3245, Museum of Fine Arts 11.17652, Museum of Fine Arts 06.2548, Museum of Giverny, Brigham Young University Museum of Art
5	Portland Art Museum, Spencer Museum of Art
6	National Museum Krakow, Yale University Art Gallery, British Museum 1937,0710,0.147, Museum of Applied Arts Vienna, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Maidstone Museum, French National Library, Isago no Sato Museum of Kawasaki, Art Institute of Chicago 1928.1086, Museum of Fine Arts 06.1153, Metropolitan Museum of Art JP 2972, Tokyo National Museum 10564-3574, RISD Museum
7	Honolulu Museum of Art, Cincinnati Art Museum, Chiossone Museum, Art Institute of Chicago 1952.343, Chazen Museum of Art, Tokyo National Museum 10569-685
8	Harvard Art Museum, Museum of Fine Arts 21.6764

Table 14.6 Examples of impressions of each state

No impression was found that was printed with the new light blue woodblock and the woodblock for the clouds before it was re-carved. This indicates that the clouds were re-carved around the same time the new light blue and yellow woodblocks were introduced.

Finally, the latest impressions of 'The Great Wave' were printed with a new colour woodblock for the boats, which replaced the light grey and yellow woodblocks and was used with pink ink (Pl. 14.18). The reason for producing the new woodblock is unknown. Maybe the woodblocks for the grey and yellow parts of the boats were lost or badly damaged or it was an aesthetic decision. The clouds in these late prints look very different from early impressions as they were produced with a dark pink colour using the *bokashi* technique. Also, the four late impressions with pink boats identified in this study have black, not blue, outlines. Black ink was used for the outlines in the impressions of the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* series when 10 additional prints were added to the series at a later stage as a result of its popularity.²¹ However, the use of black ink for the outlines was not limited to the impressions with the pink boats as

some impressions printed with black outlines and with grey and yellow boats exist, for example, the impressions from the Chazen Museum of Art, Madison, and the Cincinnati Art Museum.

In total, eight states could be defined as summarised in **Table 14.5**. Examples of impressions for each state are given in **Table 14.6**. Interestingly, when examining the 111 impressions of 'The Great Wave' in chronological order, there was no sign of gradual woodblock damage preceding a break: for instance, the sections of the two lines in the cartouche corresponding to break 2 did not become gradually thinner in state 3 impressions before completely disappearing in state 4 impressions. This suggests that the breaks in the woodblocks happened suddenly, possibly between printing events, which supports Hedges's claim that printing was not the main factor causing woodblock damage.²²

While Keyes²³ reported the occurrence of other cartouche breaks beside breaks 1 to 3, those are most likely due to changes in the pressure applied to the woodblocks or the inking during the printing process and therefore

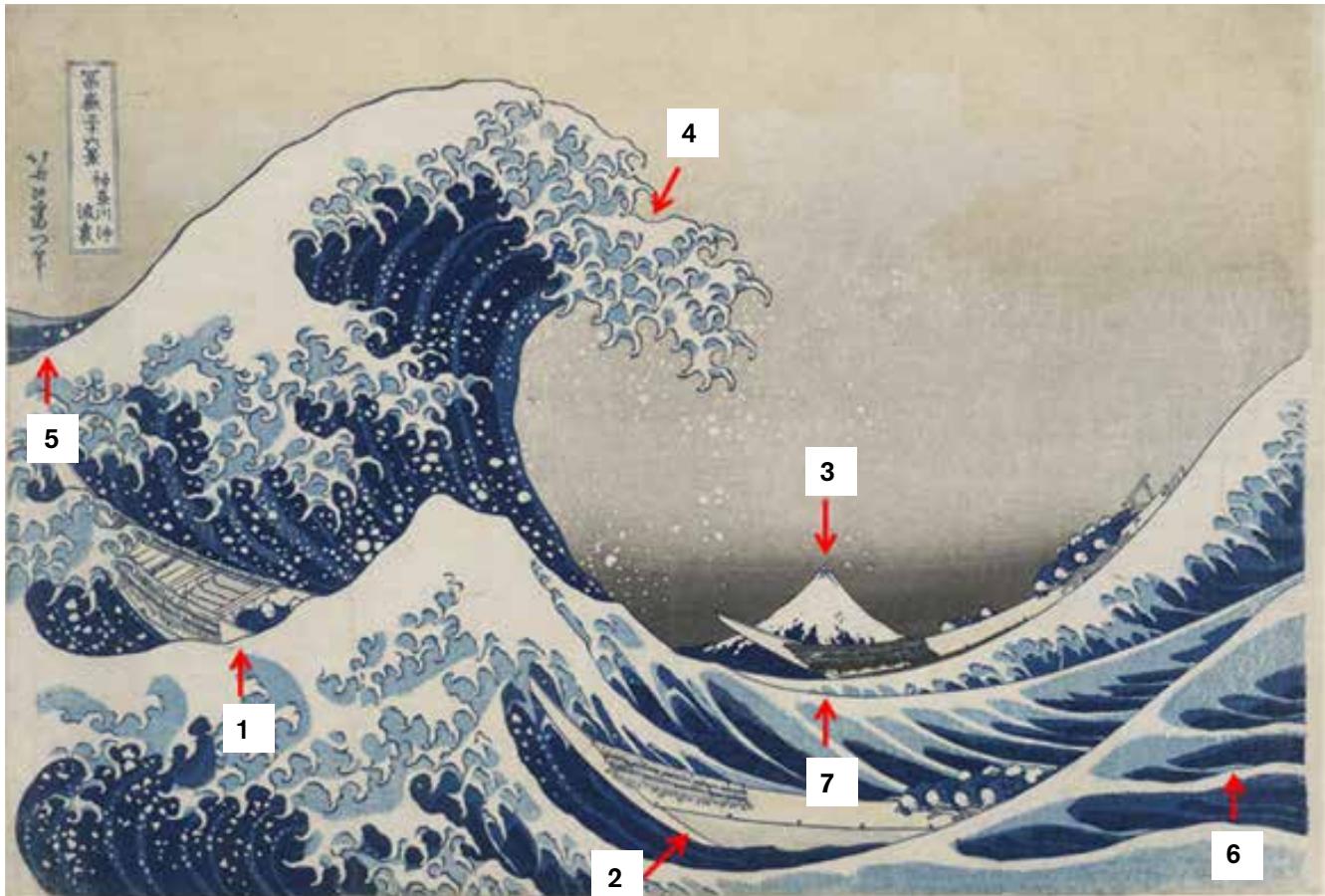
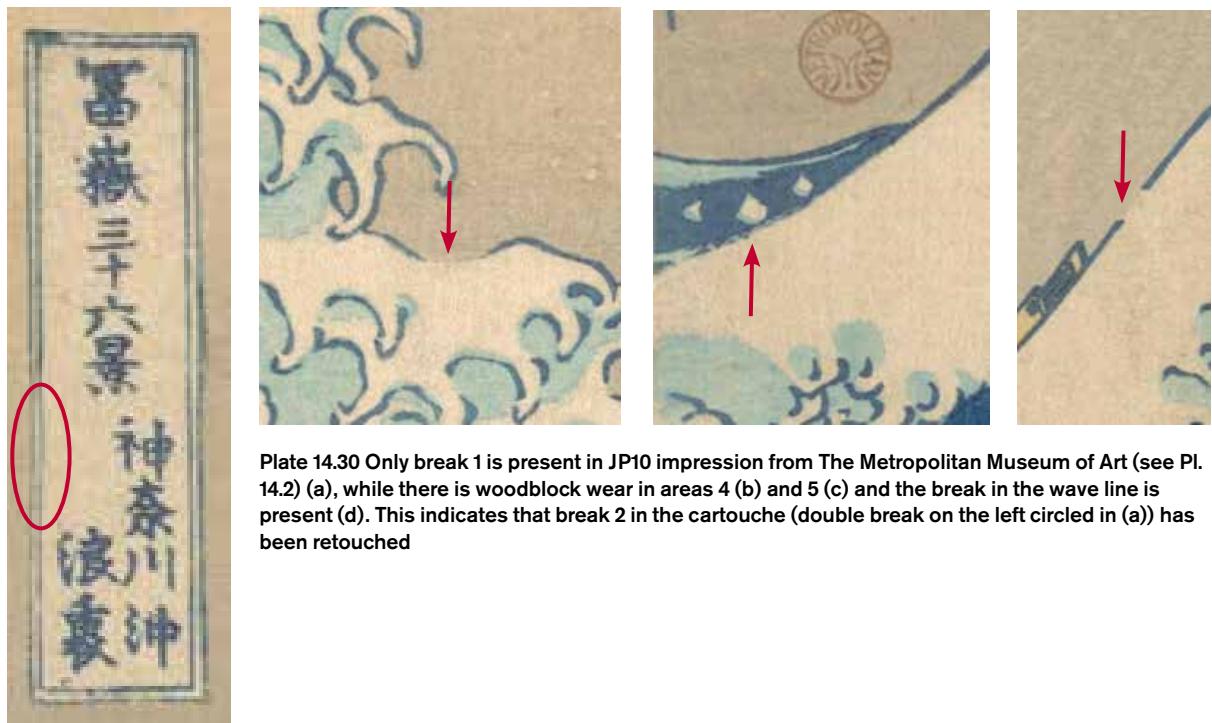


Plate 14.29 Areas where there is evidence of woodblock wear in late impressions of 'The Great Wave' (British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1JA; reproduced in Pl. 14.1)



cannot be used to define a new state of 'The Great Wave'. Evidence of woodblock damage was found in other areas of the print. The locations of these areas are shown in **Plate 14.29** and the corresponding woodblock damage illustrated in **Table 14.7**. Woodblock damage is very gradual in these areas, is more or less visible depending on inking and cannot

be used to define a new state. However, these signs of woodblock damage indicate that an impression was produced in later runs and can be helpful in detecting whether or not a given impression has been retouched. For instance, the cartouche of impression JP10 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art is almost intact, which is not

Area	Late impression	Early impression
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

Table 14.7 Evidence of woodblock damage in late impressions (British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.147 for rows 1–5 and Chiessone Museum, Genoa, S 2583-13 for rows 6–7), compared to a state 1 impression (British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1JA)

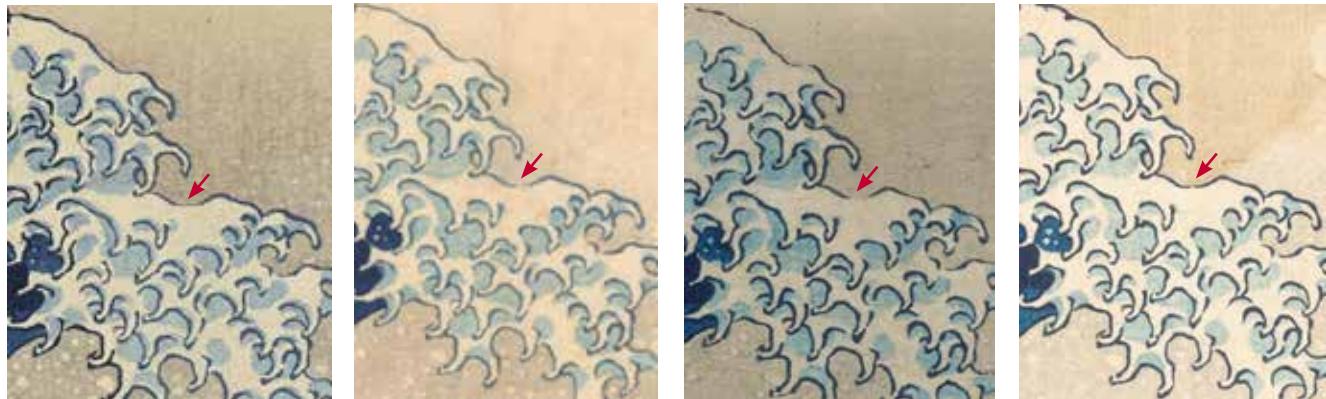


Plate 14.31 Damage 'D' does not occur consistently in impressions. From left to right: it is absent in a state 4 impression (Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.3245), but present in a state 3 impression (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1956-733; detail of Pl. 14.25) and a state 4 impression (British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533, detail of Pl. 14.13) and present, although as a much smaller gap, in a state 1 impression (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Howard Mansfield Collection, Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1936, JP2569)



Plate 14.32 The shape of the clouds is the same in impressions of different states. From left to right: state 1 (Minneapolis Institute of Art, 74.1.230, Bequest of Richard P. Gale), state 2 (British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA, detail of Pl. 14.1) and state 3 (Tikotin Museum, Haifa, P-U 262). Note that contrast has been enhanced using Photoshop in these images to help visualise the clouds

consistent with the signs of woodblock damage elsewhere in the impression (Pl. 14.30). This indicates that the cartouche was retouched, which was confirmed when the impression was examined using a magnifier at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Other line breaks can be observed on some impressions, but again not systematically. For instance, break 'D' defined by Forrer²⁴ as a loss to the top of 'what could be called The Great Wave's lower group of protruding fingers', which corresponds to area 4 in Plate 14.29, is present in most late impressions. However, it does not occur consistently in states 3 and 4 and a small gap is even present in several state 1 impressions (Pl. 14.31). This break only occurs systematically in state 5 and later impressions and cannot be used to define a new state.

In addition, Keyes²⁵ stated that the clouds woodblock was larger in very early impressions ('state 2' in Table 14.1) but no evidence for this was found (Pl. 14.32). Also, no evidence was found for a reduction of the new light blue woodblock at the lower right edge ('state 20' in Table 14.1).

Evolution of colours

Unlike some of the other prints in the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* series, there is not much variation in the colour schemes of 'The Great Wave' print. All the impressions examined in this study use three shades of blue in the sea. The lightest blue can be very pale (for example, National Gallery of Victoria and Giverny Museum) or a deeper shade (for

example, Museum of East Asian Art Cologne or Harvard Art Museum), but this does not appear to correlate with how early an impression is.

In general, early impressions tend to have more subtle colours in the boats and the clouds than later ones. For instance, only impressions in states 6 and 7 have vivid pink or brown clouds (for example, Pl. 14.18 and Pl. 14.22). However, it is possible that the subtle colours in the early impressions are a result of exposure to light and that they used to be more vivid when initially printed. Scientific analysis might help to elucidate this point.

The dark grey *bokashi* surrounding Mt Fuji goes slightly above the top of the mountain in almost all the states 1 and 2 impressions encountered in this study, but remains below the summit in later impressions (Pl. 14.33). The dark grey colour used for this *bokashi* was also used for the boat furthest in the background. In some impressions, black is used. The use of black is unlikely to have been the original intention of the artist as it obstructs the details of the boat (Pl. 14.34). In fact, all the states 1 and 2 impressions identified in this study had the *bokashi* printed in dark grey and not black.

Conclusions

Small differences in impressions made from the same set of woodblocks allow the evolution of a print to be followed and are of great interest to ukiyo-e scholars and collectors of Japanese prints. Many impressions of the famous 'The Great Wave' print by Hokusai were produced in the 1830s and



Plate 14.33 The dark grey *bokashi* surrounding Mt Fuji goes above the top of the mountain in most states 1, 2 and 3 impressions encountered in this study (left, British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA, state 1; detail of Pl. 14.1), but below in later impressions (right, British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533, state 4; detail of Pl. 14.13)



Plate 14.34 Details printed in dark blue in the third boat are still visible under the dark grey colour in all states 1 and 2 impressions encountered in this study (above, British Museum, London, 2008,3008.1.JA, state 1; detail of Pl. 14.1), but are often obstructed by black ink in later impressions (below, British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.533, state 4; detail of Pl. 14.13)

Keyes²⁶ and Forrer²⁷ have previously described how the print changed as a result of woodblock damage. However, their approaches were not entirely systematic and documented, and inconsistencies were discerned. In the present research, the evolution of 'The Great Wave' print was investigated by examining digital images of 111 impressions gathered from museums, galleries, libraries, books and other sources. It was determined that 'The Great Wave' print was originally produced using at least seven woodblocks, with two of them being replaced by new ones in later impressions. While Keyes listed 19 breaks in the cartouche of 'The Great Wave',²⁸ careful examination and comparison of impressions showed that only three of these breaks occurred systematically.

The other breaks reported by Keyes were probably due to a difference in the pressure applied on the woodblocks or an uneven inking of the woodblocks by the printmaker. Together with a break in the slope of Mt Fuji and a break in the wave line, the three cartouche breaks were used to define states 2 to 6 of 'The Great Wave' (state 1 corresponds to very early impressions with no evidence of woodblock damage). Later impressions of 'The Great Wave' were printed using a new light blue woodblock for the sea and a new yellow woodblock for the boats (state 7). This new yellow woodblock was then replaced by a pink woodblock to print the entire body of the three boats (state 8). In total, eight states were defined to describe the evolution of 'The Great Wave' as the woodblocks became damaged or were replaced. To illustrate this, examples of impressions of each state were also given. This work represents the first systematic study documenting the evolution of a Japanese woodblock print. It is hoped that this approach can be used to follow the evolution of other prints.

Afternote

The research presented in this essay was conducted in 2017–19. Dr Andreas Marks independently published a book *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* in 2021,²⁹ in which he described variants of all the 46 prints of the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* series, including 'The Great Wave'. Our findings are not entirely the same, but they broadly agree.

Notes

- 1 Uhlenbeck 2016.
- 2 Tinios 1996.
- 3 Uhlenbeck 2016.
- 4 Clark 2017a.
- 5 Mann 2003.
- 6 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/56785> (blue scheme) and <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/36508> (colourful scheme) (accessed 17 May 2019).
- 7 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 8 Forrer 1991.
- 9 Resig 2017.
- 10 Bull D., 'The Great Wave – Part 8' [video], at <https://mokuhankan.com/hokusai/videos.php> (accessed 24 June 2019).
- 11 Feller, Curran and Bailie 1984; Derrick, Newman and Wright 2017; Korenberg *et al.* 2019.
- 12 Meech-Pekarik 1982.
- 13 Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints, at https://www.adachi-hanga.com/ukiyo-e_en/quality/flow/index_en.html (accessed 24 June 2019).
- 14 Bull, D. 'The Great Wave – Part 15' [video], at <https://mokuhankan.com/hokusai/videos.php> (accessed 24 June 2019).
- 15 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 16 Forrer 1991.
- 17 Hedges 2006.
- 18 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 19 Binyon 1960.
- 20 Letter from Takizawa Bakin to Ozu Keisō, in Shibata and Kanda 2003, 175.
- 21 Bouquillard 2007.
- 22 Hedges 2006.
- 23 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 24 Forrer 1991.
- 25 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 26 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 27 Forrer 1991.
- 28 Keyes and Morse 2015.
- 29 Marks 2021.

Part 4: Legacy

Chapter 15 Pursuit of the Man behind the Art: Biographies of Hokusai and Kyōsai by Iijima Kyōshin

Sadamura Koto

The first monographs in Japanese on the artists Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) and Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889) were written by Iijima Hanjūrō (better known under his writer's name Kyōshin, 1841–1901; **Pl. 15.1**) in the 1890s.¹ These two biographies, *Katsushika Hokusai den (Biography of Katsushika Hokusai)*; from here on, *Hokusai den*) published in 1893 and *Kawanabe Kyōsai-ō den (Biography of Old Man Kawanabe Kyōsai)*; from here on, *Kyōsai-ō den*) written around 1897–9, are notable for their clear departure from traditional biographical writings on artists that often took the form of a genealogy of a certain school and a collection of anecdotes. Iijima focused on the individual artists and tried to be as scientific as possible in his methods, noting sources and fact-checking by questioning anecdotes and by carrying out interviews and investigations on location. *Hokusai den* and *Kyōsai-ō den* were innovative attempts at understanding the life of an artist, and they remain to this day as two of the most important sources for the study of Hokusai and Kyōsai.

Extensive research has been carried out on the biography of Iijima himself by scholars such as Tamabayashi Haruo, Kobayashi Keiko, Yoshida Susugu and Suzuki Jūzō.² According to these studies, his career was not always associated with writing about art. Iijima was born to a lower-ranking samurai family in Edo, and served as a shogunal retainer during the last years of the Tokugawa regime. After the city of Edo was occupied by the anti-shogunate alliance intent on establishing a new government in 1868 and while civil war continued in the northern part of Honshū, the naval officer Enomoto Takeaki (1836–1908) led a squadron of battleships to the north to support the shogunal allies. Iijima was on one of these ships and it appears he fought in the last battle of this war at the fort of Goryōkaku (1868–9) in Hakodate. He was captured and incarcerated when the shogunal troops lost the battle.

Iijima's background as a shogunal retainer might have played an indirect role in his taking an interest in Hokusai and Kyōsai. Hokusai lived during the Edo period (1615–1868) and yet had a strong influence and popularity in the West. His works were eagerly sought after in the art market and many writings about the artist were published in Europe and the USA. Kyōsai, who was 10 years older than Iijima but nevertheless a contemporary, was raised in a lower-ranking samurai neighbourhood in Edo and was trained in the Kano school, which had close ties with the samurai class. It is not hard to imagine that Iijima may have felt a sentimental connection towards these two figures.

Iijima was released in 1870 and started to work for the editorial office of the Ministry of Education around 1872. Here, as he compiled textbooks, he acquired editorial skills and a scholarly network. Many of his early publications were books on geography. The first art-related writing was on *maki-e* lacquer techniques and a compendium of *maki-e* artists (1882), which remained unpublished until 1925.³ It was not until the 1890s, after Iijima entered his fifties, that he started to write on ukiyo-e. In 1893 he published *Hokusai den* and *Ukiyo-e shi benran*, a compendium of ukiyo-e artists, both issued by Kobayashi Bunshichi's (1861–1923) publishing house Hōsūkaku. It seems that Iijima encountered Kobayashi, an ukiyo-e collector, dealer and publisher,

sometime around 1891 or 1892, and this appears to have encouraged Iijima's interest in pictorial art.

After *Hokusai den*, Iijima wrote the manuscript of 'Ukiyo-e Utagawa retsuden' (Biographies of the Utagawa School of Ukiyo-e Artists) in 1894 and 'Azuma nishiki Utagawa retsuden' (Biographies of the Utagawa School of Eastern Brocade Prints), which was published as a series of articles in the journal *Shō Nippon* from April to July of the same year.⁴ At the end of these series of biographical writings came *Kyōsai-ō den*, written around 1897–9 but not published during Iijima's lifetime.⁵ Iijima finished the 15-volume manuscript 'Nihon-e ruikō' (or 'Yamato-e ruikō'), which is a concise dictionary of the arts in Japan, between 1899 and 1900. He also published articles under the nom de plume 'Kyokugai kanjin' ('Out of the Office Man of Leisure') and wrote on ukiyo-e, art and art exhibitions in the *Yomiuri* newspaper between 1899 and 1901.⁶ *Hokusai den* and *Kyōsai-ō den* are the only artist monographs that Iijima produced.

Both of these biographies have been transliterated and annotated, with an accompanying essay analysing the process of compilation and their historical importance: *Hokusai den* by Suzuki Jūzō (1999) and *Kyōsai-ō den* by Nikaidō Mitsuru, Takasu Akira and Yoshida Susugu (1984; later revised by Kamiyama Fumiko in 2012).⁷ This essay compares the two monographs and discusses Iijima's methods of writing artists' biographies. Contrasted with one another, the similarities and differences between the two works should become more apparent, illuminating the particular characteristics of each biography. This essay looks first at the historical background of the making of these biographies including the relationship between Hokusai and Kyōsai in the late 19th century; secondly, at the strengths and limitations of Iijima's methods; and lastly, at how new digital technologies such as ResearchSpace can complement and further develop biographical research.

Hokusai and Kyōsai in the late 19th century

It is not pure coincidence that the first monographs on Hokusai and Kyōsai were written by the same author. When investigating Hokusai, particularly in the late 19th century, one often came across Kyōsai because the two artists were frequently compared, and Kyōsai, when he died,⁸ was even described as 'the Hokusai of the Meiji era' in the *Yomiuri* newspaper. Another short *Yomiuri* article from 25 October 1897, 'Katsushika Hokusai and Kawanabe Kyōsai', talks about the similarities between the two and their extraordinary achievements.⁹ Iijima was not the only person to write biographies of these two artists. Takahashi Taika (1863–1947) took up Hokusai for his chapter in *Shōnen gashō* and put together a concise biography of the artist for young readers four months before the publication of Iijima's *Hokusai den* in 1893.¹⁰ He then contributed an article on Kyōsai to *Taiyō* in February 1903.¹¹

In the West also, the association between Hokusai and Kyōsai was strong. Hokusai was the artist whose works were most sought after by Japanese art enthusiasts in the West in the 1870s–1890s. Those who came to Japan after the opening of the ports in 1859 looked for artists like Hokusai and their searches often led them to Kyōsai, who was still alive and active, unlike the deceased master of their dreams.

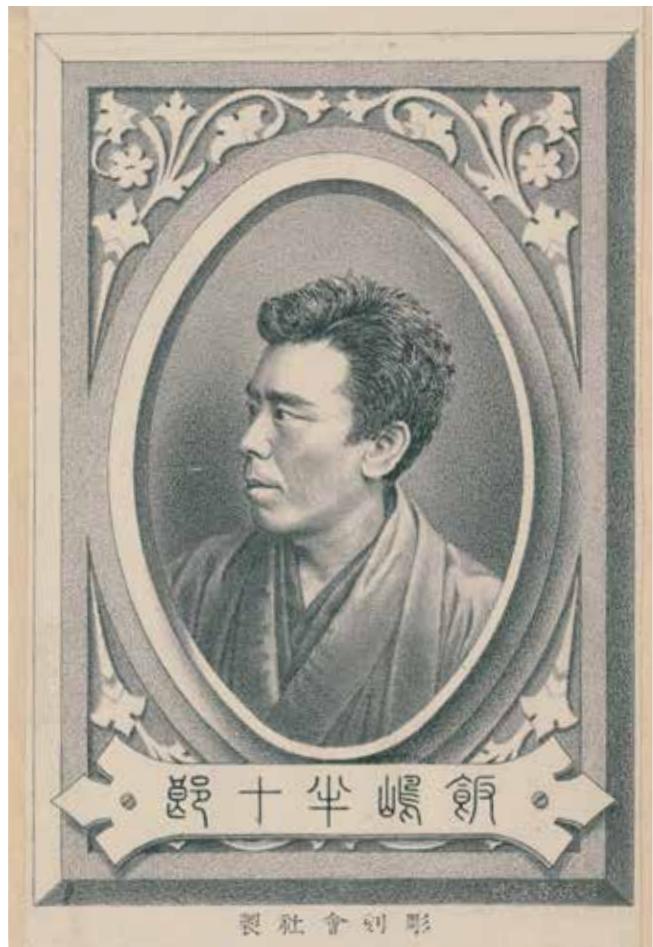


Plate 15.1 Portrait of Iijima Kyoshin published in *Nihon-e ruikō*, vol. 7, c. 1900. Lithograph, height c. 15.8cm, width c. 10.0cm. National Diet Library, Tokyo (digital collection)

Kyōsai was first introduced in Europe in 1880 by Émile Guimet (1836–1918) who had visited the artist together with the painter Félix Régamey (1844–1907) in 1876, in his search for Hokusai's artistic heir.¹² During the next few decades, Kyōsai was often falsely described as 'Hokusai's pupil' in European and American publications.¹³

Kyōsai must have been well aware of Hokusai's reputation in the West and his own as 'a successor of Hokusai'. Kitani Setsuko has pointed out that the last volume of *Hokusai manga*, *Part XV*, was published in 1878, 29 years after Hokusai's death, and that Kyōsai started to publish his own illustrated books in earnest around 1880, just two years later. She suggests the possibility that Kyōsai might have been motivated by the popularity of Hokusai in Europe and the USA. Kyōsai also supplemented Hokusai's print series *Fifty-Three Stations along the Tōkaidō Highway* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan-tsugi*) in an 1885 publication by Wakai Kenzaburō (1834–1908) in album format.¹⁴ Wakai was a leading international dealer whose seal 'Wakai oyaji' ('Old Man Wakai') can be found on many ukiyo-e prints in collections all over the world. At that time, he had an art dealing business which he established together with another important dealer, Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906), who played a key role in this global dissemination of Japanese art.

Even before the spread of Hokusai's fame in the West, Kyōsai was already a great admirer of Hokusai and he became an expert on the earlier artist as he collected and

studied Hokusai's works.¹⁵ The earliest date for Kyōsai's Hokusai-related collection known today is 1864, as seen in a *kyōka surimono* album in the British Museum, London (1908,0718,0.18). Kyōsai's picture diaries show that he was also purchasing Hokusai's illustrated books and looking at paintings by Hokusai, probably occasionally acquiring them, in the later years of his life.¹⁶ There are a number of Hokusai prints, illustrated books and paintings that bear the seal 'Kyōsai-shu' (Owned by Kyōsai) or which have Kyōsai's handwritten inscriptions, found in museums or private collections in Japan, Europe and the USA.¹⁷ Among the holdings of the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, there is an album of drawings by Kyōsai that also includes cut-outs of Hokusai drawings with Kyōsai's comments written to the side (Fr1975.29.48). One of the comments reads: 'Look how exquisite the master's drawings are'.¹⁸ This concretely demonstrates Kyōsai's enthusiasm for Hokusai's art.

Furthermore, Kyōsai seems to have been consciously following in Hokusai's footsteps. For instance, he visited Hokusai's prominent pupil Takai Kōzan (1806–1883) in Obuse in 1865 (see Haft essay, pp. 43–57).¹⁹ Kyōsai is known to have painted a 5.5m × 2.7m Daruma for his English pupil Josiah Conder (1852–1920) in 1885, after the story of Hokusai's giant Daruma painting performance was published in two art magazines in December 1884 and January 1885.²⁰ Hokusai was an important figure for Kyōsai both in terms of artistic influence and commercial potential. He is also included in the list of old masters whose styles Kyōsai copied in his *Kyōsai gadan* (*Kyōsai's Account of Painting*, 1887).

Kyōsai must have been one of the most knowledgeable people of his time regarding Hokusai. Iijima quoted Kyōsai in *Hokusai den*, explaining Hokusai's habit of avoiding sake, high-quality tea and tobacco, and of not using a mosquito net on summer nights.²¹ Iijima also mentioned an image by Kyōsai showing Hokusai and Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861) discussing art (present whereabouts unknown) when he talked about the relationship between the two artists.²² *Kyōsai gadan* is among the bibliographical sources Iijima used for his Hokusai biography. Judging from Kyōsai's picture diaries in which he made notes on the authenticity of Hokusai works, it is possible that he gave expert opinions on works by the master that were shown to him.²³

Kobayashi Bunshichi, the publisher of Kyōshin's two biographies, seems to have known Kyōsai in person; his name card is stuck in Kyōsai's picture diary for May 1888.²⁴ Collecting and dealing in ukiyo-e, Kobayashi might have sought Kyōsai's opinions or even wanted to purchase his collection. In fact, Iijima noted in the manuscript of *Hokusai den* that Kobayashi owned a banner with an image of Shōki by Hokusai, which was converted into a hanging scroll and bore the seal 'Kyōsai-shu'.²⁵

With such strong connections between the two artists, it seems Iijima could not help comparing them, especially while writing *Kyōsai-ō den*. At several points in the book, Iijima makes comparisons between Hokusai and Kyōsai: their similar reactions to fires; their visits to Obuse and the Takai family; their seals; and their facility for *kyōkuga*, performative painting.²⁶ Talking about Hokusai's seal 'Hyaku' (hundred) and Kyōsai's 'Isshō keiko' (practice

throughout one's life), Iijima saw in both men the image of a true artist who never ceased to seek perfection. He described the anecdotes about their respective seals as 'a pair of beautiful stories to be passed on together'.²⁷

Motivations behind the making of the two biographies

Although Iijima seems to have been driven by different motivations when working on these two biographies, there was a common ideological tendency in the 1890s behind the making of Japan's first monographs of artists. Gradually from the early 1880s, the idea gained hold that 'art' (*bijutsu*) should be spiritual, philosophical or contemplative, the reflection of 'a noble ideal' or 'a [spiritual] essence'.²⁸ This also led to the notion that artworks reflect the personality of the artist; in other words, the artist was judged by their art and vice versa. Highly accomplished technical achievements were not enough; people looked for philosophy, nobility or elegance in artworks and criticised the lack of these qualities.²⁹ Thus, the artist's personal life and character became increasingly important. Such trends of thought must have generated new interest in biographies of artists.

This is not unrelated to the context in which Takahashi Taika's biography of Hokusai, mentioned above, came to be written as part of an educational book for children, together with other stories of great world figures. In moral instruction (*shūshin*) classes in elementary schools, biographies of important people were popular teaching materials; certain artists were now considered eligible.

In the foreword of *Hokusai den*, Shigeno Yasutsugu (1827–1910) wrote: 'Hokusai strove [for his art] all through his life and was never satisfied. This is how he became a master'.³⁰ The biography, with details of Hokusai's life and anecdotes, proves this point. In *Kyōsai-ō den*, Iijima says: 'In the following section, I will gather and tell anecdotes about the old man's [Kyōsai's] everyday behaviour and other things regarding the painting metier which will be beneficial for later generations'.³¹ The above-mentioned anecdote about the seals, which spoke of the artists' aspiration and stoic diligence, was also included in this part of the biography. Both biographies stress the virtues of the artists that underlay their unusual or strange behaviour.

There was also a high demand in the West for information on Japanese art, particularly regarding Hokusai. Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896) wrote a monograph on Utamaro in 1891, and he was thinking about Hokusai as his next project.³² However, Goncourt was not the only person who had this idea. While the exact circumstances have yet to be ascertained, *Hokusai den* seems originally to have been Siegfried Bing's (1838–1905) commission to Hayashi Tadamasa: Hayashi was asked to collect materials for a book that Bing would then write. What is known so far is explained in Suzuki Jūzō's notes referencing other previous studies of the matter.³³ Hayashi then appears to have requested that Kobayashi Bunshichi prepare the materials, and Kobayashi had Iijima do the research and writing, giving him free access to Hokusai books and prints in his own collection.³⁴

In the afterword, Kobayashi makes it seem like a coincidence that Iijima happened to bring a manuscript of Hokusai's biography to him, just when he had the idea of

publishing biographies of ukiyo-e artists, but from what we know now, this was not the case.³⁵ Bing made a claim in an article published in *La revue blanche* in February 1896 that Iijima published the materials Bing had paid for in advance, without his approval.³⁶ Hayashi, in his letter to Goncourt of 31 January 1896, wrote: 'We quietly waited for years for Bing to give birth [to his book] but he just stayed in a state of the first months of pregnancy. Finally, Iijima published his work as a printed book. Everyone could now translate [this], and we made a decision [to publish Goncourt's book].'³⁷ Hayashi had been caught in a dilemma between his colleague Bing and his customer and friend Goncourt, both of whom had requested he provide materials on Hokusai. From the way he writes about it in his letter to Goncourt, it sounds as if Hayashi waited for Iijima to publish the material so that it would then be available to anyone and Goncourt could rightfully use it with Hayashi's help. This letter supports Kigi Yasuko's speculation that Hayashi's intention was to let Iijima publish the materials first and then have the renowned French writer promote Hokusai.³⁸

While the biography of Hokusai was a commissioned work for Iijima, that of Kyōsai seems to have been his own personal project. This difference shows in the style of writing. *Hokusai den*, as a published book, follows a typical format with a foreword by a renowned scholar, Shigeno Yasutsugu (as requested by Kobayashi), and an afterword by Kobayashi himself. Iijima goes straight into the contents of his research and does not give many opinions about the artist or his personal motivations – other than recording the same sense of urgency he had felt as he started his research, that first-hand information on Hokusai was very quickly being lost.³⁹ Compared with Kobayashi in his afterword – who explains the process leading up to the publication; his frustration that ukiyo-e was better appreciated in the West than in Japan; the first exhibition of ukiyo-e in Japan that he had organised the year before; and his decision to compile biographies of ukiyo-e masters – Iijima does not provide much information about how he came to be involved.⁴⁰ This leaves the impression that Iijima was probably brought into the project for his research abilities and editing skills: it might even have seemed advantageous to Kobayashi and Hayashi that Iijima had not previously been associated with the ukiyo-e world and its networks.

In *Kyōsai-ō den*, Iijima expresses his ideas much more emphatically at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the manuscript. He also sounds more committed and emotional. Kyōsai was his contemporary and Iijima must have felt closer to the artist. This is conveyed by the use of 'ō' (old man) in the title as well. There is also a sense of urgency, as with *Hokusai den*. However, Iijima grieves not only for the artist's sake, but even more for the nation's painting tradition. He says the genuine painting of Japan represented by the Tosa and Kano schools is disappearing now that Kyōsai, the last true Kano painter, is gone.⁴¹ Such a comment sounds like an echo in the art world of the nationalism that had been prevalent since the 1880s, a tendency which surely intensified with the Sino-Japanese War a few years earlier, in 1894–5.

The work on Hokusai must have been a direct inspiration for Iijima to take up a project of his own, a biography of

Kyōsai, and he employed the same methodologies and style. However, while for *Hokusai den*, Iijima was working for Kobayashi and there seem to have been complications and disagreements, particularly about the portrait of Hokusai in the book, in the case of *Kyōsai-ō den* he was in full control.⁴²

Iijima's methodologies

The innovative aspects of Iijima's methodologies are summarised by Yoshida Susugu and Suzuki Jūzō as follows: 1) departing from conventional methods of genealogies and categorisation, and focusing on one artist to compile a monograph; 2) interviews with those who had known the artist in person and with their family members (if the original informants had passed away); 3) extensive use of written sources and documents, including letters; and 4) on-site investigations, following the artist's travels.⁴³ The second point raised by Yoshida highlights the precious records contained in these biographies: the interviews could only have been done then and it would be impossible to carry out such research today. Related to that, the fourth point is also a remarkable achievement as it allowed Iijima to interview people in the actual places visited by the artist: this was not a means of research easily available to Western scholars. Suzuki valued highly Iijima's pursuit of accuracy and careful and conscientious treatment of his sources, giving examples such as Iijima's differentiation between the Hokusai works he had seen and those he knew only by their titles and had not seen.⁴⁴ There are also some letters and other documents that are only accessible today from Iijima's biography.

Iijima himself had a conscious approach to methodology, and in *Hokusai den* he explains this before moving on to the actual contents.⁴⁵ He lists what he used as source materials to write the biography: visits to publishers, to Hokusai's grave and to other places to which Hokusai had travelled, such as Uraga and Nagoya; Hokusai's letters, interviews, other people's written records and books, anecdotes and Hokusai's works themselves. There is a list of bibliographic references at the beginning and a list of corrections at the end. Both *Hokusai den* and *Kyōsai-ō den* have detailed notes incorporated into the text, with references and sources of the testimonies noted. This was exceptionally scientific for the time. Iijima then marked his own ideas separately, signalling this at the beginning of the sentence with: 'My thoughts are [...] (anzuru ni ...)?'⁴⁶ We should further note that it would not have been nearly as easy to have access then to all the references that Iijima used as it would be today.

Although – because it was a manuscript – *Kyōsai-ō den* does not include an explanation of the methods employed, *Hokusai den* and *Kyōsai-ō den* do share most of the same research methods and editing styles, as well as their overall structure. The contents follow almost the same order: the artist's names, parents and family history, life events, grave, the artist's personality and everyday habits and behaviour, anecdotes; then, wives, children and pupils. This rounded, comprehensive approach of Iijima's biographies was also innovative for the period.

One thing clearly lacking in *Hokusai den* is a discussion of Hokusai's works, in particular, his prints, paintings, techniques, and signatures and seals, a fact that Iijima

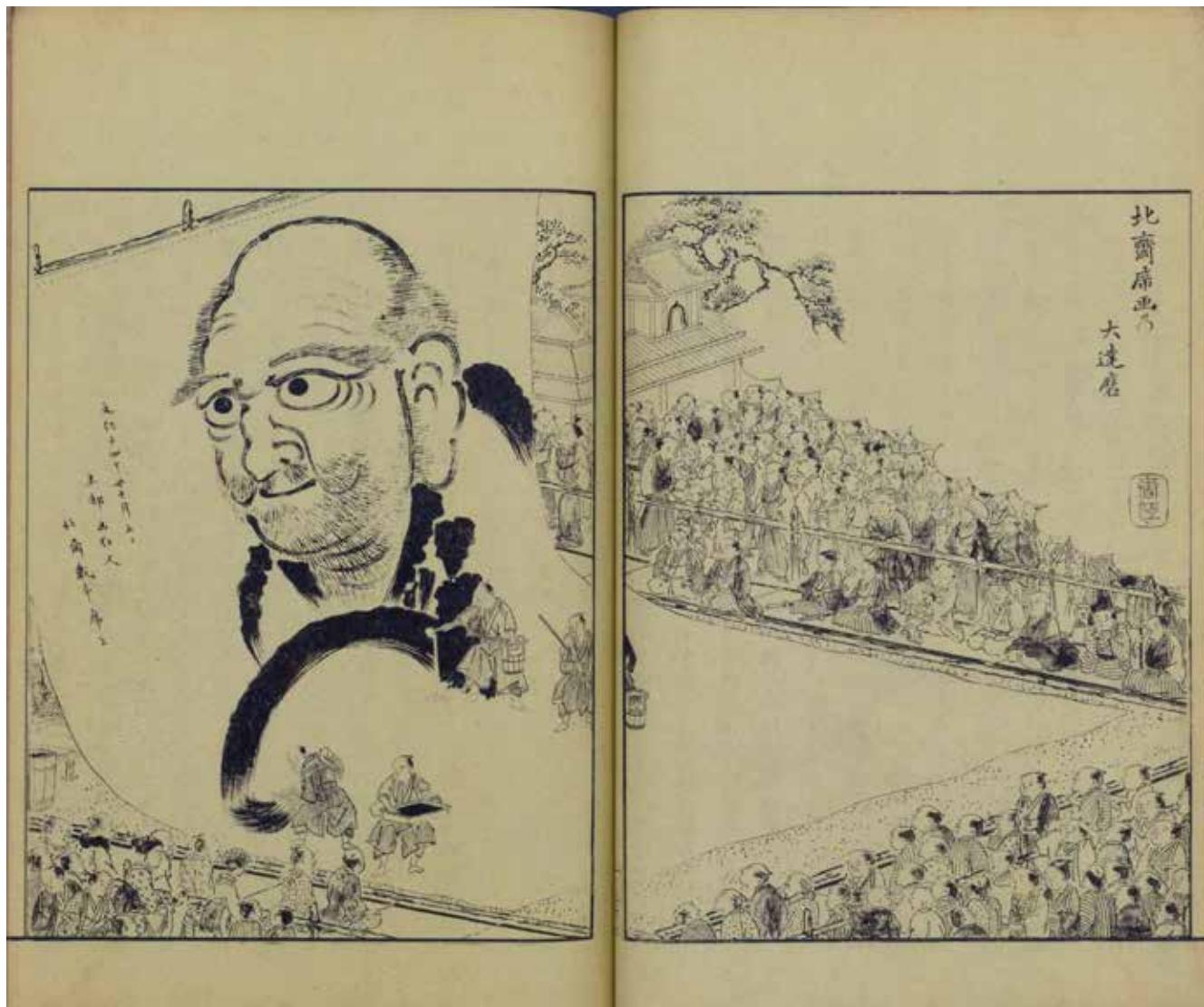


Plate 15.2 Depiction of Hokusai's Daruma painting performance in 1817, published in *Owari meisho zue*, appendix vol. 1, Nagoya Onkokai, 1930. Collotype, height c. 28.0cm, width c. 19.0cm (covers); originally included in an unpublished block-ready manuscript 'Owarida no mashimizu', with a preface dated to 1853. National Diet Library, Tokyo (digital collection)

acknowledges in his notes. He was apparently planning another volume to cover these subjects but it was never published.⁴⁷ Hayashi Tadamasa criticised Iijima for his lack of knowledge or familiarity with Hokusai's works. In his letter to Goncourt, Hayashi wrote: '[...] Iijima did not have any books or prints. It was at my man's [Kobayashi's] place that he saw them. [...] The proof is that Iijima's book at several points shows his ignorance of the master's works.⁴⁸ In *Kyōsai-ō den*, Iijima discusses Kyōsai's works, including the subject matter and technique, before going into the section about the artist's wives, children and pupils. However, he still had only limited access to works by the artist, particularly paintings; he certainly did not have anything like the images and information that are available today in the digital world.

Despite all the pioneering achievements of his biographies, Iijima was not free from the ideologies of the time, particularly in *Kyōsai-ō den*, in which he expressed nationalistic sentiment in his understanding of the artist. His praise of the Kano school as the most authentic Japanese painting school and Kyōsai as the last bearer of that tradition led to a biased view in which Iijima underestimated

Kyōsai's interest and learning in other pictorial traditions, including ukiyo-e, Shijō and Western styles.

Another example is Iijima's treatment of *shunga* (sexually explicit pictures). Starting in the 1870s, there was a new trend of thought that placed 'Art' and *shunga* at opposite ends of the spectrum and which condemned *shunga* as 'obscene images'. By the 1890s, this idea was firmly established and was spread, for example, by newspapers, which called *shunga* 'hideous' and 'ugly'.⁴⁹ *Shunga* at that time was treated as something to be ashamed of and to be eliminated. Iijima's writings also show a negative evaluation of *shunga*, since he uses the term 'obscene pictures' (*waisetsu no e*) in *Hokusai den* and *Kyōsai-ō den*.⁵⁰ He introduces the inaccurate theory that 'Hokusai produced portraits of actors and obscene pictures of men and women in his thirties; however, after changing his name to Hokusai and reforming his artistic style with a renewed devotion to art, he drew anything but actor portraits or obscene pictures'.⁵¹ Iijima, convinced about the greatness of the two artists, seems to have unconsciously twisted their images at times to conform to the ideals of his period.



Plate 15.3 Hokusai, *Chinese Lion (eighth month, 27th day)*, from *Daily Exorcisms (Nisshin joma)*, 1842 or 1843. Ink on paper, height 27.2cm, width 38.9cm. Important Cultural Property, Kyushu National Museum, A123, gift of Sakamoto Gorō

Potential of digital technologies to enhance the usefulness of Iijima's biographies

The digital technologies and digital initiatives promoted by museums allow users to access images online and search information from anywhere in the world. The British Museum's ResearchSpace offers a platform to combine different sources, to enable more comprehensive and complex searches and to help visualise the thinking process. If Iijima's biography on Hokusai were incorporated into the Museum's online Late Hokusai resource, it would be possible to annotate and link images to specific events described in the text. Maps and timelines could also be added to trace Hokusai's movements within and outside Edo, and again, images of works could be linked to them. Other sources such as letters and information on people around Hokusai could also be incorporated.

For example, if the user is curious about Hokusai's giant paintings of Daruma, Iijima's text could be linked to a timeline that highlights two events at the Otowa Gokokuji temple in Edo in 1804 and at the Nishikakesho temple in Nagoya in 1817, and to a map showing the locations of these temples. For the former event, it could show a hanging scroll owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with a drawing of Daruma which is a pictorial record by Hokusai himself of the giant Daruma he painted on that occasion with an inscription by Ryōdonsai Hōzan, an eyewitness of the event (11.7438) (see **Pl. 1.5**).⁵² For the second public performance, in 1817, there are multiple contemporary records with images that could be linked to the event (**Pl. 15.2**). We could

also link the events to their references in later literature, which would be useful when considering the impact of these anecdotes on the formation of Hokusai's image as an artist, for example.

Another major set of works that would be interesting to explore in relation to Hokusai's biography are his drawings of Chinese lions executed as a daily exorcism (*nissin joma*) (**Pl. 15.3**; see also Asano essay, pp. 180–91). Each of the drawings has a date – sometimes only the month and the day are given – and according to Iijima, Hokusai drew them when he was having difficulties in his life.⁵³ Surviving drawings are now divided among multiple collections, such as the Kyushu National Museum, Hokusai-kan in Obuse and the British Museum. Interestingly, the provenance of one of the drawings in Hokusai-kan is from Hayashi Tadamasa.⁵⁴ It would be most instructive to gather these daily drawings from different collections together in ResearchSpace and line them up chronologically next to a timeline of Hokusai's life. They could also be linked to the pages from illustrated books with instructions on how to draw a Chinese lion, such as the page in *Ehon saishiki tsū* (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*, 1848), and with other images of Chinese lions by Hokusai.

One great potential of such digital resources for the study of Kyōsai could be to collate his picture diaries (**Pl. 15.4**), which are held in different collections, mostly in Japan but also in Europe and the USA. Many of these picture diaries have been published as facsimiles, and they have been partially annotated.⁵⁵ Some of the people who appear in the diaries have been researched by a study group at the



Plate 15.4 Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889), 2 and 3 May 1884, from *Kyōsai's Picture Diary* (*Kyōsai enikki*), 1884. Ink and colour on paper, height c. 24.4cm, width c. 16.6cm (covers). National Diet Library, Tokyo (digital collection)

Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum in Warabi City, Saitama Prefecture. There are many paintings and other works by Kyōsai mentioned in these picture diaries and some of the actual paintings have been identified. Combining these references with images of artworks scattered all over the world, historical records and literature, as well as Iijima's biography, would greatly advance Kyōsai studies and assist in the management of the abundant sources of information about the artist.

Towards a fuller digital biography

Iijima, although seemingly having started with little background in the study of art and artists, moved on from the traditional artistic genealogies and collective biographies of the previous era to establish innovative methods of biographical research. He focused on individual figures, Hokusai and Kyōsai, and wrote the first monographs that encouraged a more modern perception of each artist. These writings are also testimonies to the historical positions the two artists occupied and the relationship between the two in the international context of the 1890s. When referring to the two biographies, it is important to be aware of the circumstances of their publication (particularly for *Hokusai den*) and also that they reflect the ideas of their time (especially with *Kyōsai-ō den*).

Digital technologies can supplement and further develop biographical research by visually enriching the information with maps and diagrams, linking to timelines and to images from various sources. ResearchSpace is an ideal platform to do this, encouraging collaborations among multiple institutions and scholars from all over the world, making use of these museums' existing collection databases, adding links to related scholarly papers online, reflecting specialists' opinions using annotations and creating a communal space for discussion. Such enriched biographical information can be effectively incorporated as supporting evidence into the connoisseurial study or analytical study of works of art.

Iijima's pioneering biographies of Hokusai and Kyōsai provide fertile ground for exploring their lives and for considering the potential of digital technologies. Soon, a translation of *Hokusai den* by Yasuhara Akio will be made available online.⁵⁶ It is the first attempt at a full translation of the biography in English. This is the beginning of a digital journey to get closer to a rounder and more complete picture of the individual behind the art and their relationship to that art.

Notes

- 1 Iijima 1984; Iijima 1999; Iijima 2012.
- 2 Tamabayashi 1993, 15–29 (originally published in *Shomotsu tenbō* 8(8), August 1938, Shomotsu Tenbōsha, Tokyo); Kobayashi 1977a; Kobayashi 1977b; Kobayashi 1977c; Yoshida 1984; Yoshida 1989; Yoshida 2012; Suzuki 1999. Suzuki Jūzō also lists Ōmagari Kuson's article, 'Iijima Kyoshin-ō' (*Shomotsu tenbō* 4(10), 1934) as an important reference regarding the life of Iijima, and there is another article by Mimura Chikusei, 'Iijima Kyoshin-ō itsuwa' (*Ukiyo-e* 6, 1915, Tokyo); however, I have not seen these articles myself.
- 3 Fūzoku Emaki Toshō Kankōkai 1925; Takao 2009.
- 4 Iijima 1941; repr. 1993.
- 5 The manuscript of 'Kyōsai-ō den' was mentioned in the *Yomiuri* newspaper on 7 October 1900 in an article titled 'Kyōsai den ni tsuite'. After Iijima's death in 1905 and in 1912–13, excerpts from the manuscript were intermittently published in an art magazine *Kaiga sōshi*. The manuscript was transliterated and annotated by Nikaidō Mitsuru and Takasu Akira and published in *Kyōsai*, vols 5–10, 1981–2, which was amended and published as a book in 1984 and 2012 (see note 1).
- 6 Mori 1969; Kamiyama 2012.
- 7 See note 1.
- 8 'Kyōsai-ō saigo no kigō', *Yomiuri*, morning issue, 12 May 1889, 3; CD-ROM, Tokyo, Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1999–2002.
- 9 'Katsushika Hokusai to Kawanabe Kyōsai', *Yomiuri*, appendix (*furoku*), 25 October 1897, 1; CD-ROM, Tokyo, Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1999–2002.
- 10 Suzuki 1999, 366–70, mentions this biography; Takahashi 1893.
- 11 Takahashi 1903.
- 12 Guimet 1880, 177.
- 13 Sadamura 2010.
- 14 Yamaguchi 1981.
- 15 Gian Carlo Calza has a section on 'Collecting, studying and copying: the case of Kawanabe Kyōsai' in Calza 2005, 134–55.
- 16 Kyōsai purchased Hokusai books on 5 April 1888 (Kawanabe 1985a, 270). Hokusai's works are mentioned in entries in 1884 and from 1886 to 1889 (Kawanabe 1985a, 1985b and 2010b).
- 17 For example, the British Museum, London, Musée Guimet, Paris, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, and Shimane Art Museum. Calza illustrates a painting by Hokusai that was once owned by Kyōsai and is now in a private collection in the UK. The scroll bears an inscription by Kyōsai (Calza 2005, 150–1).
- 18 「先生ノ下画ノタシセイヲ見ルヘシ. See also Narazaki 1967.
- 19 Yoshino 1936; Yoshino 1989; Yamazaki 1999, 6–8.
- 20 'Hokusai hanshin Daruma', *Tōyō kaiga sōshi* 3, 1884; [reprint] *Kindai bijutsu zasshi sōsho* 1, 1991, Tokyo, 138–9. The same article was published in *Dai-Nihon bijutsu shinpō* 15, 1885; [reprint] *Kindai bijutsu zasshi sōsho* 3, 1990, Tokyo, 118; Conder 1911; [reprint] Conder 1993, Preface V.
- 21 Iijima 1999, 196.
- 22 Ibid., 222.
- 23 For example, in the entry for 28 January 1884, Kyōsai noted 'Authentic Hokusai' and 'Two scrolls' (Kawanabe 1985b, 408.) An art dealer 'Iwachū' (Iwamoto Chūzō), who was likely to be the same person as Iwamoto Shun, the publisher of *Kyōsai gadan*, often visited Kyōsai with paintings, and in 1886 he visited Kyōsai at least five times with paintings by Hokusai (Kawanabe 2010b, 222, 245, 251, 272, 341).
- 24 Kawanabe 1985a, 306.
- 25 Suzuki 1999, 385.
- 26 Iijima 2012, 28, 66, 194, 197.
- 27 「此の印、北斎百字の印と共に伝へて一双の美談とすべし。」
Ibid., 194.
- 28 「高尚の理想」('a noble ideal'; Takahashi 1903, 188). 「精華」('essence'), 「意象観念、渾化凝結シテ形相ヲ成シタルモノ」('impressions and ideas mixed and solidified to form a shape'; Okakura 1889, 1).
- 29 Nakamura Fusetsu criticised both Hokusai and Kyōsai as 'warudashsha' (skilled but shallow) and said they lacked 'poetic imagination' and 'artistic philosophy'. Nakamura 1906.
- 30 Iijima 1999, 13.
- 31 Iijima 2012, 167.
- 32 Koyama-Richard 2001, 125.
- 33 Suzuki 1999, 370–5, 388.
- 34 Peternolli 1980.
- 35 Iijima 1999, 332–3.
- 36 Peternolli 1980, 11; Bing 1896, 101.
- 37 Peternolli 1980, 10.
- 38 Kigi 1987.
- 39 Iijima 1999, 25–6.
- 40 Ibid., 332–3.
- 41 Iijima 2012, 167.
- 42 It appears that Iijima did not approve of the portrait used as the frontispiece and he mentions in the book that it was included only at the insistence of Shirai Takayoshi, Honma Kōzō and Kobayashi Bunshichi (Iijima 1999, 99; Suzuki 1999, 393–5).
- 43 Yoshida 1989, 4–5; Suzuki 1999, 349 and 415.
- 44 Iijima 1999, 415.
- 45 Ibid., 25–6.
- 46 「按するに」.
- 47 Iijima 1999, 28.
- 48 Peternolli 1980, 10.
- 49 Ishigami 2015, 285–6.
- 50 「猥褻なる男女の画」「猥褻の画」Iijima 1999, 216; 「猥褻なる狂画」Iijima 2012, 173.
- 51 Iijima 1999, 216.
- 52 Ibid., 67–9. Clark 2017a, 259.
- 53 Iijima 1999, 231–2.
- 54 Clark 2017a, 294.
- 55 Kawanabe 1985a; Kawanabe 1985b; Kawanabe 2010a; Kawanabe 2010b; Haga *et al.* 1994; Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum 2013.
- 56 Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming).

Chapter 16

Notes to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Single-Sheet Colour Woodblock Prints of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), by Roger Keyes and Peter Morse

Roger S. Keyes

EDITOR'S NOTE

Dr Roger S. Keyes (1942–2020), who was special adviser to the Late Hokusai research project and 2017 exhibitions, sadly passed away in November 2020. His preface to the exhibition catalogue, 'Hokusai: the final years', is a memorable framing statement for the whole project.¹ Keyes was unable to write an essay for this research volume, but offered here are some important notes that he prepared in anticipation of the publication of the *magnum opus* catalogue raisonné of Hokusai's prints on which he had worked over many years with Peter Morse (1935–1993). The original typescript and photographic illustrations for the catalogue are preserved in 91 large ring binders in the Department of Asia at the British Museum, generously donated by Keyes in 2015. A digital copy of the whole catalogue has been prepared in collaboration with the Art Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, and is available to all online.² In addition to guiding users around the extensive architecture of the catalogue, Keyes here shares valuable reflections resulting from his lifelong dedication to the connoisseurship of traditional Japanese colour woodblock prints. In a wide-ranging interview published in 2020, Keyes related further fascinating background about his life and work, including the preparation of the catalogue raisonné.³

A key part of Keyes's notes is a list of collections worldwide where Hokusai prints are preserved; also a list of former collections that included the artist's works, derived from auction catalogues and other literature. These lists have been extracted to serve as an appendix to this whole volume; see Appendix 2, pp. 272–6.



The pre-eminent Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) was a creative whirlwind. He painted, sketched, performed, published fiction and verse, wrote letters, essays and artist manuals, and taught dozens of pupils. Over a period of 70 years, he also designed more than 2,000 block-printed book illustrations and more than 3,000 single-sheet colour woodblock prints. This catalogue raisonné is an annotated pictorial record of Hokusai's surviving single-sheet colour woodblock prints.

The goals of this catalogue are: 1) to gather information about, and photographs of, all of Hokusai's surviving single-sheet colour prints; 2) to establish the printing history of each set of blocks that produced these prints; 3) to present this comprehensive record in a form that makes it accessible and useful, and thus; 4) to offer a reliable overview of Hokusai's artistic development and achievement as a print artist; and 5) to distinguish Hokusai's own prints from those of pupils, imitators and copyists.

The original typescript of the catalogue and supporting materials are organised by signature, date, subject, series, print type and format. They are stored in 91 binders in the Japanese Section, Department of Asia, British Museum (P1. 16.1). It is a work in progress. New information will be added as updates; mistakes will be corrected, as found.

Catalogue data collection template

The text for each picture is presented in fields in the following order. (Illustrations also accompany each entry, as available.)

- Artist: Katsushika Hokusai is assumed, except as indicated
- Medium: colour woodblock print is assumed
- Number: a five-digit identifying number correlates text files and photographs, for example, 00685, 52003, or KAMo685, KAM5200 ('Keyes and Morse')
- Picture title: descriptive title or printed title (English before *Japanese* [in italics])
- Series title: printed title (English before *Japanese*) or 'Untitled series of ...' (with description and number in series)
- Series are sometimes introduced with explanatory essays or on a separate introductory sheet beginning with the series title and general comments; these essays and introductory sheets have the same number as the first picture in the series
- Date: closest Western year, English word for Japanese season, Arabic numbers for Japanese month and day, for example, 1808, Spring 1808, 1/1808, 15.4/1808 (15th day, fourth month)
- Signature: transcription, as appears on print
- Seal: transcription, as stamped on print
- Censor: seals of government-required censorship
- Print type: commercial publication or private publication (*surimono*)
- Collaborators: names of cutters, printers, calligraphers only rarely appear on Hokusai prints; names of *surimono* sponsors appear in Notes field
- Publisher: (only for commercial publications) full name, or abbreviated name/symbol, or 'unidentified', or 'unknown'
- Producer: publishers of private publications, that is, *surimono*
- Sponsors: (only for *surimono*) names of sponsor(s) – mostly *kyōka* poets – as known, are recorded in the Notes field, described below
- Format: usually divisions of 2, 4, 8, 12, 16 of *ōban* or *aiban* for commercial prints, and of 2, 6, 12 of a large *hōsho* sheet for *surimono*
- Album sheets are often printed in irregular formats specified by size
- Size: in cm, height before width (This is useful information, but rarely used on the present catalogue sheets, which specify 'format' instead.)
- States/variants: numbered in sequence, '1' being earliest. 'State' indicates change(s) on the key-block or colour blocks; 'variant' indicates significant variation in inking/printing
- Facsimile reproductions (formerly 'copies'): signed, unsigned; contemporary (with Hokusai); posthumous (mostly signed 'Hokusai')
- Locations: names and locations, as known, of institutions and individuals who have, or once had, examples of a print (see also Appendix 2, pp. 272–6)
- Notes: essays and comments about print images and subjects. Names of *kyōka* poets and other sponsors are included in the Notes field

Further information

'Designed' means that Hokusai produced one or more detailed and highly finished ink drawing for each block-



Plate 16.1 Roger Keyes with his catalogue raisonné of Hokusai prints, Japanese Section, Department of Asia, British Museum, London, 16 February 2017. Photo: Timothy Clark

printed picture ('block-ready drawing', *hanshita-e*). Only a small number survive, an early example being a drawing for the Shunrō-signed series *Elegant Points around the Eastern Capital* (*Fūryū tōto hōgaku*) (see **Pl. 6.4**). But professional blockcutters destroyed most of the artist's original drawings in the process of carving the blocks. Drawings for *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse* (*Hyakunin isshu uba ga etoki*, c. 1835–8) are illustrated and described in detail in Morse 1989.

Teams of individuals with specialised skills produced most traditional Japanese colour woodblock prints in the 18th and 19th centuries. These included a designer, blockcutter, printer and (occasionally) calligrapher. Hokusai apprenticed as a blockcutter in his teenage years, but he rarely carved or printed any of his own woodblock designs. Calling a Hokusai woodblock print 'original' means the work was printed from the original key-block, irrespective of the date of printing and subsequent changes. (For further discussion, see States/variants below.)

A publisher paid the professional team members, coordinated their activities and oversaw their work. Hokusai

designed half of his prints for commercial publishers who invested their own capital and profited from sales. He designed the other half of his prints, collectively known as *surimono*, for individuals and groups, or for private publishing firms acting as their agents. Hokusai recorded in letters a few payments for book illustrations, but there seem to be no records of payment for single-sheet prints. The number of impressions in an edition and the total number of editions of popular prints are unknown.

The catalogue raisonné is the most fundamental working tool of art-historical research. It is a record in word and pictures of every original work created by an artist. It contains every known fact about these works, as far as practicable, without the interpolation of the compiler's critical opinions. Traditionally, it is limited to works in a single medium, such as painting, drawing or, as in this case, colour print.

'Keyes and Morse'

Peter Morse (1935–1993) began collecting Hokusai prints in the 1960s and started compiling a database around 1968. This was the basis for his first checklist of Hokusai's single-sheet prints, published in Japanese in the Hokusai volume of the series *Zaigai hihō* in 1972.⁴ This was a milestone in Hokusai studies because it included hundreds of privately published *surimono* in addition to the artist's better-known commercially published prints.

Roger Keyes, then working at R.E. Lewis, Inc. in San Francisco, guided Morse's collecting and helped him identify and describe subjects, and read, transcribed and translated Japanese titles and inscriptions on the approximately 1,500 prints in this preliminary list. Morse continued to add references and citations, eventually compiling a bibliography of 4,000 publications, mostly in Western languages. He also began assembling an archive of photographs of Hokusai prints.

In 1984 the compilation of a proper illustrated catalogue raisonné of Hokusai's single-sheet colour woodblock prints became the flagship project of the newly established Center for the Study of Japanese Woodblock Prints, Woodacre, CA. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Japan Foundation, the Mary Burke Foundation, the Gulbenkian Foundation and many private donations, Keyes and Morse visited public and private print collections in North America, Europe and Japan, photographing some 15,000 Hokusai prints.

Morse died in 1993, bequeathing to Keyes all the research materials in his possession including his digital database, photographs, bibliography and notes. Keyes assumed responsibility for organising the materials and writing entries for each of Hokusai's approximately 3,000 prints and several hundred related works. These extensively illustrated entries were divided into groups and housed in 91 binders, as listed below.

Keyes completed the illustrated typescript for the catalogue in 2004 and sent it to the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, for possible publication. In 2015 the 91 volumes were permanently donated to the Japanese Section, Department of Asia, British Museum, London.

Physical catalogue

The hard copy of the catalogue is contained in 91 US standard three-ring binders. It comprises text information and photographs (as available) for some 3,700 records of single-sheet colour woodblock prints by Hokusai, facsimile reproductions and related works, compiled by Peter Morse (working late 1960s–92) and Roger Keyes (working 1984–2007).

Each uniquely numbered record contains data that is presented in fields, following the sequence of the template given above. This data is printed on 11" × 8½" paper sheets displayed in plastic sheet protectors. Photographs of individual prints are mounted on paper sheets, inserted in plastic sheet protectors and displayed facing the text. Each photo sheet is numbered at lower left with the matching text record number. Photos of states and printing variants are numbered and arranged in sequence. Each text record also preserves photocopied printouts of identically numbered Peter Morse database records and, occasionally, other information.

The binders are each numbered and arranged in the following order, grouping similar materials together:

- 1–6: Early Hokusai prints signed Shunrō
- 7–32: Hokusai: commercial publications
- 33–67: Hokusai: private publications (*surimono*)
- 68: Hokusai: print descriptions without photographs
- 69–71: Hokusai-style prints, mostly posthumous and mostly by unidentified artists; unsigned prints with false Hokusai signatures
- 72: Hokusai signature changes and visual cross-references
- 73–6: *Surimono* by Hokusai pupil Hishikawa Sōri (Sōri III)
- 77–80: Unsigned Hokusai-style *surimono* (not by Hokusai)
- 81–2: Prints by Hokusai pupils: Shunrō II, Hokusai II, Itsu II, Hokusai III, Taito II, Toyomaru, Manri
- 83–90: Binders labelled 'Choices for illustration' containing photocopied printouts of the uncorrected database (c. 2004)
- 91: Catalogue raisonné sample entries, with photos for publication proposal

Reference number

Each print was originally assigned a reference number using different systems, that is, basically arbitrarily. These numbers (for example, 684, 2135, 52003) have been preserved in the original catalogue database, but for the current system they have been digitally converted to five-digit numbers (for example 00684, 02135, 52003). On the ARC website (Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto), reference numbers are preceded by Keyes's and Morse's initials (for example, KAM0684, KAM02135, KAM52003).

Reference numbers will be the primary locator for any digital corrections, insertions, additions and changes.

New numbers

New numbers will need to be given to newly discovered or newly added prints. Matsuba Ryōko has proposed that newly added numbers could have an 'N' (for 'new') inserted before the new number and has used this system in the ARC database, for example, KAMN05004.

Double numbering

When one number has been mistakenly assigned to two different prints, it is suggested that the original number is retained, for example, oo684, and that the other is designated as 'a' or 'A', for example, oo684a (or oo684A).⁵

Series introduction sheets and related texts are often given the same number as the first subject in the series, in order to keep all relevant information together.

Dates

Many Hokusai prints are clearly dated and this is very helpful in establishing the chronology of his work, but people in premodern Japan used Asian methods of dating that require explanation. Calendars are the main difference between Asian and Western dating.

During Hokusai's lifetime, Japan, Korea and China used a lunar calendar with 12 'long' and 'short' months, designated 'large' (*dai* 大) and 'small' (*shō* 小), in a different order each year. Hokusai designed many prints called 'picture calendars' (*e-goyomi* 絵暦), with cleverly concealed numbers designating the sequence of months in a particular year. The Asian year begins on the first day of the first month, falling sometime between late January and mid-February of the corresponding Western solar-based year. The 12 months are grouped into four three-month seasons – spring, summer, autumn, winter – that are themselves divided into early, mid- and late. Hokusai's prints often contain picture elements referring to the months and seasons. Each year is given the name of one of the 12 calendar (zodiac) animals, which follow a strict sequence; for example, an ox year always follows a rat year and precedes a tiger year, and so on. The animals Hokusai drew in his pictures frequently depicted the calendar animal for that year. The calendar animals were commonly paired with another strict sequence of 10 characters based on the Five Elements. These pairings created a longer cycle of 60. Days were numbered in this way: for example, Hokusai was born on a wood-rat (*kinoe ne* 甲子) day in a metal-dragon (*kanoeatsu* 庚辰) year.

At the end of a 60-year cycle, an individual returned to the pairing of their birth year. This momentous event was called 'calendar return' (*kanreki* 還暦), and Hokusai celebrated it in 1820 by changing his signature to 'Iitsu 為一', ('At One' or 'One Again'). Additionally, the Japanese calendar was divided into government-designated 'year periods' or 'eras' (*nengō* 年号). Hokusai, for example, was born on the 23rd day of the ninth month of the tenth year of the Hōreki 宝暦 era. Here I follow the customary practice of Japanese scholars in designating Hōreki 10 as 1760, the closest corresponding year in the Western calendar. Since so much of Hokusai's imagery is based on months and seasons, it is vital to preserve these date elements, so for clarity I have combined the Japanese and Western conventions, writing that Hokusai was born on 23.9/1760.

The dates 1/1760 and early spring/1760 both refer to the first lunar month of the tenth year of the Hōreki era. (Generally, the word 'spring' [*haru* 春] in a date invariably designates the first month of the year.) Charts and tables are available online and elsewhere to convert composite dates like these to entirely Western dates.

The premodern Asian calendar fell around five days short of 365 days each year, so every few years an extra month was added. This was called an 'intercalary' (*uruu* 閏) month, and was counted as falling in the same season as the preceding month. This does not have much bearing on Hokusai's prints since he rarely, if ever, designed prints for intercalary months, but it is designated as INT in the catalogue, for example, INT 3/1760 (which directly follows 3/1760 and is still part of spring).

Print type: Commercial publication or private publication (*surimono*)

Commercial prints are organised and presented by date, signature and series. *Surimono* series are organised by date and signature. Series may have stamped titles that are omitted on some impressions. A date may appear on only one print in a set. Untitled individual prints of similar signature and date are organised by subject in this order: single women, single men, pairs and couples, multiple figures, landscape, animals, still life. Close-up figures precede half-length and full-length figures.

Publisher

Publisher (only for commercial publications): full name, abbreviated name/symbol, 'unidentified', or 'unknown'.

Producer

The original purpose of the 'producer' field was to distinguish commercial prints from private publications, that is, *surimono*. This distinction will become unnecessary when a 'print type' field can be added – if possible, going forward – but the original catalogue sheets cannot be changed, so the original template needs to be preserved without alteration.

Signature

Hokusai used six principal signatures on his prints and they are another aid to dating.

Shunrō 春朗 ('Spring Brightness'), 7/1779–94	
Katsukawa Shunrō 勝川春朗	1779–92
Kusamura Shunrō 叢春朗	1793–5
Sōri 宗理 ('Reasoned Practice'), 1/1795–3/1798	
Tawaraya Sōri 俵屋宗理	1795
Hokusai Sōri 北斎宗理	1796–8
Hokusai 北斎 ('North Studio'), 3/1798–1/1813	
Hokusai Tatsumasa/Tokimasa 北斎辰政	1798
Sōri aratame Hokusai 宗理改北斎	1799
Saki no Sōri Hokusai 前[ノ]宗理北斎	1800
Gakyōjin Hokusai 画狂人北斎	1801–4
Gakyō rōjin Hokusai 画狂老人北斎	1804
Kukushin Hokusai 九々齋北斎	1805
Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎	1806–9
Kakō (Sorobeku) 可候 ('Yours Truly')	c. 1801–2
Taito 戴斗 ('Star-Blessed'), 1811, winter 1813–19	
Hokusai Taito 北斎戴斗	1811
Hokusai aratame Taito 北斎改戴斗	1813
Taito 戴斗	1813–19
Iitsu 為一 ('At One', 'One Again'), 1820–1/1834	
Hokusai aratame Iitsu 北斎改為一	1820,
	1823, 1831

Getchi rōjin Iitsu 月痴老人為一	1821
Fusenkyo Iitsu 不染居為一	1822
Hokusai Iitsu 北斎為一	1823–34
Saki no Hokusai Iitsu 前[ノ]北斎為一	1831–5
Manji 卍 (‘All’, ‘Everything’), 1824–33 (on verse), 3/1834–49	
Manji gasan 卍画讚 c. 1825 (<i>surimono</i>)	
Hokusai aratame Manji 北斎改卍	3/1834
Saki no Hokusai Manji 前[ノ]北斎卍	1835–6
Hokusai Manji 北斎卍	1835–c. 1839
Manjiō 卍翁	c. late 1830s

Censorship

The shogunate required many of Hokusai's drawings for commercially published colour woodblock prints to be submitted for censorship. From the 1790s, a small round seal with the character *kiwame* 極 ('examined') was stamped on the drawing when the subject was approved for publication, and this was then carved on the key-block as a sign of compliance. Early in the 19th century a rota of publishers assumed the responsibilities of censorship and in the early 1810s their names in seal script appear on Hokusai prints. The *kiwame* seal seems to have been revived in the early 1830s and appears on many of Hokusai's later landscape prints. *Surimono*, as private publications, were exempt from censorship.

States/variants

This section describes and illustrates, as far as is possible, the publishing history of each one of Hokusai's approximately 3,000 colour woodblock prints by comparing multiple impressions of the same print through original examples and photographs. ‘State’, a translation of the French *état*, indicates a physical change on the wooden blocks used to produce the prints, most often noticeable on the key (or outline) block. The majority of these changes are either deliberate alterations, or wear and damage to the blocks in the course of printing. They are cumulative, and so they can be arranged into a chronological sequence (see also Korenberg essay, pp. 192–211).

One problem with well-known prints like ‘The Great Wave’ is that broken lines are often brushed, drawn or painted-in at a later date to make an impression look earlier than it really is.

‘Variant’ indicates significant differences in colour printing (Pis 16.2–16.3). These occur when new editions are produced by different printers, because each printer has personal printing mannerisms. Variants are often associated with particular states, notably on popular designs like Hokusai's landscape prints of the 1830s, so they too can be arranged in chronological sequence.

Notes

This field includes pertinent information that does not otherwise fit into the template, including, for example, names of poets and other sponsors, transcriptions and translations, where possible, of text; commentary and interpretation, as appropriate.

Locations

Abbreviations are often used for institutions: ‘private’ means ‘private collector’ whose name is either unknown or

undisclosed; ‘ex-...’ means ‘formerly in the collection of...’. Many ‘ex’ citations are taken from auction catalogues and other published records. In the ‘literature’ section of his database records, Peter Morse consistently recorded the sale and auction house name for historic collections, so this information can perhaps be added to the location listings. ‘Collection’ signifies private collector. Dealers and auction houses do not have ‘collection’ after their names. Roger Keyes agreed with some private collectors, who gave permission to use photos of their prints for research purposes, that their names would not be released, publicised or published. These are listed as ‘private’ (for ‘private collection’) in the catalogue records.

‘?’ means uncertainty about the full name of a collector or the proper name and location of an institution. Much of this ambiguity is the result of the abbreviated location and institution names like ‘Utah’ or ‘Trieste’ that Morse stamped on photographs. I have consulted Morse's digitised lists of institutions, curators and collectors, but they seem to be incomplete.⁶ Full lists of collection locations and location abbreviations in records of Hokusai prints, 1813–48, are given in Appendix 2, pp. 272–6.

Checklist of binders for the Hokusai catalogue raisonné MSS

- Shunrō 1 Actors 1779–89
- Shunrō 2 Actors 1790–1
- Shunrō 3 Actors 1791–4
- Shunrō 4 Large formats 1786–91
- Shunrō 5 Small formats 1787–90
- Shunrō 6 Small formats 1790–1
- Hokusai 1 Three Evenings, Six Poets
- Hokusai 2 Miscellaneous formats and unsigned
- Hokusai 3 Chūshingura 1 (Kakō)
- Hokusai 4 Chūshingura 2
- Hokusai 5 Toba-e 1 1811–15
- Hokusai 6 Toba-e 2 1810–11
- Hokusai 7 Edo views 1800–5
- Hokusai 8 Edo views 1806–11
- Hokusai 9 Six Tama Rivers, Eight Views of Ōmi
- Hokusai 10 Tōkaidō 1803
- Hokusai 11 Tōkaidō 1805
- Hokusai 12 Tōkaidō 1806
- Hokusai 13 Tōkaidō 1806–7
- Hokusai 14 Tōkaidō 1810
- Hokusai 15 Tōkaidō 1811
- Taito 1811–19
- Iitsu 1 1820–34
- Iitsu 2 Aizuri 1831
- Iitsu 3 36 Views of Mt Fuji 1
- Iitsu 4 36 Views of Mt Fuji 2
- Iitsu 5 36 Views of Mt Fuji 3
- Iitsu 6 36 Views of Mt Fuji 4
- Iitsu 7 Landscapes 1832–4
- Iitsu 8 Landscapes 1832–4
- Iitsu 9 Landscapes, other subjects 1832–4
- Manji 1835–49
- Long *surimono* 1 1790–8
- Long *surimono* 2 1798–1800
- Long *surimono* 3 1799–1805



Plate 16.2 Hokusai, 'Clear Day with a Southern Breeze' (*Gaifū kaisei*, 'Pink Fuji'), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), c. 1831. Colour woodblock, height 25.5cm, width 37.9cm. Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris, AA380, bequeathed by Mme Charles Jacquin 1938. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (MNAAG, Paris) / Thierry Ollivier



Plate 16.3 Hokusai, 'Clear Day with a Southern Breeze' (*Gaifū kaisei*, 'Red Fuji'), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), c. 1831. Colour woodblock, height 26.1cm, width 38.2cm. British Museum, London, 1906,1220,0.525 (ex-collection Arthur Morrison)

- Long *surimono* 4 Gakyōjin 1800–6
- Long *surimono* 5 Gakyōjin 1800–6
- Long *surimono* 6 1806–20
- *Surimono*. Shunrō, Sōri 1 Single figure
- *Surimono*. Sōri 2 Two figures
- *Surimono*. Sōri 3 Multiple figures
- *Surimono*. Sōri 4 Nature and still life
- *Surimono*. Sōri 5 Albums
- *Surimono*. Sōri *aratame* Hokusai 1
- *Surimono*. Sōri *aratame* Hokusai 2
- *Surimono*. Saki no Sōri Hokusai
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 1 One and two figures
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 2 Three figures
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 3 Sets A–N
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 4 Sets N–Z

- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 5 1804 Tōkaidō 1
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 6 1804 Tōkaidō 2
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 7 Untitled sets
- *Surimono*. Gakyōjin Hokusai 8 Albums
- *Surimono*. Kukushin 1
- *Surimono*. Kukushin 2
- *Surimono*. Hokusai 1 One and two figures
- *Surimono*. Hokusai 2 Multiple figures, nature, still life
- *Surimono*. Hokusai 3 Sets
- *Surimono*. Katsushika Hokusai
- *Surimono*. Unsigned 1 1796–1813
- *Surimono*. Unsigned 2 1796–1813
- *Surimono*. Taito 1814–19
- *Surimono*. Iitsu 1 1820–2
- *Surimono*. Iitsu 2 Genroku Poem Shells 1821

- *Surimono*, Iitsu 3 Horses 1822
- *Surimono*, Iitsu 4 1823–5, Manji
- Hokusai. Print descriptions without photographs
- Hokusai. False signature
- Hokusai. Posthumous fabrications 1
- Hokusai. Posthumous fabrications 2
- Hokusai. Signature changes and visual cross-references
- Sōri III. *Surimono* 1 One and two figures
- Sōri III. *Surimono* 2 Two and three figures
- Sōri III. *Surimono* 3 Nature, still life, long surimono
- Sōri III. *Surimono* 4 Sets
- Unsigned *surimono* 1 1782–99 (Not Hokusai)
- Unsigned *surimono* 2 1800–12 (Not Hokusai)
- Unsigned *surimono* 3 Undated (Not Hokusai)
- Unsigned *surimono* 4 Undated (Not Hokusai)
- Shunrō II, Hokusai II, Hokusai III, Iitsu II, Toyomaru, Manri
- Taito II
- Choices for illustration: binders 1–10
- Choices for illustration: binders 11–20
- Choices for illustration: binders 21–32
- Choices for illustration: binders 33–43
- Choices for illustration: binders 44–54
- Choices for illustration: binders 55–67
- Choices for illustration: binders 68–81
- Choices for illustration: binder 82

Bibliography

Compiled by Peter Morse with approximately 4,000 entries before 1993, presently in digital form only.

Series titles

Alphabetical lists of titles of series of commercially published Hokusai prints and privately published Hokusai prints (*surimono*). (Matthi Forrer compiled and published a book in 1974 listing Hokusai print series and their contents, mostly commercial publications.⁷)

Poetry groups

1. Alphabetical list of poetry groups that published *surimono*.
2. Indexes of *kyōka* and *haikai* poets whose verses appear on Hokusai prints. (This may not be practical. Users can always search by name for individual poets.)

Acknowledgements (Peter Morse)

Peter Morse compiled digital lists of acknowledgements, institutions, curators, collectors and dealers, presently in digital form only.

Acknowledgements (Roger Keyes)

I cannot praise too highly nor underestimate the immense contributions to this catalogue made by Peter Morse, my co-author, colleague and friend from the mid-1960s until his death in 1993. I thank the countless curators, collectors, dealers, scholars and other specialists in Europe, North America and Japan who contributed in so many ways to making their collections, erudition, wisdom and scholarship freely available. I also owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my encouraging California friend Ernest Kay for his practical advice, expertise and unfailing help during our

weekly meetings between Morse's death in early 1993 and my departure from California to Rhode Island in 1996. In Rhode Island I was most grateful to my precious wife Elizabeth Coombs who always seemed undaunted during the months and years it took me to finish the catalogue. Thanks also to my cheerful Rhode Island friend Professor Yasuhara Akio, a passionate Hokusai scholar himself, for his unfailing perseverance and encouragement.

Thanks to Ann Yonemura, Curator at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, for considering the catalogue for publication and housing the 91-volume typescript with its approximately 5,000 photographs for eight years from 2004. Thanks to the Sumida Arts Foundation, Sumida City, for accepting the gift of approximately 10,000 colour slides and approximately 10,000 black-and-white photographs of Hokusai prints, and Keyes's archive of additional Hokusai research materials and extensive handwritten notes. And lastly, unbounded thanks to Timothy Clark, Head of the Japanese Section, Department of Asia at the British Museum, London. Tim believed in this project from the start, and arranged the transfer in 2012 of the catalogue manuscript from Washington to London as a gift from Roger Keyes. The precious collaboration from the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, has enabled a digital copy of the entire catalogue raisonné to be made and organised in an online database at ARC. This is thanks to the concerted efforts of Professor Akama Ryō, Matsuba Ryōko and a tireless team of volunteers.

Notes

- 1 Keyes 2017.
- 2 <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/booksrske/search.php>.
- 3 Keyes 2020.
- 4 Narazaki 1972.
- 5 'A' numbers on a few Peter Morse records in the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* series should be disregarded. Morse used 'a' numbers, e.g. 684a, on the second sheets of records that exceeded the length of his standard file.
- 6 Author note: 'Perhaps there is more information on Morse's old floppy disks, if they can be opened and read?'
- 7 Forrer 1974.

Opposite page: Headnote and poem reproduced courtesy of Elizabeth Coombs and York Zen, <https://www.yorkzen.com/blog/hokusai-says> (accessed 2 January 2023)

Photo: Roger Keyes in Venice, 4 May 1990. Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Coombs

'Hokusai says', by Roger S. Keyes

Roger Start Keyes wrote his poem 'Hokusai says' in Venice in 1990. It appeared suddenly as he was making notes for the 'Young Hokusai' paper he was to give at a symposium on Hokusai the following day. Roger describes how he was writing in one of his daily journal books when he experienced a sudden 'raising of tone' and found himself writing out a continuous text until the impetus finally died away. On reading the piece through he felt it had the rhythms of a poem, organised it into lines, and made a few minor corrections. He took the title 'Hokusai says' from the first line that had appeared.

Hokusai says look carefully.

He says pay attention, notice.

He says keep looking, stay curious.

He says there is no end to seeing.

He says look forward to getting old.

He says keep changing,
you just get more who you really are.
He says get stuck, accept it, repeat
yourself as long as it's interesting.

He says keep doing what you love.

He says keep praying.

He says every one of us is a child,
every one of us is ancient,
every one of us has a body.

He says every one of us is frightened.
He says every one of us has to find
a way to live with fear.

He says everything is alive –
shells, buildings, people, fish,
mountains, trees. Wood is alive.
Water is alive.

Everything has its own life

Everything lives inside us.

He says live with the world inside you.

He says it doesn't matter if you draw,
or write books. It doesn't matter
if you saw wood, or catch fish.
It doesn't matter if you sit at home
and stare at the ants on your veranda
or the shadows of the trees
and grasses in your garden.
It matters that you care.

It matters that you feel.

It matters that you notice.

It matters that life lives
through you.

Contentment is life living through you.
Joy is life living through you.
Satisfaction and strength
is life living through you.
Peace is life living through you.

He says don't be afraid.
Don't be afraid.

Look, feel, let life take you
by the hand.

Let life live through you.



Chapter 17

Facsimile Reproductions (*Fukusei*) of Hokusai's Prints in the Meiji Era (1868–1912)

Matsuba Ryōko

In the 1830s, when Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) was in his seventies, he produced his most extraordinary colour woodblock print series. Beginning with the large-sheet *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*, he designed a succession of powerful single-sheet print series depicting landscape, figure and bird-and-flower subjects. Among these, *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* was Hokusai's most ambitious large-sheet (*ōban*), colour-print project. The series was so popular that Hokusai actually designed a total of 46 prints bearing that title between c. 1831 and 1833.

The posthumous popularity of Hokusai is apparent from the growing international market for his works in the 1880s and 1890s. Most immediately appealing to foreign audiences were the single-sheet large-format print series. In those years, certain publishers began to produce facsimile reproductions (*fukusei*) of Hokusai's books and prints primarily for the international market as well as for local customers. The term 'facsimile reproduction' here refers to a reproduction woodblock print made at a later period than the original printing from Hokusai's lifetime, using the same technology (*facsimile*) and printed from painstakingly recut blocks. (The production of such facsimile reproductions continues today.) Ironically, however, it was during this same period at the end of the 19th century that the woodblock printing technology that had dominated the publishing industry in the Edo period (1615–1868) began its steady decline.

The context in which reproductions of original prints from newly recut blocks came to be produced casts light on the impact of the international market on the publishing industry, on the different marketing strategies employed by publishers and dealers during the Meiji era (1868–1912), and on crucial aspects of the preservation of traditional woodblock printing techniques into the 20th century.

Beyond Hokusai

Ukiyo-e single-sheet prints were normally ephemeral publications; the woodblocks were not generally used for later reprints. This was particularly obvious in the case of actor prints, which were usually linked to a current kabuki performance, but even landscape prints rarely had a long life. However, among ukiyo-e prints, *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* is a rare example of a print series that remained in print for an extended period, as demonstrated by the weak, late impressions of the series often encountered.

For example, the three most famous designs – 'The Great Wave' ('Under the Wave off Kanagawa'), 'Red Fuji' ('Clear Day with a Southern Breeze') and 'Sudden Rain beneath the Summit' (known affectionately in Japan as the 'top three ranks' [*san'yaku*], like sumo wrestlers) – had possibly the longest life among all designs of the *Thirty-Six Views*. These designs required fewer colour blocks and are characterised by the most powerful and dynamic compositions in the series. Judging from the number of impressions and variant printings that survive, these designs were clearly preferred by both publishers and their audiences. Capucine Korenberg has examined the publishing chronology of impressions of the 'The Great Wave' (see Korenberg essay, pp. 192–211), inspired by Roger Keyes's innovative research based on careful comparison of different impressions.¹



Plate 17.1 Hokusai, 'Sudden Rain beneath the Summit' (*Sanka haku'u*), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), 1831–3. Colour woodblock, height 25.5cm, width 37.9cm. Hagi Uragami Museum, U2706

Korenberg establishes that the colour woodblocks were replaced at least two times, even though the original key-block continued to be used. Sometimes, after repeated printing, one or more colour blocks were lost or damaged and had to be replaced with recut blocks.²

Similarly, in a variant printing of 'Sudden Rain beneath the Summit' (*Sanka haku'u*), the key-block remains unchanged but new blocks were used to print silhouetted pine trees and add a green band along the lower edge (P1. 17.1). This version is definitely confirmed as later, due to the clear breaks appearing in the key-block lines. Publishers sometimes tried to refresh prints taken from a tired key-block by adding new colour blocks to enliven the design for potential buyers in this way.

Another example is found in a colour variant of 'Clear Day with a Southern Breeze' (*Gaijū kaisei*), popularly known as 'Red Fuji'. In a late printing, the outline of the slope of Fuji was omitted and an expanse of blue was used to define the shape of the mountain slope (we might call this 'Blue Fuji').³ It is likely that during extended printing the key-block began to show major signs of wear, as was often the case. The finely cut outlines – printed from narrow ridges of wood left in relief – began to break up. When a key-block is badly worn, impressions from it become blurred and dull. In the late version, the blue colour was used to bring out the shape of the slope in order to disguise the fact that the key-block line that originally defined the slope had become damaged and been cut away.

We can say without doubt that there was great demand for these three particular designs from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt*

Fuji during Hokusai's lifetime and long after his death. That demand continued to grow through the last years of the 19th century and into the 20th century. We know that some of the original woodblocks, as well as many original impressions, survived into the Meiji era and served to keep Hokusai's fame alive in Japan.

International demand for Hokusai's works

In the early 1880s, according to the records of the Association of Print Publishers,⁴ Tokyo publishers started to sell woodblock prints to foreign customers. Publishers and dealers collected Edo-period woodblock prints in Tokyo and sold them directly to foreign traders in the treaty port of Yokohama, where the reputation of traditional artworks was growing rapidly among foreigners residing there.

Ellis Tinios has introduced *Ehon Tōshisen gogon zekku* (*Illustrated Tang Poetry in Five-Character Quatrains*), 'a neglected book by Hokusai', in a recent article.⁵ The publisher Sūzanbō kept Hokusai's block-ready drawings for this book – which were probably created in the mid-1830s – for over 40 years, before finally publishing it in 1880. Tinios also introduces Sūzanbō's catalogue of 1891, in which the publisher wrote the following about *Ehon Tōshisen*:

Thus far already several thousand copies have been ordered and exported for sale abroad. Of course, anyone who wants ... to export abroad to make a great profit, please purchase a copy of this book and you will know how extraordinary it is.

However, Tinios points out that this is almost certainly an exaggeration since very few copies of the book have been



Plate 17.2 Artist unknown, 'Dawn at Isawa in Kai Province' (*Kōshū Isawa no akatsuki*), from the series *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji* (*Sakino Hokusai Fuji shōkei*), 1889. Colour woodblock, height 25.3cm, width 37.2cm. Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, 069-C016-004

found in foreign collections.⁶ Nevertheless, there was an active market for Hokusai's works in the mid- to late Meiji era in Japan as well as abroad, especially in the 1880s and the 1890s. The main reason why fresh Hokusai books were still appearing in the 1880s was surely to meet the demand of an international as well as a domestic market.

Yoshizawa Shōten was a publisher in Tokyo and also a merchant who exported Japanese paintings and printed materials. In 1889 he distributed a flyer with the title 'An advertisement that will yield you a profit when you read it (*Yomu to kane no mōkaru kōkoku*)'.⁷ With regard to Hokusai, the advertisement stated:

We will buy all Katsushika Hokusai's pictorial materials, such as hanging scrolls, handscrolls, albums, screens, framed pictures, unmounted paintings and other sketches and prints – offering a high price for them. These materials command very good prices at the moment as there is a high level of interest in them among foreigners, so do not miss this opportunity. Once the foreign market has a sufficient supply, prices will decline to the extent that they will be as cheap as their original price, of very little value at all.

The advertisement suggests that Hokusai works were popular abroad, where they commanded high prices, but also implies that they used to be available at cheap and affordable prices for domestic collectors. In the 1880s, as the demands of the international market rose, dealers needed to harvest material from those domestic collectors who still possessed many of Hokusai's works.

Facsimile reproductions in the 1890s

Modern literature scholar Maeda Ai (1931–1987) has pointed out that the woodblock print technology that had dominated commercial publishing in the Edo period suffered a drastic decline in the early 1880s, caused mainly by the development in Japan of Western-style newspapers produced using the imported Western technologies of movable type and printing presses.⁸ While Japanese traditional artefacts flowed abroad throughout the 1880s, domestically, commercial publishing using woodblock printing was no longer a viable technology for meeting the demands of a mass audience.

According to the memoir of Takeda Yasujirō, his uncle was Yoshida Kinbei, an ukiyo-e dealer, who started producing facsimile reproductions of Edo ukiyo-e in the late 1880s.⁹ One example mentioned in the memoir is of Kinbei asking the artist Kobayashi Eikō (1868–1933)¹⁰ to create new block-ready drawings by tracing Kitagawa Utamaro's (c. 1753–1806) famous print series *Silkworm Cultivation* (*Kaiko yashinai gusa*; originally published c. 1802) in order to produce facsimile reproductions for sale to a foreign dealer.¹¹ Using the same technique – *shikiutsushi* (tracing from the original design) – Kinbei reproduced prints designed by Okumura Masanobu (1686–1764), Suzuki Harunobu (c. 1725–1770), Isoda Koryūsai (1735–1790), Chōbunsai Eishi (1756–1829) and Hokusai.¹²

In 1889 Ōkura Magobei (1843–1921) published a series entitled *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji* (*Sakino Hokusai Fuji shōkei*). This series reproduced 12 designs from

Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, but without the original title cartouches. Both the series title and the names of the individual scenes were changed (Pl. 17.2). Ōkura started his business, Ōkura Shoten, in 1875 with the aim of producing traditional ukiyo-e woodblock prints. Later, he focused on publishing richly illustrated books such as *Kyōsai gadan* (1887), *Seitei kachō gafu* (1890) and *Bairei kiku hyakushū* (1892).¹³ In 1889, when he produced his Hokusai facsimile reproduction prints, he also started up a shop selling Western papers, Ōkura Magobei Yōshi Ten. As he was expanding his business internationally,¹⁴ Okura decided to create series of facsimile reproductions for the foreign market, in addition to the illustrated books.

During the Edo period, the Publishers' Guild (*jihon dojya*) certified all popular printed materials such as ukiyo-e and illustrated books, in order to prevent plagiarism. This kind of arrangement had been in place since 1722. Following the Meiji restoration of 1868, however, the government enacted a series of fresh measures to control publishing, and from 1875 print production came to be regulated by the Home Ministry, taking the initiative away from the Guild. Under the new Meiji regulations, artists and publishers now had to be named on all prints. Ukiyo-e scholar Iwakiri Shin'ichirō¹⁵ has demonstrated that implementation of the new measures actually took place in 1876. It is from that date that ukiyo-e prints first included publication and printing dates, and the names and addresses of artists and publishers. Thus, in *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji*, Ōkura both named himself and recorded the publication dates within the frame of the prints. This information reveals that he was granted the right by the government to reproduce Hokusai's designs in 1889.

Three years later, in 1892, ownership of Ōkura's woodblocks passed to Sekiguchi Masajirō (dates unknown; active 1890s).¹⁶ Sekiguchi removed Ōkura's title *Sakino Hokusai Fuji shōkei* from the printing blocks and added within the frame 'owner of the copyright' (*hanken shoyū*), followed by his name, address and the publication date. The term 'hanken' was used for the first time in a government publishing ordinance in 1875, as a translation of 'copyright' into Japanese. A publisher could hold the *hanken* for 30 years. However, *hanken* was not always necessary for publication, as publishers could choose whether to apply for full *hanken* or simply seek permission to publish. Ōkura had not applied for *hanken*, but his successor, Sekiguchi, subsequently did, in order to hold the publication rights for an extended period. This suggests that *Sakino Hokusai Fuji shōkei* became a popular series in the domestic market, and the new publisher Sekiguchi, after he took over the blocks from Ōkura, applied for the longer publication rights that came with *hanken* in order to secure his profits for the longer term.

Furthermore, another publisher, Ozeki Toyo (worked 1880s–90s), produced a *sugoroku* gameboard print (Pl. 17.3) in 1895, in which he assembled miniature reprints of all 12 designs from Ōkura's *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji*. *Sugoroku*, a board game a bit like snakes and ladders, was one of the popular print formats enjoyed by children, which indicates that this board was made for the Japanese market rather than an international one. In the Museum of East Asian Art, Berlin, however, two of these prints appear



Plate 17.3 Artist unknown, *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji* (*Sakino Hokusai Fuji shōkei*), 1895. Colour woodblock, height 71cm, width 69cm. Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, 069-S001

as single-sheet miniature landscape prints, perhaps cut out from the *sugoroku* board. It is possible, therefore, that the publisher (or a dealer) might have offered the designs individually as single-sheet prints, intended for sale internationally. Around the same time – that is, the 1880s and 1890s – the publisher Ozeki produced many miniature children's illustrated books and 'toy pictures' (*omocha-e*). After the decline of traditional woodblock printing in the 1880s, there was still a market for such works aimed at children, which continued to draw upon traditional Edo-period imagery. To create the *sugoroku*, Ozeki did not choose Hokusai's original designs, but instead used the later facsimile reproductions. This might suggest that by 1895, six years after Ōkura had first published the *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji*, it was widely known domestically.

To sum up this whole process: *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji*, produced by Ōkura, were facsimile reproductions of Hokusai's original print series, primarily intended for the foreign market. When he made the facsimiles, the original printing blocks from Hokusai's period may already have been damaged – or may have been lost or destroyed – and there were probably not many copies of early original impressions left on the market. At that time, the copyright or reproduction rights to Hokusai's designs were not held by the artist or his descendants, nor by the original publishers. There was no impediment to the publication of *fukusei* prints, certainly from the 1880s onwards. Ōkura chose these designs primarily for the international market, presenting them as fresh, new Hokusai landscape prints, and this proved a popular move. Then,



Plate 17.4 After Hokusai, 'Snowy morning, Koishikawa' (*Koishikawa yuki no gantan*), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), 1890s. Colour woodblock, height 25.1cm, width 35.8cm. Yale University Art Gallery, MO2006.27

when Sekiguchi bought the blocks from Ōkura, he was obliged to mention his ownership of the copyright so that it would not appear that he was pirating Ōkura's prints. And, as described above, two years later, Ozeki Toyo reproduced the designs in a different format for children, intended to be sold domestically.

We also need to keep in mind that while Japanese traditional artefacts flowed abroad throughout the 1880s, domestically, commercial publishing using woodblock printing was no longer a viable technology for meeting the demands of a mass audience. The printing quality of the Ōkura series is not as good as that of the first printings of Hokusai's designs. The disruption to the traditional publishing industry in Meiji led to the production of 'copied' Edo prints and books for the new foreign market, which nevertheless came to be accepted as part of the corpus of Hokusai's landscape series.

Kobayashi Bunshichi's series of facsimile reproductions

Kobayashi Bunshichi (1862–1923) was an ukiyo-e dealer and collector in Asakusa, Tokyo. In 1893 he published the first biography of Hokusai, which was written by Iijima Kyoshin (1841–1901). He also organised the first Hokusai exhibition in Tokyo in 1900 jointly with Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908). Kobayashi owned around 400 Hokusai paintings and had impressions of every Hokusai print in his collection, but tragically all of them were lost in the Great Kantō

earthquake of 1 September 1923, shortly after his death in March of that same year.

In November 1892 Kobayashi organised his first ukiyo-e exhibition in Ueno, Tokyo. Ukiyo-e dealer Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906), who had a business in Paris, temporarily returned to Tokyo in May of that year and supported Kobayashi's exhibition. Hayashi wrote a preface¹⁷ for the exhibition catalogue and lent six paintings from his own collection.¹⁸ While he was developing his business, Kobayashi came to appreciate Edo-period material, especially the paintings. According to Hayashi's preface, the aim of Kobayashi's exhibition was to demonstrate the artistic quality of Edo art and expand his network of domestic collectors.

Kobayashi started to produce facsimile reproduction prints from the 1890s that included the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (Pl. 17.4). He used a printed seal in the form of an ivy leaf and a flying plover¹⁹ – which referenced the trade name of Kobayashi's printing house – on his facsimile reproduction prints as well as prints that were newly made by artists such as Uehara Konen (1878–1940) in the 1910s and 1920s. The same ivy seal, this time hand-stamped, was used by Bunshichi in his letters in the early 1900s.

The Putnam Museum, Davenport, Iowa, USA, preserves a Kobayashi copy (facsimile reproduction) of Hokusai's 'Tōkaidō Hodogaya' from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*. This print was formerly owned by the US banker and print connoisseur Charles August Ficke (1850–1931). Ficke

purchased the print in the 1890s when he travelled to Japan, and later donated it to the museum as part of his collection. From this evidence, it appears that Kobayashi produced his facsimile reproduction series in the 1890s.

Roger Keyes²⁰ identified at least five Kobayashi facsimile reproductions of designs from the *Thirty-Six Views Mt Fuji*: 'Snowy Morning, Koishikawa'; 'The Great Wave'; 'Tōkaidō Hodogaya'; 'Sudden Rain beneath the Summit'; and 'Clear Day with a Southern Breeze' ('Red Fuji'). Unlike Ōkura Magobei's *Former Hokusai's Famous Views of Mt Fuji* from which the publisher had removed the original title cartouches, Kobayashi faithfully reproduced every aspect of Hokusai's original prints, even retaining the publisher Nishimuraya's seal, with which the series had first been published c. 1831. The printing quality is extremely high.

Watanabe Shōzaburō (1885–1962), a dealer and publisher who was a key player in developing the Shin Hanga movement in the early 20th century and who had been trained by Kobayashi early in his career, later reminisced about Kobayashi's facsimile reproductions: 'When the international market was growing, someone in Asakusa produced facsimile reproductions and mixed these prints among genuine prints and sold them to a foreign customer – thereafter he ceased doing business with this foreign customer.'²¹ Watanabe's reference to 'someone in Asakusa' makes it clear he was talking about Kobayashi, who lived in that district. The writer Uchida Roan (1868–1929) further commented:

When Kobayashi exported facsimile reproduction prints to the United States, he was suspected of attempting to sell fakes to customers there, but the quality of Kobayashi's facsimile reproduction prints is very high and they still retain a good market value today. It must be acknowledged that his production of facsimile reproductions contributed to the rise of the reputation of Japanese woodblock prints.²²

In addition, Takeda Yasujirō noted that foreign ukiyo-e collectors such as Ernest Fenollosa and William Sturgis Bigelow (1850–1926) knew that these prints were facsimile reproductions, but they still purchased them anyway, to use as research materials.²³ In fact, there are a few of Kobayashi's facsimile reproduction prints in the Bigelow collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.²⁴ Kobayashi succeeded in his purpose of creating facsimile reproductions that would help to preserve fine old print designs and make them more widely known. Another Hokusai landscape series entitled *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces (Shokoku takimeguri)* was first published around 1832, at almost the same time as *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* and by the same publisher, Nishimuraya. Roger Keyes and Peter Morse made close comparisons between the original prints and facsimile reproductions and identified specific features of the Meiji-era facsimiles.²⁵ Nagata Seiji noted that this set of facsimile reproductions was produced by the publisher Matsui Eikichi (active 1880s–90s), around 1892. Nagata published an advertisement by Matsui, 'Artistic Lacquer Style Printing' (*Bijyutsu [sic] makie-zuri*), dated 1897. It sets out Matsui's approach to producing facsimile reproduction prints:

Nishiki-e (colour woodblock prints) have been a famous product of Tokyo since the Edo period. Artists, woodblock cutters and printers have been perfecting their skills and they become

better and better every year. Although production declined around the time of the Meiji restoration, since stability has been restored the details and accuracy of the print producers have come to be appreciated more and more. Imported pigments enable them to print vivid and sensitive colours. *Nishiki-e* prints are no longer only a famous product of Tokyo; they are now representative of Japan and exported widely to world markets.²⁶

From this advertisement we can see that Matsui's facsimile reproductions were not created as 'fakes' to be passed off on unsuspecting foreign customers: the publisher's ambition was to revive traditional Edo-period woodblock printing techniques and make fine Japanese prints available all over the world. The printing quality of the facsimile reproductions of *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces* was remarkably high (although the details are certainly different): woodblock printing in the middle and later years of the Meiji era could still maintain high standards when producing woodblock prints for foreign customers. It was in this context that a publisher like Matsui began to create high-quality facsimile reproductions. Thus, we see that Meiji publishers and dealers adopted different strategies to meet the demand of the international market for Japanese prints, a demand that increased rapidly in the 1880s and 1890s. Kobayashi's aim was apparently to create something similar to Matsui Eikichi's facsimile reproductions. In both of these series of facsimile reproductions the Meiji-era publishers tried to reproduce early printings of Hokusai's designs that included the Nishimuraya seal. Kobayashi reproduced not only prints by Hokusai, but also masterpieces by other Edo ukiyo-e artists, producing these prints primarily for the Western market, and his choices demonstrate his appreciation of old prints.

In the 1900s Kobayashi started to produce woodblock-printed reproductions of paintings and drawings (see also Carpenter essay, pp. 148–79). These too may be regarded as a kind of facsimile reproduction print. In 1904 he reproduced a portrait of Hokusai in old age, possibly based on an actual drawing owned by Siegfried Bing (1838–1905).²⁷ Kobayashi travelled to Europe in 1900 and probably saw the drawing there, reproducing it on his return to Japan. This example demonstrates his use of the woodblock-print reproductive technology to record and preserve important artworks. He also helped to promote foreign print artists. For example, the American artists Helen Hyde (1868–1919) and Charles Hovey Pepper (1864–1950) were introduced to Japanese traditional woodblock printing techniques by Kobayashi and Fenollosa. By so doing, they provided employment for highly skilled blockcutters and printers, while at the same time promoting these Japanese traditional crafts outside of Japan.

Kobayashi was primarily a dealer who made his profits from selling prints, but he also worked hard to promote Japanese popular prints as 'high art'. His facsimile reproduction of 'The Great Wave' (Pls 17.5a–b) was traced faithfully from a very early impression of the masterpiece, and even reproduced the pinkish sky that is only seen in early impressions of that design. He was in his lifetime the greatest Hokusai collector of the period: unfortunately, his collection was subsequently lost in the earthquake and fire of 1923, as mentioned above. Since his facsimile reproductions

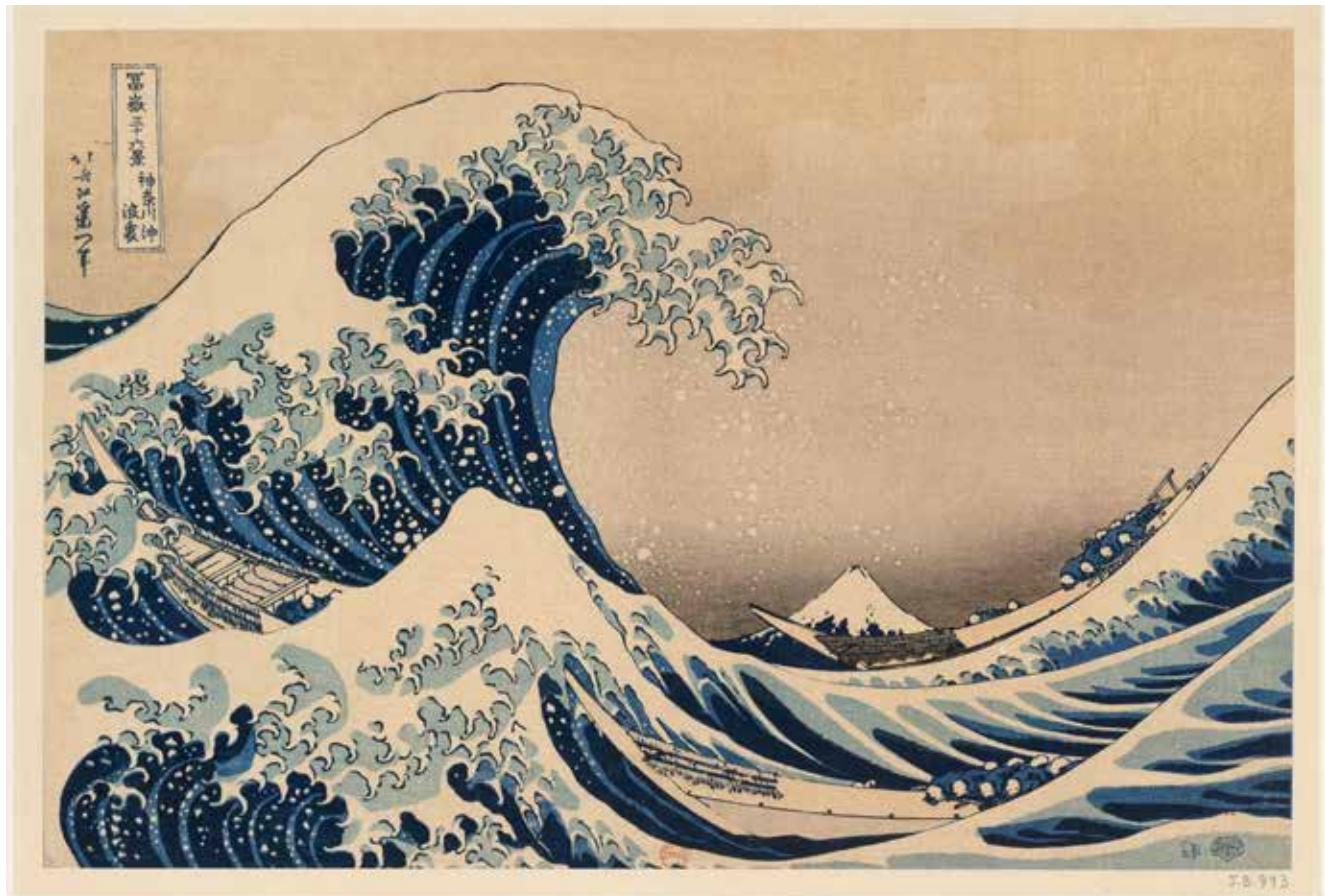


Plate 17.5a After Hokusai, 'Under the Wave off Kanagawa' (*Kanagawa oki namiura*, 'The Great Wave'), from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*), 1890s. Colour woodblock, height 25cm, width 38cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, JB 793



Plate 17.5b Plover and ivy-leaf seals that appear on facsimile reproduction colour woodblock prints published by Kobayashi Bunshichi (Hōsūkaku) (detail of Plate 17.5a)

were based on the original prints in his own collection, he could choose the best specimens from which to create them, thus enabling us to speculate on what Kobayashi most admired in Hokusai's prints and appreciate some of the distinctive features of now-lost early impressions.

Between Edo and Meiji

In 1889 Okakura Tenshin (1863–1913) inaugurated the art journal *Kokka* in which he reproduced famous artworks in exquisite colour, using extremely sophisticated woodblock printing. Edo traditional woodblock printing became a method of preserving those very Edo traditions, becoming 'reproductive' in a way that it had not been before. In some circles it came to be recognised as a form of 'high art' because of the artistic quality of the printed images. These efforts were also important in laying the foundations for the Shin-Hanga movement of the early 20th century.

The 1880s and 1890s were thus characterised by contradictory developments: the decline of Edo traditions

and crafts inside Japan, and their rising popularity abroad. The crucial role played by artists, and especially publishers, in this period, both in the appreciation of traditional ukiyo-e and in the development of new woodblock printing techniques, has not hitherto been fully recognised.

There is undeniably a close relationship between the production of facsimile reproductions and 'fake' prints, as exemplified by several sets of facsimile reproduction *surimono* prints, the so-called 'Akashi-ban' ('editions produced in Akashi').²⁸ These were exported in the 1880s and 1890s, and sold as originals. Also, some fake paintings were made to deceive foreign clients at this time (see Clark essay, pp. 139–47; Carpenter essay, pp. 148–79; and Hare essay, pp. 236–44). Such reproductions that were sold as originals created a negative impression among collectors and still test our connoisseurial skills today. However, in the early 20th century, facsimile reproduction was recognised as a legitimate print genre. In the publication list of the Sakai Kōkodō firm for 1912,²⁹ facsimile reproductions of *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* cost one yen each (around 10,000 yen at today's prices), which was not cheap. For the late Meiji publishers, the production of facsimile reproductions was a viable enterprise and the facsimiles displayed remarkable artistic quality, using sophisticated woodblock techniques. In other words, even designs that were reproduced again and again, such as 'The Great Wave' and 'Red Fuji' from the *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*, still conveyed something of the power of the originals to a global audience. Such is the genius of Hokusai's creativity and the timeless value of his masterpieces.

The high-quality facsimile reproductions of Hokusai's great print series provided an important impetus for the preservation and development of ukiyo-e traditions, thus further enhancing Hokusai's legacy, which has continued to be noted and admired around the world to this day.

Notes

- 1 Keyes and Morse 2015. In this catalogue, different printings are described as 'states'.
- 2 Normally, the woodblocks used to print colours are more easily damaged than the key-blocks.
- 3 Korenberg *et al.* 2021.
- 4 'Nishiki-e shō no hensen – Meiji shonen kara sanjūnen made', in *Tōkyō Kōsho Kumiai gōjūnenshi*, Tokyo, 1979, 41–2; quoted in Nagata 1992a, 90–1.
- 5 Timios 2020.
- 6 Timios has identified five copies of this book outside of Japan, at: Art Institute of Chicago, USA; Museo d'Arte Orientale Edoardo Chiossone, Genoa, Italy; Ebi Collection, UK (2 copies); and private collection, Zurich, Switzerland.
- 7 Reproduced in Nagata 1992a, 93.
- 8 Using those imported technologies, newspapers could be printed much more quickly, in much larger numbers and at a much lower unit cost than a text could be printed using cut woodblocks and hand-printing with the *baren* (printer's pad). Newspapers had first been introduced in the 1860s, and gradually gained new audiences. In the beginning, newspapers used the older woodblock-printing technology, but the need for larger quantities of longer texts, as well as the need to report news as quickly as possible, meant that the old technology was no longer fit for purpose when it came to producing newspapers. It took a relatively long time to cut a long text into a woodblock, whereas movable type enabled publishers to meet the new demand for rapid newspaper production (Maeda 1963, 54–5).
- 9 Higuchi Hiroshi mentions that Yoshida started producing facsimile reproductions in 1886, but Yoshida's nephew Takeda Yasujirō recalled that it was around 1889 (Takeda 1934a, 43 and Takeda 1934b, 233–6). Higuchi 1972, 29–30.
- 10 A Meiji-era ukiyo-e artist, pupil of Kobayashi Eitaku (1843–1890). According to Takeda's memoir, it was the ukiyo-e artist Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889) who introduced him to Kinbei.
- 11 Kinbei referred to this foreign customer as 'Benkei', but Takeda said his real name was Brinkley and that he was a trader who lived in Yokohama. Yamaguchi Sei'ichi pointed out that Takeda might have thought Benkei was Francis Brinkley who was an editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Japan Weekly Mail* in Yokohama, but that Francis Brinkley was not a trader. Yamaguchi suggested that Benkei was probably another German dealer who lived in Yokohama, as mentioned in Takamura Kōun's memoir of 1929 (Yamaguchi 1988, 17).
- 12 Takeda 1934a, 43.
- 13 Iwakiri 2008, 5–49.
- 14 Around that time Ōkura began to assist Morimura Ichibei, who established the ceramic trading company Ōrudo Noritake (Noritake China), to expand his trade between Japan and USA.
- 15 Iwakiri 2009, 20.
- 16 Sekiguchi was also a publisher of Edo ukiyo-e and he was a major producer of Sino-Japanese War (1894–5) prints. Nagata Seiji wrote an introduction to Mr M's memoir (Nagata 1992a, 32–40). Mr M was a collector and publisher active from the 1890s into the 1910s. In Mr M's memoir, he records that a publisher Sekiguchi Masakichi started a facsimile reproduction business and reproduced Sharaku actor prints, beauties by Utamaro etc.; however, when his business encountered difficulties, he committed suicide and his blocks were sold to Sakai Kōkodō. We cannot say for sure if this Sekiguchi Masajirō was the Sekiguchi Masakichi who is mentioned in Mr M's note, but he certainly produced series of facsimile reproductions in 1892. Nagata wrote that Sekiguchi Masajirō was active at least until 1895 (Nagata 1992a, 73–4).
- 17 When Kobayashi published the Hokusai biography in 1893, he copied Hayashi's preface in his own words (Itō 2001, 40).
- 18 *Ukiyo-e tenrankai mokuroku*, published in 1892. Japanese Collections, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Jap. E.31.
- 19 A design number (or impression number) was printed within the plover seal. In the case of PI. 17.4, 'Snowy Morning, Koishikawa', the number is 223. See also PI. 17.5b.
- 20 Keyes and Morse 2015, nos 00615, 00625, 00627, 00636 and 00637.
- 21 Watanabe 1933, 238.
- 22 Uchida 1924, 185.
- 23 Takeda 1934b, 235–46.
- 24 Two examples in the MFA collection are: *Actors Yamanaka Heikurō I and Miyazaki Denkichi* after Torii Kiyonobu I (15.174); and *Female Peddler of Writing Materials* after Okumura Masanobu (15.175).
- 25 Keyes and Morse 1972, 141–7. Stephanie Zaleski, Yae Takahashi and Marco Leona have similarly compared the originals with the facsimile reproductions, examining the different pigments used. They discovered that the originals used natural orpiment for the yellow and green areas, whereas the facsimile reproductions used artificial arsenic sulphide, which was first used only in the late Edo period and Meiji era (Zaleski, Takahashi and Leona 2018).
- 26 Nagata 1992a, 76–8. The text was translated from the Japanese by the author. Nagata's research also revealed that Matsui reproduced another Hokusai series, *One Hundred Ghost Tales (Hyaku monogatari)*, which has a supplementary note that gives the publication date of August 1893. Before opening his shop, Matsui was apprenticed to Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–1892), intending to train as an artist, but he then changed career and became a publisher. He had studied printing techniques and sometimes he himself made block-ready drawings for ukiyo-e series, which were then issued by his own publishing house.
- 27 Collection of Musée Guimet, Paris, given by Henri Vever in 1912.
- 28 Because some were created in the town of Akashi, in western Japan.
- 29 Nagata 1992a, 88.

Chapter 18

A Technical Study of the Freer Version of *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide* (F1903.2)

Andrew Hare

Introduction: what is a Hokusai mounting?

A question commonly asked about the paintings by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) is: ‘How were they originally mounted?’ Although there are no records of Hokusai’s involvement in choosing mountings for his paintings, the working relationships between artist, mounter and client, and the process, styles and materials used for mounting, can be gleaned from known practices and extant mountings from the period that give a sense of what was generally produced.

Then, as now, a painting once created would be mounted to be displayed and stored. The mounting provides a necessary physical support and an aesthetic context for the painting. The resulting scroll is a composite object handled and viewed together as a complete ensemble. The continuous development of artistic styles and changing tastes for painting in Japan have always advanced in tandem with the materials and methods for presenting these artworks, which underscores this interdependent relationship between artwork and format. For a new painting created during the 19th century, the mounter would supply new materials for the mounting – papers, fabrics, knobs, fittings and cords – and typically choose an appropriate style based upon years of experience, the artwork, contemporary taste and cost. Cost would have been determined mainly by the quality of the materials selected rather than labour. If the artist was having the artwork mounted to be put up for sale, more modest materials most likely would have been used as the artist would bear the cost, to be recuperated from the sale of the artwork. If the artwork had been commissioned, it could pass from artist to mounter or client, who may have been more involved in deciding the style, quality of materials and resulting cost of the mounting. Almost invariably, a new painting by a living artist would receive a mounting that represented contemporary taste relating to that artist or school and the subject matter of the artwork. Remaining examples of Hokusai’s paintings in what are believed to be original or early mountings show variations on standard styles from that period, though usually the mountings are modest in scale and materials. They are also relatively thin, with few layers of lining papers, meaning that the process of lining the mounting materials and painting was kept to a minimum, probably to reduce working time and cost of paper. These mountings were in keeping with genre paintings, like those Hokusai produced, and the expanding market for his work.

As Hokusai’s popularity grew, the quality of materials and resulting cost of the mountings seem to have increased. In his later years, and during the decades after his death, his fame had grown to such an extent that many paintings associated with Hokusai were mounted, or remounted, in more elaborate styles with expensive materials to suit changing contemporary taste, but also to highlight the fame of the artist and make the artworks appear more valuable or desirable, often for foreign buyers. Numerous examples of Hokusai’s work, or copies, entered collections in Europe and the USA during the late 19th or early 20th century, which are in mountings from this later period.¹

Many Hokusai and related ukiyo-e school paintings acquired during this time by Western collectors such as Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) had been remounted by

mounters working for Japanese dealers, with elaborate and colourful fabrics repurposed from old garments. This was especially true for paintings of beauties (*bijin-ga*), which were popular with these collectors.² Repurposing an ornate kimono fabric to surround an image of a beautiful woman or boy would add a layer of visual impact and poetic reference, and play to the popularity of collecting fine textiles. One of the most interesting examples of this transfer of taste comes from Freer himself. Freer purchased many expensive, old fabrics and Buddhist monks' stoles (*kesa*) from Japan – although many of the fabrics in fact originated in China – that he had Japanese mounters use to remount hundreds of his paintings at his home in Detroit before donating the artworks to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, to form the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. These fabrics are strikingly similar to those used to remount Hokusai and ukiyo-e school paintings that he purchased from Japanese dealers during the same period.³

As a result of this international popularity from the late 19th century onwards, which has grown to a resurgence of interest and scholarship in the 21st century, few Hokusai paintings retain an original mounting. Of the 42 paintings in the Freer collection associated with Hokusai, the majority that are now believed to be authentic were remounted in the museum's East Asian Painting Conservation Studio during the intervening century. The curatorial eye was drawn repeatedly to examples thought to be of better quality with the intent to 'improve' or 'freshen' their appearance for display by having them remounted, often with new fabrics reflecting contemporary taste. Although this cycle of changing taste and remounting is still the norm in Japan and overseas, in some museums a more historically balanced and preservation-aware perspective now prevails, and we can assess the information that the remaining, earlier mountings provide.

Another way to consider how original mountings of Hokusai paintings would have looked comes from the mountings of his lesser-known followers or artists from related schools. Their works did not attract as much attention over time and stayed in older mountings due to benign neglect. Since these works were less appreciated and displayed, they remained in storage boxes and avoided the cycle of use and remounting. The same can be said for spurious works or copies associated with Hokusai that have languished in many museums' collection storage for decades. These examples frequently have modest mountings, smaller in scale, made with cheaper and impermanent materials: decorated papers; thinner and coarser textiles; printed rather than woven-pattern fabrics, some made with metal alloys that have tarnished over time. Knobs were more often made of bone, wood or lower-quality lacquer. Hanging and tying cords were frequently woven cotton or hemp rather than braided silk. Hokusai's paintings would have been mounted in a range of traditional styles with varying qualities of materials throughout his long career but would have shared similarities to these mountings. Of course, these mountings were more susceptible to degradation – acidic burning, discolouration, creasing and splitting – due to the poor-quality materials, and many would have required remounting.

Looking at Hokusai paintings in collections in Japan or the West, the older mountings tend to fall into two categories: smaller-proportioned, thinner mountings in standard styles made with less ornate fabrics; and larger, thicker mountings sometimes in more unusual styles made with elaborate materials, especially fabrics and knobs. It is not always easy or possible to determine the age of these mountings by type since remounting has occurred, various materials have been reused or repurposed, and older styles were recreated. This has been exacerbated by intentional deception: whereby older materials were reused and methods, now considered questionable, were employed to make a scroll mounting and the painting, original or not, appear 'aged' and therefore more authentic.

In considering this overview of mounting associated with Hokusai's paintings, it is important to emphasise that the mounting – first viewed as a rolled scroll taken from the storage box, often with related documentation and accoutrements – provides a physical, cultural and historical context, which does influence perception of the artwork. The great variety of mounting styles and materials used over time underscores the importance of this relationship in the context of Japanese art production and connoisseurship. Further, the condition and perceived age or authenticity of the mounted ensemble require study as they can lead to different conclusions about the artwork and its history. More recently, these aspects of material culture and connoisseurship studies had been subordinated in the West by theoretical art history. They are now receiving renewed attention and scrutiny due to the fundamental reassessment of object-based art historical scholarship, exemplified by the British Museum's Late Hokusai project.

The Freer version of *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*: analysis of the painting and mounting

The version of *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide* (Pl. 18.1) in the Freer collection provides a model opportunity to apply the techniques of 'slow looking' outlined in Tim Clark's essay (pp. 139–47), not only because different versions of the painting can be compared but also because the mounted object itself has remained unchanged over the past 120 years or longer. This type of close looking has long been the standard purview of mounter-conservators of East Asian paintings who bring a technical perspective to viewing and understanding the material nature of mounted artworks. By closely observing the physical aspects of the painting in the context of its mounting, their materials and condition, layers of historical information can be revealed. In this case, although the style of mounting and fabrics used are typical for the later 19th century, a more critical examination reveals significant inconsistencies within the materials, condition and structure of the scroll. By comparing these observations with the known practices of traditional Japanese mounter-restorers and the life cycle of these objects, different stories of use, damage and alteration come to light that can validate or contradict art historical perspectives.

If we accept that the version of this painting at the Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts is the original (Pl. 18.2), created around the time that Hokusai was 50 (approximately 1810),



Plate 18.1 Copy after Hokusai, *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*, 1890s. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 56.5cm, width 78.8cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.2

then the Freer version would have been produced during the roughly 93 years before Freer acquired the painting in 1903.⁴ Some scholars believe it was made as late as the 1890s.⁵ Freer owned the painting for less than 16 years, and upon his death in 1919 it was transferred to the Smithsonian Institution and then the Freer Gallery of Art, which opened in 1923. The painting has not been remounted since Freer's acquisition, and meticulous exhibition records show that it was not displayed in the museum until 2019. This disregard may be traced to curatorial records which indicate that the painting's authenticity had been questioned. Significantly, this chronology clarifies that the present condition of the painting and mounting is very much as when it arrived at the museum.

To organise my analysis of the *Shell-Gathering* hanging scroll, I first consider the painting and then the mounting. I focus on the materials, structure and condition of the various elements and present observations that relate to the degradation of the scroll. As a functional object, a hanging scroll is subject to repeated use that results in predictable wear and damage. Made primarily of organic materials, the silk fabrics, lining papers and adhesives are all susceptible to known degradation processes that develop and worsen over time. These physical and chemical indicators can be interpreted to determine the history of the object, its age and changes that have occurred, whether natural or artificial.

Painting

The painting was created with multiple washes of dilute, translucent colours to create the overall seascape, followed by applications of thicker, opaque pigments to define highlights, figures and imagery in the foreground. The painting support is a thin, tightly woven picture silk. The materials and technique are what would be expected for a painting by Hokusai from this period. Not surprisingly for a Japanese painting of this age and technique, the pigments show virtually no damage other than very minor flaking loss in the more heavily applied touches of white for the tiny dots of sea foam and shells in the basket. In addition, the picture silk support shows no structural damage, creases or tears. Although there is a slight haze over the surface, the painting lacks surface wear, stains, fading, discolouration, insect frass or any other typical signs of age, except for four, minute insect holes. These factors seem to indicate that the painting was executed with general competence but was not subjected to any of the normal, adverse conditions caused by extended exposure to fluctuating temperatures, humidity, light or repeated handling during its supposed 200 years of existence.

Mounting

The painting is mounted in the Yamato style, which consists of three fabric borders surrounding the painting, with decorative fabric strips hanging from the top of the



Plate 18.2 Hokusai, *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*, c. 1808–13. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, height 54.6cm, width 86.3cm. Important Cultural Property, Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts

mounting (Pl. 18.3). This style of mounting was commonly used for genre paintings and the proportions, fabrics and colours are typical for the second half of the 19th century. A mounter in this period could have consciously considered the choice of materials, colours and patterns to highlight the stylistic and tonal qualities of the painting and would often relate the symbolic or poetic meanings of motifs in these materials to themes in the artwork.

The inner border of the mounting comprises two narrow strips of fabric attached along the top and bottom edge of the painting. The fabric is a thick, gold-threaded brocade with a light blue background and a compact pattern of peonies and vines with scattered Buddhist treasures. This fabric blends with the cool blue and green tones of the painting, seeming to extend the image. The middle border, which surrounds the inner border and painting on all four sides, is a thin, yellow damask fabric with a pattern of paulownia flowers and vines. Creating a field of soft yellow to frame the painting, it serves to draw out the warmer tones of the sand, boat and baskets, harmonising with the background. The outer border, attached along the top and bottom of the middle border, is a thin, brown, plain-weave silk. This dark field of colour recedes into the background but also serves to emphasise deeper tones in the painting. Decorative strips, attached to the hanging bar at the top of the mounting, are made of the same fabric as the inner border, which is standard for this style of mounting. The roller knobs are red lacquer with raised flowering plum

branches applied over a recessed ground of a double swastika-pattern and a Greek key pattern bordering the flared ends. They were chosen perhaps because of the central motif of plum blossoms, which can be understood as a reference to spring when shell-gathering would first take place.

Condition of the mounting

Once a painting is mounted as a scroll, it becomes a complete, interactive object that is unrolled and hung for display and then rolled up, secured with a cord and placed in its storage box for safekeeping. This repeated cycle of use affects the entire object, the signs of wear and damage appearing over time with a consistency that is apparent in all old scrolls. By contrast, the mounting for this painting shows varying kinds of wear and degrees of damage that are inconsistent across the object and incongruous with the condition of the painting. Why is the mounting – its materials and structure – so damaged while the painting is in such good condition? A systematic examination of materials and their varying conditions should explain.

Seams

All three fabrics used in the borders of the mounting, in both the upper and lower sections, are seamed together vertically. (Pl. 18.3) This practice is employed when a new piece of fabric is too narrow for the width of the intended mounting. By using two or more pieces of the same fabric, trimming the



Plate 18.3 Recto of hanging scroll. Copy after Hokusai, *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*, ?1890s. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, height 56.5cm, width 78.8cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.2. The vertical seams, where the fabric pieces are joined together in the three sections of the mounting, are indicated with blue lines. The insect damage is marked in red. The wear to the mounting is marked in green

edges and carefully aligning the pattern and seams, like hanging wallpaper, the mounter can create the illusion of a continuous width of fabric. This practice was also common when reusing old garments or resizing pieces of fabric from old mountings that had been taken apart. The fabric pieces could be seamed together again to make a mounting to fit the dimensions of a different painting. Because the Freer painting is not wider than a standard bolt of mounting fabric used in the 19th century, and the fabrics do not show signs of being taken from old garments, it is interesting that the mounter went to the extra effort of piecing together all three fabrics in this mounting, which most likely come from larger, older mountings. This begs the question of why a painting by Hokusai, which would have been relatively new at the time, would be remounted with old, worn fabrics.

Surface wear

The next observation is the varying conditions of the three border fabrics. The inner and middle border fabrics are in very good condition, exhibiting only light soiling, fading and distortion to the threads and patterns. The abutted vertical seams align cleanly while the edges of the fabrics at the border joints have noticeable frayed edges and more distortion to the patterns. There are no signs of surface abrasion along the abutted seams, the joints between the different fabric borders or along the vertical, outer edges of the mounting as is common for mountings that have been unrolled and re-rolled countless times over 200 years. These factors reinforce the observation that these two fabrics have been reused: removed from another mounting, trimmed and seamed together to fit the width of this mounting.

By contrast, the outer border of dark brown silk at the top and bottom of the mounting seems to tell a different story. This fabric, while much thinner and more prone to wear than the other two border fabrics, is exceptionally worn. The abrasion, along the inner seams, outer edges of the mounting and across the top of the hanging bar, is so extensive that the fabric has worn away completely in some areas, exposing much of the black paper underneath that was used to line it. Oddly, this fabric shows equal wear in both the top and bottom sections of the border. The top section of a mounting is most exposed because it is on the outside of a scroll when it is rolled up. This would account for the extent of wear in the upper section. However, the lower section of the border at the bottom of the mounting has a comparable degree of wear. As the bottom section of a scroll would be rolled inside, it is the most protected part and would usually show less wear from handling and abrasion. This is contrary to what is typically observed with older scroll mountings.

Vertical creases

A further inconsistency in the condition of the scroll mounting is the distribution of vertical, compound creases that run down the centre of the top section of the mounting. Caused by repeated handling and the tying of the cord around the middle of the rolled scroll to secure it for storage, these creases typically run down the middle of the scroll, gradually becoming less severe. With this scroll, the creases stop at the bottom edge of the top border fabric. The creases

in the middle border do not align with the creases in the upper border and are far fewer. Also, they do not extend into the painting. This indicates that the brown border fabric does not share the same history as the rest of the mounting or painting, reinforcing the idea that the fabric was reused.

Staining

A further inconsistency is the colour bleeding in the outer borders. Both the top and bottom sections of the brown silk fabric show large, repeating bleed marks where the fabric is lighter. This would normally occur when an area of a rolled scroll comes into contact with moisture, which is then absorbed into the scroll. The result is colour transfer through the layers of the mounting that appears as a repeating pattern travelling consistently down the length of the scroll when unrolled. Oddly, although the bleeding pattern can be seen in the separate top and bottom sections of the mounting, there is no colour transfer to the adjoining middle and inner borders of the mounting, or painting, as would be expected. Further, the stains do not align vertically as would have happened to a rolled scroll when transfer staining occurred. The apparent explanation for these discrepancies is that the brown fabric pieces were reused from another mounting and misaligned when recombined to make this mounting. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the back of the scroll does not show any staining, confirming that the scroll was remounted reusing the previously stained fabrics.

A more critical explanation would be that the fabrics were deliberately stained to make them appear older by implying a false history of use and damage over time. Intentionally damaging, wearing, soiling and staining mounting materials is a common practice to make a scroll seem 'aged'. This begins to uncover another side of the practice of mounting and restoration. A skilled mounter can manipulate materials to create an illusion of age to contextualise an artwork. This is usually done to make new mounting materials harmonise with older paintings or calligraphy when remounted, to produce an overall unified effect and visual balance. This has long been an important part of the restoration and remounting process, and a mounter will proudly demonstrate the ability to create a convincing patina for a newly remounted scroll. Of course, these skills can also be used to mislead.

Insect damage

Another overarching feature of this scroll's condition is the numerous insect holes that repeat in consistent order down the mounting in several places. These holes are normally the result of insects eating through the layers of the scroll when rolled (as with the staining explained above). This common and telltale patterning is regular in its spacing, and the size and shape of the insect holes. The holes gradually appear closer together and smaller in size as they travel down the length of the scroll, the result of the insect or larvae on the outside burrowing through the layers of the rolled scroll towards the centre roller rod. With this mounting, close observation of the insect damage patterning indicates inconsistencies and dissimilar campaigns of insect damage.

The upper border of brown fabric has several large insect holes that repeat down the middle of the mounting but stop

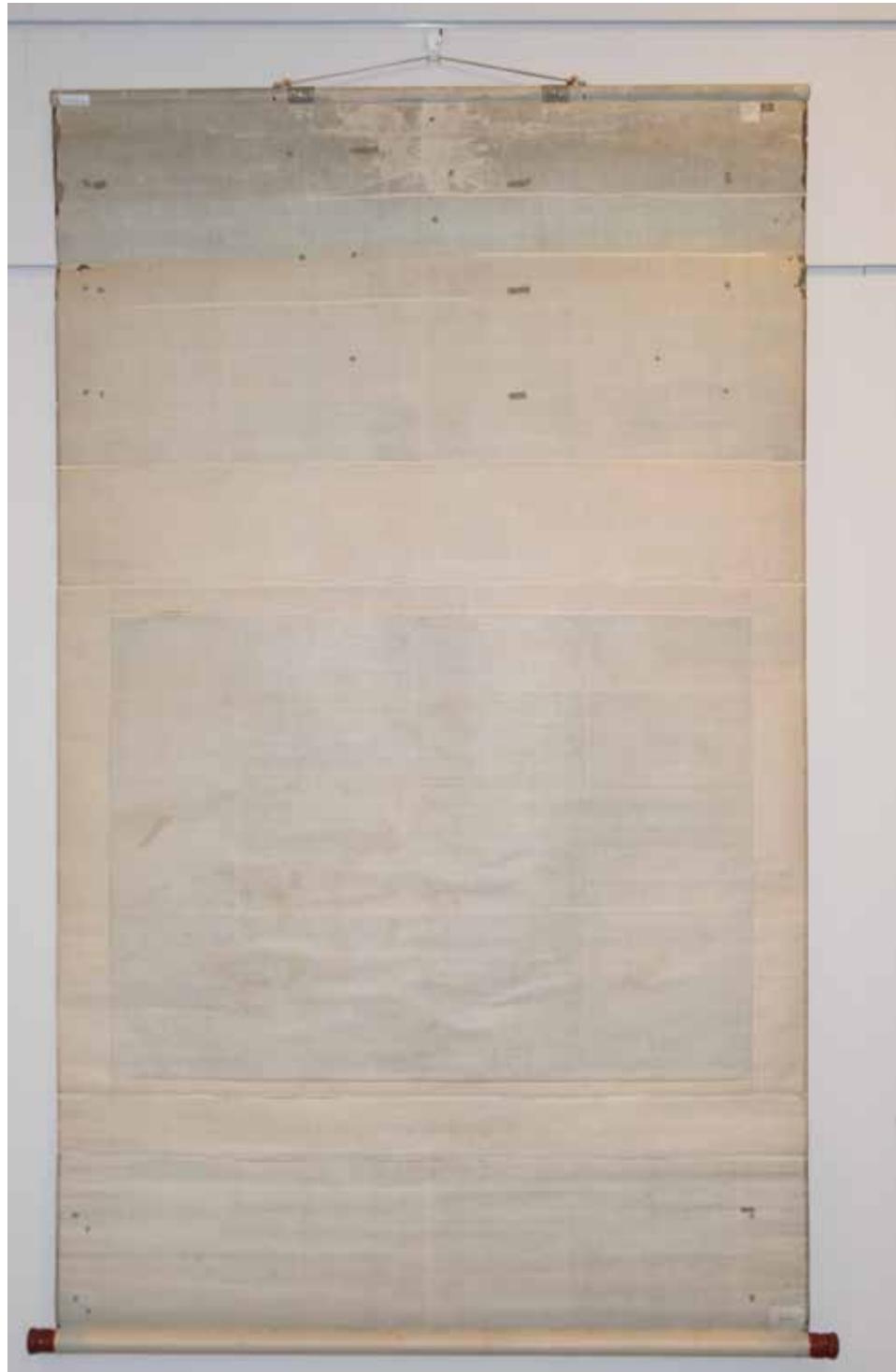


Plate 18.4 Verso of hanging scroll.
Copy after Hokusai, *Shell-Gathering at Low Tide*, ?1890s. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, height 56.5cm, width 78.8cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.2

before the middle border. Although it is possible that the insect stopped before burrowing deeper into the rolled scroll, this observation – combined with other concerns about this fabric – reinforces the probability that the fabric is from a different mounting.

There is also insect damage to the underside of the two decorative strips attached to the hanging bar at the top of the mounting. These strips of fabric would be folded over each other when the scroll was rolled. There are insect holes that correspond between the two strips of fabric, but the holes are now approximately 1.25cm out of alignment. This indicates that the two decorative strips were closer together when damaged by insects as part of a different mounting. They were repurposed here, along with the matching fabric

from the inner border, but were attached further apart in proportion to this mounting.

The next campaign of insect holes runs down both sides of the mounting. The damage patterns begin above the upper part of the middle border and travel down both vertical borders on either side of the painting. Strangely there are few corresponding insect holes in the top border, but both sets of insect holes appear in the lower, outer border of brown silk. There is also a third column of tiny insect holes that run from the upper middle border and down the painting on the right side. Although all three sets of holes have corresponding spacing, which indicates that they occurred when this mounting was rolled, the overall placement seems odd. Why do the holes begin part way

down the scroll in the upper border yet travel through the same fabric in the lower border? Also, why did the insects significantly damage the mounting along both sides while, fortuitously, almost entirely avoiding the painting? It is difficult to rationalise all these different areas of insect damage as occurring naturally to this mounting. An intent to manipulate the scroll seems apparent. It is a known practice of mounters and forgers to introduce insect damage to reinforce the appearance of age. Insects, especially ravenous larvae, could be placed on a scroll and then rolled inside to guide the occurrence of 'natural' insect damage. This could explain the irregularities of the insect damage in the middle and lower sections of this scroll.

Backing layer

The next anomalous feature is that the insect holes pass through the mounting fabrics and their lining papers but do not pass through the layer of papers that cover the back of the mounting, as would be expected. This makes clear that the scroll was lined with paper after the insect damage occurred. This supports the supposition that the scroll mounting is a pastiche of reused materials. Further, the sheets of paper that were used to back the lower three-quarters of the scroll, although discoloured, are in much better condition than the corresponding front of the mounting. These papers were dyed, almost certainly to make them appear old and blend with the overall patina of the mounting. The only area of the backing that shows significant signs of wear, creasing and soiling is the cover silk, or *uwamaki*, that was applied along the top section of the mounting.

Since this layer of cover silk, lined with paper, is applied to the top of the back of the mounting to protect the outside of the rolled scroll, it is usually more worn. However, the damage to this protective layer does not correspond to the damage on the front of the upper mounting; it is more severe, and the creases and holes do not match all the damage on the front of the scroll. To create the impression of age and natural wear, the mounter must have reused the cover silk from a different, more damaged mounting. Combined with the dyed backing papers applied along the bottom three-quarters of the scroll, these elements complete the deceptive appearance of age on the back of the mounting (Pl. 18.4).

Roller knobs

A final observation is the choice of roller knobs, which appear to be much older than the painting because of the style, quality, age-cracks and losses to the lacquer. They make a striking contrast with the rest of the mounting, drawing attention to the red colour, Chinese-style form and decoration. Reusing antique knobs for this mounting is consistent with later 19th-century taste and the practice of remounting Hokusai, or related paintings, with desirable, old materials to add an aura of age and emphasise the purported authenticity and value of the artwork.

Conclusion

These detailed observations of the painting and mounting indicate two incongruous narratives. The painting is still

fresh and almost unchanged by its history as part of this hanging scroll. The mounting, by contrast, reveals a rich story of wear, degradation and possible alterations. A painting mounted as a scroll is an integral part of the composite, physical object. It would be subject to the same effects of wear and change acted upon the various elements of the scroll through handling, exposure and degradation. The inconsistencies between the condition of the painting and that of the mounting betray a contrived visual narrative. But how and why were these elements brought together?

A mounting serves as a visual extension of a painting. The style, materials and proportions of this mounting are consistent with known examples from the mid-19th century and are appropriate to this painting. By choosing and manipulating old materials to create the mounting, the impression of age is meant to extend to the painting and influence the viewer. This is a common practice used by mounter-restorers whether the goal is simply to harmonise the mounting with the age and condition of the artwork or to intentionally deceive by fabricating a pastiche of venerable patina.

As referenced in Tim Clark's essay (pp. 139–47), the so-called 'Shunpōan incident' (*Shunpōan jiken*) of 1934 provides a rare glimpse into practices that were not uncommon in the art market and the interdependent craft of mounting. Old, damaged artworks and mountings were often separated, cut into parts and repurposed to produce convincing multiples that were composites of genuine parts, additions and alterations. This process was also easily applied to copies, whether intended as forgeries or not, to create product 'new to the market'.⁶ Although this example of a recontextualised Hokusai copy is now seen as unconvincing and was quietly questioned for decades, it initially passed muster to become part of the Freer collection. Context and perception are always changing.

The Late Hokusai project is an important return to object-based connoisseurship, with the tenets of 'slow looking' a thoughtful approach to systematising and improving this process. This methodology, enhanced by the use of digital technology, has the potential to collect information and provide access at a previously unattainable level, making in-depth study and resulting advances inevitable. This can only deepen our understanding and appreciation for Hokusai's work and is a welcome challenge to the old adage that the best forgeries are those not yet uncovered.

Notes

- 1 See works by and attributed to Hokusai in the collections of the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (F1898.95, F1898.97, F1902.41, F1902.178, F1903.2), the British Museum, London (1913,0501,0.319; 1913,0501,0.317) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.4601, 11.7421, 11.7424, 21.123).
- 2 For example, William Anderson (1842–1900), Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), Edoardo Chiossone (1833–1898), Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896) and Charles Weld (1857–1911) were all contemporaries of Charles Freer (1854–1919) who collected ukiyo-e school paintings and works by Hokusai.

3 See examples of monks' stoles (*kesa*) (F1916.660–F1916.669) that Freer purchased to be used for remounting his paintings which he had purchased a few years before (F1901.14, F1903.57, F1903.130, F1904.366).

4 See correspondence from the dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi to Freer regarding the purchase of this painting, at <https://sova.si.edu/details/FSA.A.01#ref1728> (FS-FSA_A.01_06.5.2.1903.01-02.02.02) (accessed 15 February 2023).

5 In Clark 1992, 36, figs 25, 25a, he dates the Freer version of the painting as 'late 19th century'. In recent correspondence (14 March 2023), Clark proposes that it was made as late as the '1890's' and probably at the orders of Kobayashi Bunshichi. He also points out that '1890s is the date given by Matsuba Ryoko in the current volume for the production of facsimile reproductions of Hokusai *prints* [his italics] by Kobayashi' (Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35). If the painting was produced less than a decade before Freer acquired it, then the condition of the mounting is even more suspect. This degree of wear and damage occurring naturally in such a short period of time is very unlikely.

6 See van Gulik, 377–92 for a detailed description of these practices in China through the first half of the 20th century. The so-called 'Shunpōan incident' demonstrates that they were also current in Japan (see also Clark essay, pp. 139–47).

Chapter 19

Hokusai beyond the Database: Transforming Digital Archives into a Complex Collaborative Research Environment

Stephanie Santschi

At one of the weekly Late Hokusai research group meetings, a scroll hangs on the wall. Researchers and specialists from different disciplines, such as art history, scientific research, historiography and knowledge representation, have gathered in front of it. One researcher points out a section in the painting and compares it with details of another scroll hanging slightly further away. The researcher's colleagues use the line he had pointed at to start a discussion about the quality of Hokusai's hand over time. One of them piles catalogues and journal printouts onto the table, and together they start debating the scroll. The discussion evolves, and agreements and disagreements about previous arguments emerge. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), the star of the two exhibitions that the AHRC-funded 'Late Hokusai' research project launched in 2017, keeps inspiring these researchers to have another look at material evidence, even after well over a century of research about the artist.

Now envision another setting – this one in late Edo-period Edo (modern Tokyo). Imagine Hokusai bent over what will become a painting. At that moment in time, the scroll is but a sheet of paper, to which brocade borders would be added later to mount it as a hanging scroll. You wonder who is in the room with him, from where he sources his inks and paper, who had commissioned the painting, what remuneration he receives, and how old he is. You might also ask practical questions, such as which materials were used in making the finished scroll. Trying to understand who he is, you wonder how Hokusai perceives the world and how he translates that into visual language.

The artist can no longer answer these questions himself. His works, however, function as mediators between their maker, the context of production and the questions of researchers today. Material phenomena, but also personal factors such as age, economic situation, resource availability, and stylistic and visual customs and decisions have an impact on the appearance of the painting. Every painting, print, book or letter, every secondary piece of evidence, forms part of how researchers understand him. Analysed both individually and within a broader context, Hokusai's paintings form the basis for comprehending his legacy.

Collection management systems at the institutions that preserve Hokusai's paintings, prints, illustrated books and letters are a good starting point for research. However, researchers need to be aware of the structural and intellectual biases residing in the architecture of such digital archives. The way Japanese woodblock prints, as multiple originals created in a process of handcrafted reproduction, are represented in them, is a pertinent example to illustrate how real-world complexities can be misrepresented by systems architecture. Print researchers documenting information on individual prints within a print run, or as part of a print series, have to oversimplify their argument to match the designated fields of collection management systems that were originally designed for documenting information on singular objects. This results in a loss of complex curatorial expertise. In order to permit documenting and researching in detail when and by whom artworks such as prints were made, digital knowledge platforms need to extend beyond the architecture of collection management systems.



Plate 19.1 Roger Keyes (left) and Dominic Oldman (right) in discussion about ResearchSpace at the British Museum, London, 27 May 2017. Photo: Stephanie Santschi

Researching Hokusai within his philosophical, technical and societal contexts was the main research goal of the Late Hokusai research project. With this goal in mind, its researchers engaged with linked-data processes for creating a complex network based on the information extracted from collection management systems at the British Museum, London; the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and the databases at the Art Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto.

The promise: structured access to Hokusai's thought

By the time Hokusai reached 50, he had amassed so much visual knowledge that he was able to illustrate novels, draw witty designs for special *surimono* prints, fulfil painting commissions and design single-sheet print series such as the famous *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*, c. 1831–3). Pictorial encyclopaedias like *Hokusai manga* (*Hokusai's Sketches*) and painting manuals such as *Ehon hayabiki* (*Quick-Reference Picture Dictionary*) – which contain myriad sketches and are organised around topics (in the case of the *manga*) or the syllabary (in the case of the *Ehon hayabiki*) – informed contemporary readers of Hokusai's 'cognitive catalogue' of visual and cultural knowledge. In particular, the books' organisational parameters seem to have been efficient ways for him to give his readers easily intelligible access to his expertise. Anyone who wanted to gain specific information on painting motifs, or acquire knowledge by browsing and comparing, could do so.

Throughout the project, Late Hokusai researchers worked towards approximating the visual and textual network of information that had been available to Hokusai during his lifetime. Research questions on the dialectic between local and global phenomena or relationships between individuals and society demanded functionality that could contrast and compare individual pieces of information within and using a sizeable informational structure. One particular wish specified by researchers was the ability to single out individual works within Hokusai's

oeuvre while retaining their links to a bigger data structure, for example, by contrasting a hanging scroll with its broader contexts, such as all paintings made by Hokusai in his last decade, or the use of the pigment Prussian blue between 1800 and 1849. They further desired to use such evidence for combining micro and macro perspectives on history. The relevance of patronage for the selection of specific materials could be a potential example for such a socio-economical question. For this, zooming in on the individual object is just as important as its longitudinal comparison with other objects and embedding it within information on historical events. Researchers found support for these tasks in the sphere of linked data and the language of code.

Back in September 2015, Hokusai specialists from European, US and Japanese institutions had gathered in London for a workshop. They drafted infrastructural requirements for researching Hokusai within his context, which later informed the project proposal to AHRC: 'The online resource will provide a new model for the online study of cultural materials, providing open access to research findings, bringing together material from multiple collections, and enabling innovative, flexible searching.'¹ Specifically, the workshop participants noted that they wanted to be able to research across databases, comment on existing data, add new information, and do so in both English and Japanese. Their specification focused on combining structured data from existing databases with structured analogue information digitised as part of the project (such as Roger Keyes and Peter Morse's *Catalogue Raisonné of the Single-Sheet Colour Woodblock Prints of Katsushika Hokusai*, explained in detail below) and researchers' notes or visual observations that had yet to be structured (Pl. 19.1). A linked-data digital platform, so they imagined, would make research more time efficient, especially when researching across large data repositories. What they wanted to see was a clean display of search results from across several databases, access to search results and to processes for expanding on existing academic hypotheses. This would eventually benefit interdisciplinary, sustainable research.²

Late Hokusai ResearchSpace as a research and knowledge presentation platform

Between autumn 2016 and summer 2019, the Late Hokusai project worked with the British Museum-based ResearchSpace in developing a pilot platform about Hokusai.³ Involving both technological and humanities perspectives, ResearchSpace's infrastructure and expertise helped establish a platform that links data from the British Museum; the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution; the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and the Keyes and Morse catalogue raisonné. The latter presented semi-structured information, which was digitised with the support of the Art Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University. With ResearchSpace, Late Hokusai researchers analysed what the digital archives of these partners contained, conceptualised semantic models and created linked-data knowledge graphs using the humanities ontology CIDOC CRM.⁴ This ontology, while taking documentation standards into account, provides a structured language to talk about entities and relationships implicit in the fields of the database, and, by reproducing real-world relationships in a machine-processable and human-interpretable format, acts as a central building block of semantically linked data.

As a first step, the project particularly focused on the images and metadata of paintings, prints and books in relation to their creator, as these constitute the core focus of art-historical analyses. After the Hokusai project had created project-specific models (ontological representations), ResearchSpace assisted the process of cleaning (making data machine readable), mapping (matching and centralising data from various archives) and enriching linked-data files with unique resource identifiers (URI, an information's address online). The linked-data files in RDF format were then uploaded onto the Hokusai ResearchSpace platform.⁵ To visualise this information for researchers, it was furthermore necessary to develop an appropriate user interface. Besides creating a custom design, Late Hokusai ResearchSpace made use of the knowledge patterns developed by ResearchSpace to integrate selected areas of the knowledge graph (the 'mind map' of linked data) into the platform template.

Regarding the nature and function of the Hokusai platform, it is important to understand that the data structure and its visualisation are two different, yet entwined entities. While the knowledge graph created from mapping and data constitutes the 'content' of the database, the interface is a 'window' to that data that 'curates' a view for users. Data visualisation is the workable compromise between theoretically appropriate networks of information and the needs of humanities researchers who want to access information in an easily understandable format. With this end-goal in mind, the Hokusai project made key decisions regarding both the fundamental structure and the visible digital interface. The Hokusai team envisioned that users would view information on Hokusai's works and life, explore connections between works, people, places and timespans, and search for data that could help them answer their research questions within the interface of Late Hokusai ResearchSpace. The prospect of using digital tools to add

assertions about existing data into the digital knowledge graph where it can then be shared with the wider Hokusai research community promised a new way of collaboration among project members.

Challenges

While the Late Hokusai project benefited from the iterative development of ResearchSpace, it challenged ResearchSpace's infrastructure in the areas of processing multilingual information, integrating source data from different institutions and adding an East Asian art-historical perspective to humanities metadata. Artistic reproducibility, in particular, required attention hitherto not rendered via the British Museum's existing collection management system, from which the ResearchSpace knowledge graph was initially developed. In consequence, ResearchSpace has been developing agile and synergetic solutions for the kind of requirements called for by the Late Hokusai project researchers, as well as other projects with which they collaborate.

Textually reproducing visual information on the one hand, and the reproducible nature of a print, especially in the context of its production process, on the other hand, also forced researchers to rethink their own methods. Most interesting for researchers of early modern Japanese art was the conceptual modelling of colour woodblock prints, where the major challenge was to modify object-event related models to include the stages and variations of reproduction that are part of the artistic concept of the 'print' and the notion of authenticity that comes with it (see Korenberg essay, pp. 192–211; Matsuba essay, pp. 228–35).

The relatively recent addition of semantic web technology to the methodological toolkit of art historians means that when the project started in 2016, little institutional support or similar projects on which to model the project workflow were available. This resulted in procedural challenges, which in turn slowed the platform's development. Expecting quick results, project researchers experienced the meticulousness of digital processing requirements as disruptions of their daily research processes. Most of the allotted time was spent acquiring the data and getting it to interact digitally, which included methods like data curating, mapping and system troubleshooting, but also interpersonal and institutional processes that aimed at aligning workflows. With a research project that spanned different institutions and focus areas, further challenges were found in reconciling diverging viewpoints, aligning institutional visions with project expectations, and coordinating project schedules (Pl. 19.2).

In hindsight, while researchers wished to connect minds, methods and data as extensively as possible, this process could have been helped by rephrasing the research question to one specific case study. The smaller the research question, the more clearly defined the source data; the more reflected the choice of methodology; then the more effectively digital processes can support research. For example, preliminary results on the 103 block-ready drawings for *Banmotsu ehon daizan* (*The Great Picture Book of Everything*), acquired by the British Museum after the official termination of the Late Hokusai research project but integrated on Late Hokusai

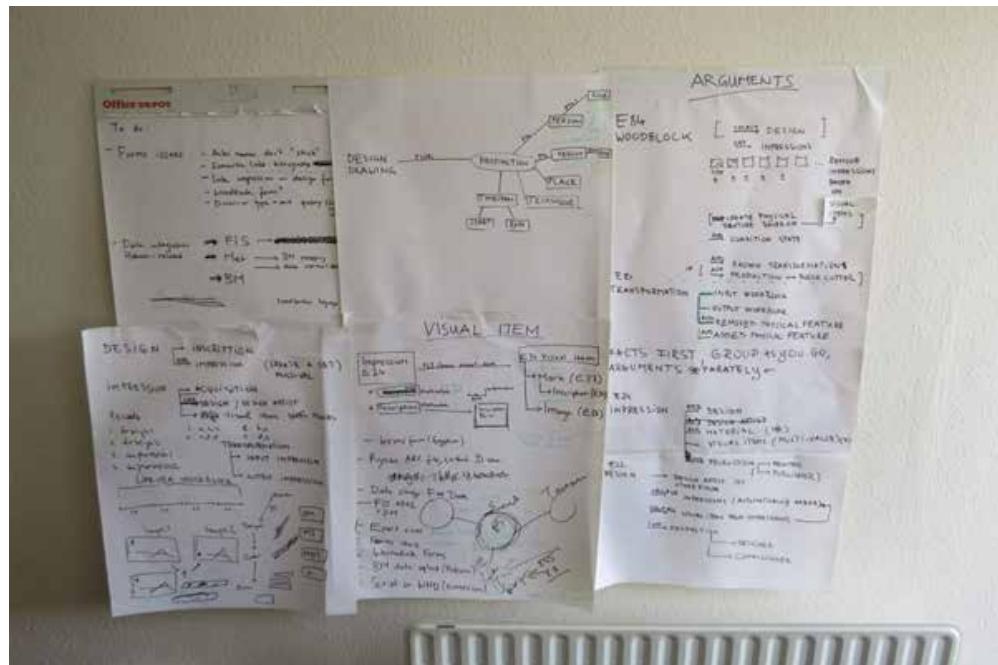


Plate 19.2 Thinking art history with data, ResearchSpace offices, British Museum, London, spring 2017. Photo: Stephanie Santschi

ResearchSpace in autumn 2020, are promising. In that case study, ResearchSpace furnished the potential for creating informational networks around the content of this extraordinary manual, which then functioned as a base from which researchers could further develop Hokusai's knowledge organisation parameters.

However, at this point, a cautious reflection is due about the digital information with which researchers work. Paraphrasing from André Malraux's *Le Muséé Imaginaire*,⁶ art history tends to focus on the history of what has been photographed. This argument can be expanded: digital art history is the history of *what has been catalogued and digitised, for which copyright has been cleared, and for which digital (high-resolution) images are available*.

Only researching with and on what is available risks selective bias. To deal with such biases, a careful consideration of research findings against the backdrop of frameworks that might have influenced the emergence of a certain way of representing data, is necessary. Additionally, this should also act as an encouragement for the continuous digitisation of archives, and as an expression of gratitude to project partners who have already done so and shared these efforts with the Late Hokusai project.

Reproducibility of woodblock prints

Artworks are complex objects. How they are created contributes to that complexity. Theoretically, production processes are moments in the life of an object at which various strands of information converge. For a Japanese colour woodblock print, this could be the commissioning by the publisher, the designing by the artist, the hiring and supervising of contracted artisans to cut the woodblocks, inking the printing blocks, and printing a series of prints while executing small changes between individual printing runs. People whose names have now been lost in time made the paper, sourced and ground the pigments, and planted, felled, planked and planed the mountain cherry trees used for the printing blocks.

Prior to the moment when visitors encounter the artwork in an exhibition space, or on the digital research platform, the object ‘experienced’ nearly 200 years of post-production history. It has been sold, bought and sold again; written about, written on, handled, hung, forgotten, rediscovered, catalogued, restored, exhibited, drawn, and more. Yet, a visitor to a Hokusai exhibition would only see the finished object were it not for curatorial embedding. Certainly, exhibitions like *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave* (British Museum, 2017) are able to pinpoint individual elements in this line of production, and even enable viewers to retrace a certain context using the exhibition catalogue.⁷ However, to sustain that complexity beyond the exhibition, the Hokusai project members aimed to intertwine not only their arguments in publications, but also their data collections and research methodologies. Looking at the process of production and post-production history encourages understanding of prints as collaborative, multilayered products of their time.

Working with an event-based ontology encouraged breaking the object-oriented mould with which collection management systems traditionally represent information. Using CIDOC CRM, the informational structure on the pilot Hokusai platform represents information in connection to events: for example, the events that led to a print's existence. In considering prints, researchers deal with three kinds of objects and their connected events: prints, sets of woodblocks, and design drawings (in particular, the final 'block-ready' drawing, or *hanshita-e*). The easiest to understand are those objects still accessible today, that is, the prints collected by museums around the globe, such as 'The Great Wave'. All original impressions of that design share a visual proximity, diverging in details such as the thickness or strength of a line, or the distribution of pigment on the page (see Korenberg essay, pp. 192–211).⁸ For locating these prints in various collections worldwide, Keyes and Morse's catalogue raisonné is an invaluable resource (see Keyes essay, pp. 220–7; Appendix 2, pp. 272–6).⁹



Plate 19.3 Woodblock printmaking demonstration by Takahashi Kōbō (Tokyo) at the British Museum, London, 2 June 2017. Photo: British Museum, London

Keyes created a sequence of impressions of Hokusai's 'The Great Wave' and many more designs according to his interpretation of the order in which those impressions were printed. He established this sequence by declaring information to a second category of object, the set of cherrywood printing blocks. Throughout the period of their use, the gradual wearing down of the natural material (wood), or decisions by publishers such as removing a seal or adding a motif, gradually modified the blocks' features. Despite the absence of these woodblocks in today's museum collections, researchers can deduce information about them from what they see on the print. A broken line on a woodblock print is highly likely to reflect a break (damage) in the ridge of wood cut on the block from which it has been printed. Therefore, the second object is the set of wooden printing blocks, and the associated event that links the block and impression with a moment of physical touch is the event 'printing'.

The blocks (created in the block-cutting event) and the prints (created in the printing event) are associated with another object and related event: a close visual proximity of the prints suggests they all derive from the same design drawing. When comparing impressions of, for example, 'The Great Wave' print, viewers can still recognise Hokusai's artistic hand in them. This is possible even though that design appears twice-removed from the design drawing: one distance was introduced when a blockcutter created the key-block (representing the design's lines) by cutting through the back of Hokusai's original block-ready drawing. A second distance occurred during the printing process that transferred ink from the cut block onto the paper. As the design drawing would have been pasted directly onto the initial cherrywood block (key-block) and thus destroyed when the blockcutter cut through it to create the printing blocks, the lines on the key-block are the closest possible approximations to Hokusai's hand, and therefore crucial for contending printing sequence via close visual analysis (Pl. 19.3).¹⁰

Digital reproducibility of information

By distinguishing production events and their associated objects – impression, set of wooden printing blocks, design drawing – within the Hokusai knowledge graph, individual steps of production and transformations can be tracked. The conceptual graph has the advantage of being able to represent nodes for objects such as printing blocks that may no longer be in existence today but which, when information about them is inferred, remain relevant for the art historical analysis and argument. Sequencing impressions via documenting the changes sustained by the set of woodblocks while printing thousands of impressions from the same blocks is one such case study. Its results can be used in the study of connoisseurship, of material studies, of publishing or economics, among other fields. Researchers can ask, for example, whether the market price for prints was a factor in the time spent on printing and therefore led publishers to reduce the number of printing blocks. Or, as Keyes has suggested, they can make an assertion on Hokusai's degree of influence on the colouration of his designs.¹¹ One small factor, researched through applying comparative visual analysis and documented with its research context in the digital interface, becomes relevant and usable for a much wider research context.

The semantic web toolset with its linked-data standards promotes the discovery of such new connections. CIDOC CRM, with its embedding of information in domains and ranges, favours structuring information according to real-life relationships. By doing so, it encourages researchers to recognise patterns (both small- and large-scale), which can then be interpreted within appropriate historical contexts. Print sequencing is just one possible area of application (Pl. 19.4). Apart from the Keyes study, various applications can be seen in other essays in this research volume.

Suggestions for further development

In what follows, several areas of possible further development are discussed. First, how knowledge platforms

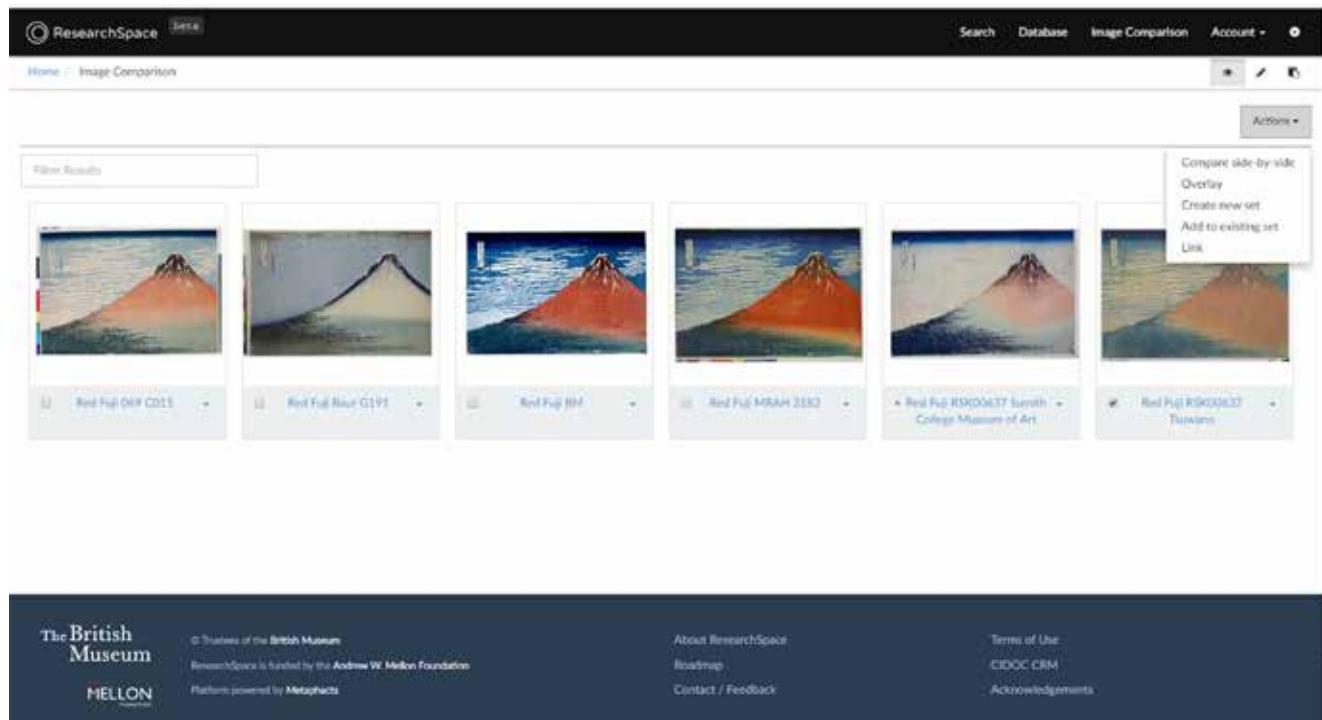


Plate 19.4 ResearchSpace Beta: sequencing impressions, 2017. Screenshot: Stephanie Santschi

encourage users constructively to expand their own knowledge by tying into what they already know. Second, a reflection on how the project shaped the research team's research practices. Third, a comment on research biases and how the project assisted in tackling them. And last, recommendations for future projects that aim to engage in similar research.

How museums present information has seen substantial changes in recent years. Exhibitions and online platforms are now interspersed with interactive 'infographics', digital animations and other tools that accompany visitors in their learning processes. Communicating meaning and encouraging users to explore knowledge according to their own interests has become possible due to significant developments in interactive media. Visualisations foster understanding and create new opportunities for communication between the museum and its public. In that context, the curating of information is what happens between researchers and visitors. When visitors can identify with narratives and investigate information via personalised methods, such digital tools can act as scaffolding for the learning process of those visitors. For the linked-data environment in which research becomes increasingly interdisciplinary and is able to consider larger samples, this means that visitors are invited to grasp the connections between entities and their contexts much more comprehensively.

Doing things digitally does not prevent bias, however. The application of digital tools in the research process needs to be planned purposefully to be effective. Empirical research methodology asks for self-reflection from its practitioners, as preconceptions can falsify interpretations, the shortcomings of source databases can be translated into digital models, and so on. In that spirit, the Late Hokusai pilot interface is a prototype that demonstrates both the

potentials and pitfalls of this kind of developmental process. An interesting challenge is how to overcome the data collection system's 19th-century roots. The source database at the British Museum, in part, represents a Eurocentric worldview on reproduced objects 'external' to that system. As an example, prints from Edo-period Japan were originally classified according to the 19th-century understanding of printing technology in Europe, especially France. When the Museum established the first digital databases, it used information noted in the old card catalogues to develop its digital framework. As a result, it reproduced the epistemological system of those original databases. This meant neglecting particularities of Japanese woodblock prints, such as the notion that a print only transforms into a different object when no link to the original set of printing blocks remains.¹² The structured datasets are in no way 'safe' from implicit assumptions and risk distributing this further among the many users of the online platforms. Just as the semantic ontologies force researchers to reconsider the connections between values, so they also need to focus as much on the process as on the objects of analysis.

How curators undertake research has become much more visible to the public. Rather than producing statements of ultimate authority, museums' researchers engage with their research progress on a public stage. While it might take courage to represent not the ultimate voice of authority but rather a participant in a broader discourse, the Late Hokusai project proposes just that. The visibility of curators' research and argumentative processes does not devalue the work of the previous generation of art historians but rather enhances it, by improving on the scale, speed and retrievability of relevant data. An example is the translation workshops conducted as part of the Late Hokusai research project among scholars at Gakushūin University, Tokyo, the Art

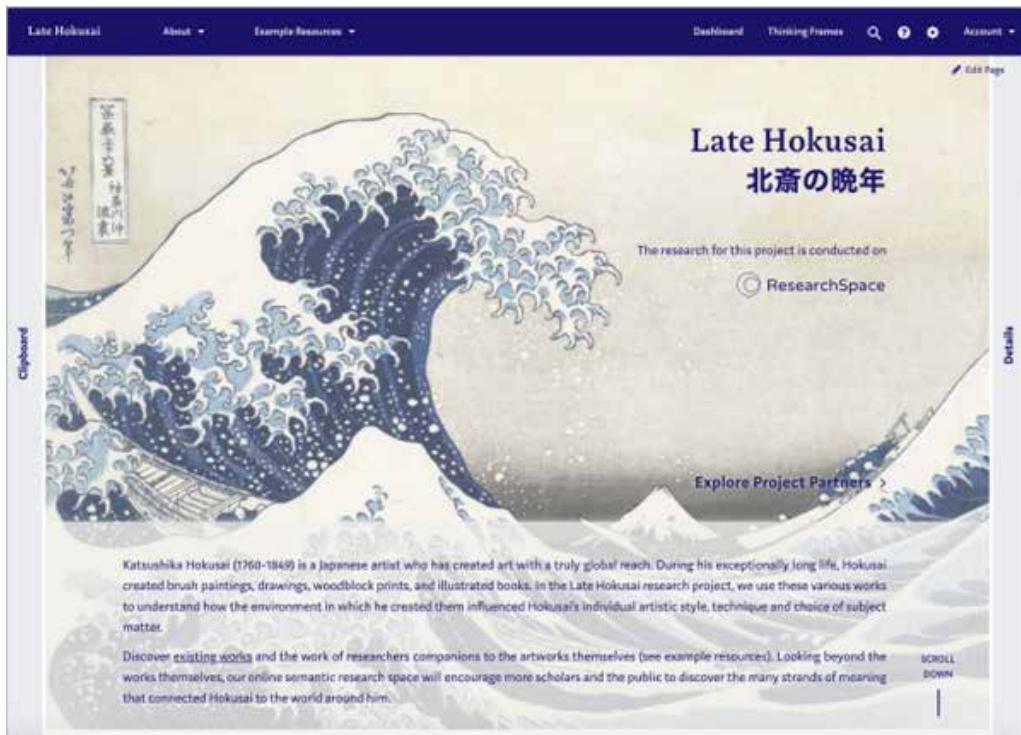


Plate 19.5 Late Hokusai ResearchSpace landing page, 2020. Screenshot: Stephanie Santschi

Research Center (ARC), Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, and the British Museum, London, where Hokusai's letters, their content and different paths to translating them, inspired an active discourse to the benefit of everyone involved. Since the new acquisition of the 103 block-ready drawings for *Banmotsu ehon daizan* (*The Great Picture Book of Everything*), an 'exhibition online' has been created to demonstrate the sequence in which the individual, separate drawings contained in the group might logically be ordered.¹³

With this in mind, it is important to remember that the digital methods developed here are just one kind of art history methodology that can be considered, and not the only solution available to future researchers. Instead, digital processes and analogous knowledge need to come together and be applied critically. Also, the fear that art historians will make their collections and their work redundant by digitising them can be countered by the project's reaffirmation of the primacy of the real object over its virtual surrogate. When making an observation, digital processes can shorten procedures for understanding vast amounts of data and organise information efficiently within various parameters. The object, however, remains the primary source of information, as any note on it – the data processed in informational systems – represents an external, interpretative view (which should be audited as such).

A significant criterion for the successful future research of extensive linked-data collections is data 'hygiene'. Ensuring the interoperability and reusability of information, including images, benefits from institutions collaboratively defining and adhering to open access standards (such as FAIR data principles).¹⁴ Such data hygiene is particularly important when dealing with multilingual research environments and could be facilitated by the use of standardised language tags (descriptors that assist automated processes to recognise in which language

information is available). Simultaneously, the progress of digitally supported research is also dependent on digitisation efforts such as those conducted by the Art Research Center (ARC) at Ritsumeikan University,¹⁵ and open access policies of institutions, including image-use permissions, of which the Metropolitan Museum of Art's open access policy is especially commendable.¹⁶ Data analysis processes would not be possible without the major effort of curators and digitisation assistants and the various projects supporting and funding them. Finally, by not just working with Japanese language data in an anglophone climate, but also including Japanese research partners in the discussion about conceptual maps, the project encourages the further development of an up-to-date version of the CIDOC CRM ontology.

Besides openness about the research process and methodology, including the challenges encountered along the way, the project encourages further refinement of the tools with which researchers can map art-related properties. Humanities-centred ontologies like CIDOC CRM in place during the duration of the Late Hokusai project, while being developed to represent cultural relationships within information stored in museum databases, lacked terms to describe art historic realities appropriately. As those existing ontologies centre on event- and object-based connections, they cannot adequately express detailed discussions of connoisseurship, artistic 'influence' and image-related details. To be able to work with multiple modes of visual, verbal or intellectual transmission of knowledge, language needs to be able to express what the eye sees. The project encourages and is looking forward to further developments in the field, by ResearchSpace itself, by the IIIF consortium,¹⁷ the community around the Linked Art data model, and of course the linked-dataset publications at Japanese memory and heritage institutions.¹⁸

Final thoughts

Imagine, in a last cognitive exercise, that those researchers studying Hokusai in a room in London, and those at a university in Japan, meet online to document their source data, their methods and their findings in the digital knowledge graph. Imagine that future scholars are able to track the development of their arguments directly on the platform. These Hokusai researchers will make their own and project knowledge accessible across space and time and promote collaborative understanding and the growth of knowledge.

What the project achieved, off- and online, was to unite not just data, but people. Collaborating throughout the entire research trajectory – planning, data gathering, executing, testing and researching with the platform's tools and informational content – had a positive impact on the research process. Just as semantic ontologies forced Late Hokusai researchers to reconsider connections between values, digital processes ask in detail *what* is looked at, as well as *how* this is done. Hitherto biased, unequal encounters in the data, system and research process are brought to the surface and hopefully can be overcome systematically.

As a platform that is, to date, unique in the field of Japanese art research, Late Hokusai ResearchSpace documents the potential for building nuanced web-based research processes that can be expanded upon in the future. As such, it urges future knowledge representation platforms of research projects to grow beyond digitised data collections. Such platforms need to find ways to connect opinions, arguments, values and properties to a complex whole, while enabling researchers to access and process information via customised search and editing systems such as the one presented by ResearchSpace.

Humanities and digital processes need to complement each other effectively. While tools representing and analysing complex and contextually dependent cultural information are useful for humanities research, critical thinking is equally necessary for the understanding of culture, particularly when applying data science methodologies such as algorithms that seemingly obscure research processes. Once researchers question the applicability of methods and the validity of interpretations within the contexts they are researching – that is, to prevent misinterpretation due to a lack of knowledge about the selection parameters of a sample – they strengthen their own message and contribute to progress of what humanity knows about itself (**Pl. 19.5**).

Notes

- 1 'Late Hokusai: thought, technique, society', Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), ref. no. AH/Noo44oX/1, at <https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH%2FNoo44oX%2F1> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 2 This contributes to the argument that institutions engaging in digital humanities can be seen as contributors to a general discussion about how scholars can build interdisciplinarily on existing digital resources to create new humanities scholarship, see Zorich 2012, 44 at <https://www.kressfoundation.org/Resources/Sponsored-Research/Research-Items/Transitioning-to-a-Digital-World> (accessed 13 March 2023).
- 3 ResearchSpace 2019, at <https://www.researchspace.org/> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 4 CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model, an information and documentation standard reviewed under ISO 21127:2014, at <http://www.cidoc-crm.org/> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 5 Details on these languages and standards documented at <https://www.w3.org/standards/> (accessed 14 February 2023). Using open standards developed by and documented on the website of the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) ensures long-term usability of digital information.
- 6 Malraux 1952, 123.
- 7 Clark 2017a.
- 8 Compare, for example, with Korenberg *et al.* 2019.
- 9 Keyes and Morse 2015. Typescript preserved in the Department of Asia, British Museum, and digitised as 'Hokusai Prints Catalogue Raisonne' at the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, at <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/booksrse/search.php> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 10 For an introduction to Japanese book production, see Suzuki and Tinios 2013.
- 11 Keyes 2017.
- 12 In contrast to Japanese woodblock prints remaining 'authentic' if some, but not all, elements of the set of printing blocks persist, European etchings would be understood as transformed objects if they displayed text that was added to the printing plate, or had elements cut away.
- 13 See <https://hokusai-great-picture-book-everything.researchspace.org/resource/rsp:Start> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 14 Wilkinson *et al.* 2016.
- 15 International Joint Digital Archiving Center for Japanese Arts and Culture, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, at <https://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/e/ijac/> (accessed 13 March 2023).
- 16 Open Access at The Met, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, at <https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/policies-and-documents/open-access> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 17 International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF), at <https://iiif.io> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 18 Linked Art Community: Linked Art Data Model, at <https://linked.art/model/> (accessed 14 February 2023).

Chapter 20

Hokusai: Beyond the Catalogue

Dominic Oldman, Diana Tanase and Cristina Giancristofaro

Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) – like his devoted scholar, the art historian Dr Roger Keyes, who died in 2020 after a career studying this unique artist – was a true researcher, continually pursuing new knowledge and understanding in a rapidly changing world. Through Hokusai, Keyes was not simply studying a catalogue of works, but exploring a ‘way of seeing’ the world and society through a lens that was itself focused on representing networks of natural and social interdependence. This dynamic is captured warmly and eloquently in Keyes’s poem, ‘Hokusai says’ (quoted in full on p. 227), which not only illustrates Hokusai’s and Roger’s outlook and humanity, but also provides strong and deliberate allusions to Hokusai’s practical methodology as a dialectician and as a follower of the Buddhist teaching of ‘unity of matter and mind’ (*busshin ichinyo*) (Pl. 20.1).¹

This aspect of Hokusai’s work has immense significance in the modern world and carries a strong message for cultural heritage organisations, and the historical disciplines, in terms of their social role. This short essay focuses on how the Late Hokusai project used and uses an interdisciplinary digital method that is not ancillary, like a database, but forms part of an interdisciplinary research process. Digital projects are compelled by traditional database software to impose convenient artificial categories and reductive abstractions (fields and values) on art and history, which expose little of the dynamic world in which objects existed and were produced. Instead, the Late Hokusai project uses a form of digital authoring and representation in a system called ResearchSpace, which recognises the reality of the world as dynamic interconnecting systems, something that we believe Hokusai also recognised.² The Late Hokusai project is still being developed along these lines, resolving issues of traditional data processing from legacy catalogue data and providing the means to represent the multi-causal relationships which produce ‘data narratives’ that are closer to reality.

Hokusai’s life in Japan overlapped with the life of Charles Babbage (1791–1871), who is celebrated by computer scientists for designing a mechanical computer that would eventually be the inspiration for modern digital computers. Digital computers were developed during and after the Second World War. ‘Cybernetics’, the foundation for modern-day computing, were discussed at a series of significant post-war conferences: the Macy Conferences.³ Significant because many of the prominent scientists who attended became part of a cybernetics group that would influence innovations like the internet, initially thought of as a type of self-regulating system. The terms ‘cyberspace’, ‘cyberpunk’ and ‘cyberculture’ derive from cybernetics and, incidentally, are referenced liberally in modern-day Japanese manga. The Macy Conferences included forums that brought together leading scholars in both natural and social sciences to consolidate the interdisciplinary working established during the war, which had been essential to solve the practical challenges that it presented to the allied countries. It was interdisciplinary thinking that helped bring the war to its conclusion.

Babbage was heavily influenced by Adam Smith’s (c. 1723–1790) concept of the division of labour. His intention was to break up traditional artisan production into smaller



Plate 20.1 Hokusai, 'Nichiren school pilgrims', from (*Ehon Kyōka*) *Yama mata yama* (*Mountains upon Mountains – A Kyōka Picture Book*), vol. 1, 1804. Colour woodblock, height 26.4cm, width 17.5cm (covers). British Museum, London, 1979,0305,0.440.1 (ex-collection Jack Hillier)

parts and reprogramme each previously artisan stage with a mechanical substitute. This would diminish the influence of artisan guilds and bring down the cost of production by reducing the intellectual input of workers who no longer needed to be trained to the same level. This approach would be applied to traditional woodblock printing in Japan during the 19th century, and despite a brief revival after the Second World War, only five professional carvers remain today along with about 60 individual printers.⁴

Keyes and Hokusai knew that everything is a process in constant and dynamic change. For example, Keyes realised that the print he called 'Pink Fuji' (Keyes essay, **Pl. 16.2**) was not a result of fading, or issues with the printing process, but rather a deliberate snapshot of change, and the dynamic of a natural occurrence. Keyes wrote, '[h]ow ironic that later impressions of Clear Weather betray Hokusai's vision, and substitute an icon of substance, stability and permanence ... People liked a picture that seems to have a solid presence'.⁵ This is how we are taught to think, but Hokusai's print was designed to show Mt Fuji at a particular dynamic moment when 'the first rays of the rising sun strike the upper slopes of the mountain and turn the black and grey ash a delicate pink'.⁶

During the period in which the first digital computers were being designed, the Macy scientists, and others around

the world, attempted to define a new universal science based on common structural aspects of different systems, wherever they occurred. Cartesian science had transformed human understanding, but 20th-century scholars exposed severe limits in its method when dealing with new complex questions for which individual and reduced parts provided no clues to the properties of the whole. Systems theory describes a world with interacting 'open systems' operating in an organismic way. Cybernetics, a form of systems theory, compared humans to 'whirlpools in a river of ever flowing water. We are not stuff that abides, but patterns that perpetuate themselves'.⁷

A key member of the Macy meetings and the cybernetics group was the anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1904–1980), the significance of whose work is only now being fully realised particularly in issues of ecology and our relationship to nature. Bateson argued that the way in which people were taught to think, in bounded boxes, was at odds with reality, saying, '[t]he major problems in the world are the result of the difference between how nature works and the way people think'.⁸ These words would have resonated with Hokusai and it is no surprise that some Buddhists align with aspects of systems theory. Themes of natural and human systems are apparent in Hokusai's work.⁹ Systems theory

overlaps with the dialectic thinking apparent both in materialist Buddhism and in Western dialectical thinking, which originated in Ancient Greece, but was formalised in the 19th century by Georg Hegel (1770–1831) as an idealistic method, and then by Karl Marx (1818–1883) as a method of practice in which systems are historically and practically formed as new knowledge, generated through contradictions with previous understanding.

Today's computers are similar in architecture to the ones developed in the 1950s. They have become an important part of modern society particularly because they process at scale and can be connected (networked) and create heterarchical environments, like the Web. However, computers are still manifestations of a division of labour. Their very architecture, in the tradition of Babbage, is informed by the needs of commerce rather than growing connected knowledge, with the Web only providing an illusory sense of connection. They are designed to provide a set of predetermined instructions (software), which are themselves determined by the input/output nature of the circuitry, and through which users must conform. Databases provide no sense of historical or social experience and provide a static, abstract and uncontextualised view of the world that impedes knowledge generation, an activity which requires collaboration and therefore meaningful communication. Human and other natural information systems adapt and respond to new knowledge and experience. This evolution is a key part of the research into Hokusai and the knowledge systems that surrounded him. Ideally, computers should not predetermine and restrict, but rather be responsive to our learning and experience, interconnect with us and our systems, and promote an interdisciplinary approach.

Dynamic is particularly apparent in Hokusai's later works that portray the flow of water, most famously seen in 'The Great Wave', but equally memorable in the mesmerising depictions of waterfalls. In 'Kurifuri Waterfall, Mt Kurikami, Shimotsuke Province' (Pl. 20.2), the dividing branches of water are described by Asano Shūgō as, 'streams of water as if alive, spreading out like the flow of blood in the human body'.¹⁰ It might equally portray the arteries of the world itself, illustrating a sense of interconnectedness and, at the same time, change. Hokusai captures this dynamic in his representations of Mt Fuji, both a formation of nature and a deity, which oversees and interacts with the social strata occupying the lands beneath it. It is a system, but operating both in human and geological time. Its character and qualities are changed by the different seasons and the various movements of each day. Hokusai's work is far from static, revealing a dynamic world, or at least the perspectives he studied. Underneath Mt Fuji's gaze he depicts everyday working life in a pre-capitalist environment with its challenges and changing conditions, including the gradual dismantling of old structures and hierarchies, and the imposition of new ones as Japan entered a more competitive global environment.¹¹

In the period just before Hokusai created 'The Great Wave' he was in financial difficulties. In a letter of 1830 he wrote, '[n]o money, no clothing, barely enough to eat; if I can't make some arrangements by the middle of next month,



Plate 20.2 Hokusai, 'Kirifuri Waterfall, Mt Kurokami, Shimotsuke Province', from the series *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces*, c. 1833. Colour woodblock, height 37.5cm, width 25.5cm. British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.192, bequeathed by Charles Hazelwood Shannon RA

I won't make it through spring'.¹² However, if times were tough for Hokusai personally during the 1820s, they were generally difficult for Japanese people in the 1830s as a result of harvest failure and famine (Pl. 20.3). There were signs of a breakdown of social order and a weakening of the shogunate – the government controlled by the shogun. For example, the 'Bunsei Tea Incident' of 1824 (during the Bunsei era, 1818–30) involved 115 villages in the Shizuoka area, which protested and took legal action against merchant organisations attempting to control the market. The shogunate was ineffectual in resolving this issue and its influence continued to decline. Japan was finally forced to open its commercial markets by Commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858) of the United States Navy through the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854, and who 'in some sense forced the hand of the official (*kanjō bugyō*) dealing with the issue'.¹³

Neil MacGregor has pointed to the encroachment of Western powers, about to breach Japan's supposed policy of isolation.¹⁴ He refers to the interpretation of Christine Guth, who wrote of Hokusai's famous print 'Under the Wave off Kanagawa' ('The Great Wave') that 'this great wave seemed, on the one hand, to be a symbolic barrier for the protection of Japan, but at the same time suggested the potential for the Japanese to travel abroad, for ideas to move, for things to

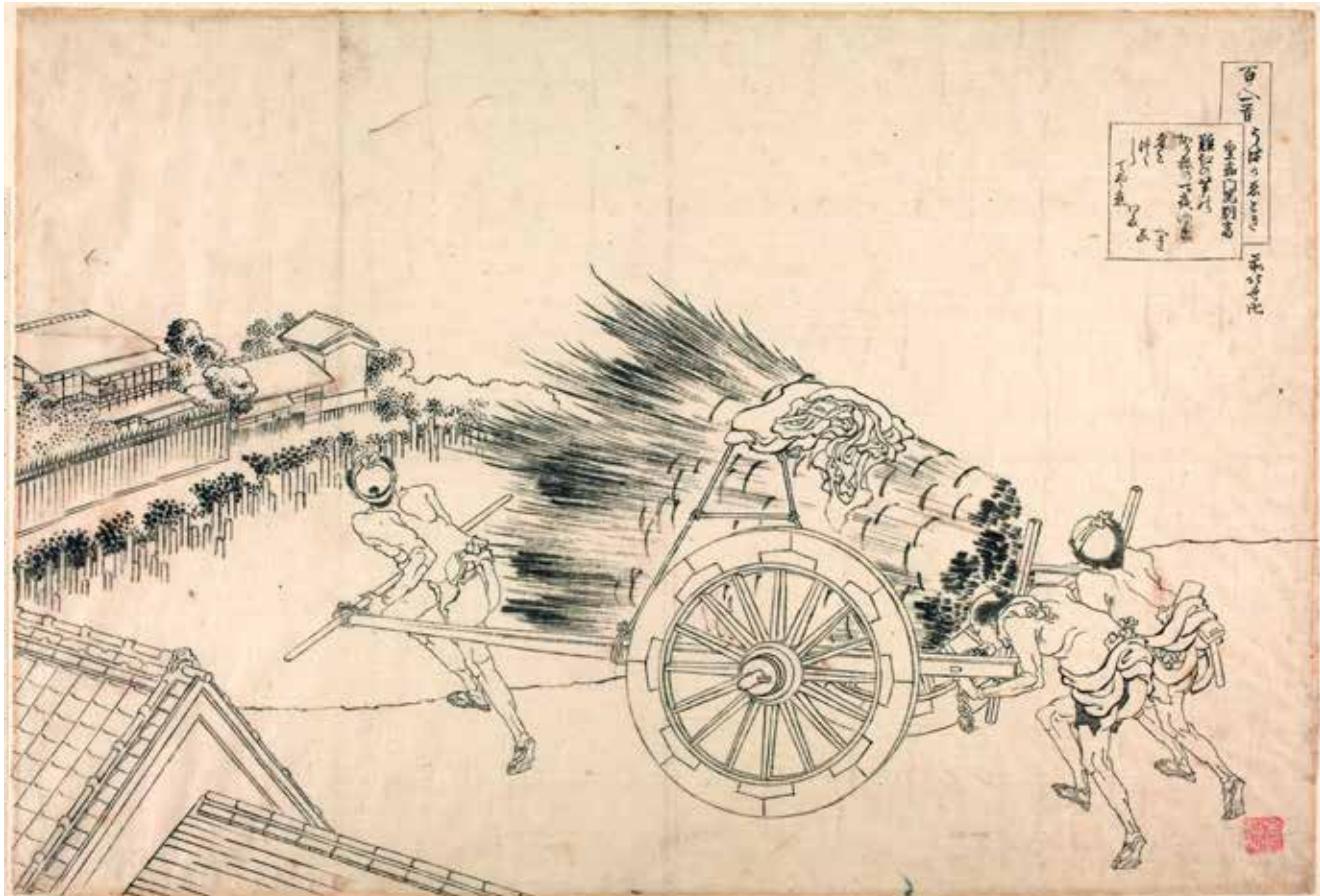


Plate 20.3 Hokusai, 'Poet Kōka Mon'in no Bettō', from the series *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse*, c. 1835–8. Block-ready drawing, ink on paper, height 25.0cm, width 37.1cm. British Museum, London, 1937,0710,0.286, bequeathed by Charles Hazelwood Shannon RA

move back and forth'.¹⁵ In this interpretation it is a wave created by Western industrialisation knocking at the door of Japan in its search for raw materials.¹⁶ The eventual incorporation of Japan into the new economic world order, forced by the familiar 'gunboat diplomacy' of the West, would itself engulf Japanese society and dramatically change its economic and political landscape.¹⁷ Whether or not Hokusai had this in mind when he designed 'The Great Wave', there is no doubt that people's destiny was bound up with this radical change in environment, and environment was important to Hokusai.

The ResearchSpace system provides a framework capable of representing these meaningful relationships through richer digital surrogates of the real world (Pl. 20.4). It is based on the principle that complex questions require an understanding of how processes, not things, interconnect and how they change over time – that different people start their research from different vantage points and different extensions of time, but when synthesised produce a fuller understanding. Databases provide a useful means of storing large quantities of consistent information, but their form and structure are designed to support fields of information that are narrow and 'intrinsic' with no reference to empirical reality. Within the database itself there are few meaningful connections. They employ Western thinking that sees everything as individual things in themselves, with no necessary or fundamental dependencies on anything else, removing relations through an artificial data model limited to providing statistics and a basic finding aid. The

intellectual elements of knowledge are stripped away, but these relations are what reveal the important and interesting aspects of the subjects they inhabit.

The legacy cultural heritage datasets used in the project only represented a basic set of facts about Hokusai's work. The content and structure of the data imported into ResearchSpace was transformed into a contextual form that only then provided the potential for extended semantic modelling by the researchers themselves, on their terms. By adding patterns with explicit context using the CIDOC CRM (Conceptual Reference Model) when importing the data, the ability to bring it into a larger network of knowledge would allow and encourage a multilayered knowledge graph with the potential to grow in different directions and without boundaries.¹⁸ An ontology provides a framework that allows relational statements about reality at different degrees of generality or specialisation. These statements build patterns of empirical facts that together infer new knowledge which can be represented in ResearchSpace, including statements of causation and argument. These ontological semantics make sense to humans but also provide a solid form of logic that allows computers to help organise and make reasoned inferences based on rules which a researcher specifies. The ontology ensures that the semantics are clear and explicit and therefore it promotes the integration of information, sharing and reuse.

Such a network builds a real-world picture that not only tells us about Hokusai, but also uses Hokusai's work as a primary source to help understand an important period in

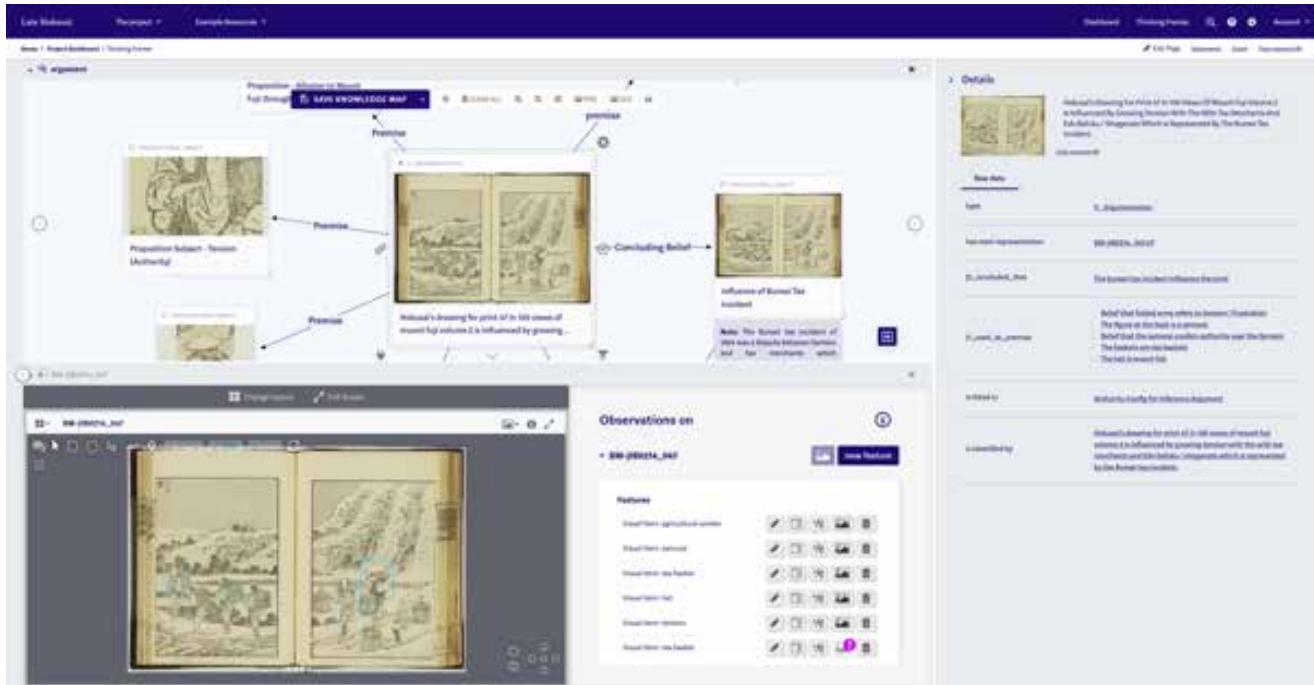


Plate 20.4 A screenshot from the Late Hokusai ResearchSpace knowledge base showing the process of creating a semantic map across Hokusai's *One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*

the history of Japan, one which does not stand alone but is part of a wider global history and which also influences present society. That is not to say that the dialectic images that Hokusai provides do not require other perspectives. The system is designed to include and represent other sources in different media and from other disciplines, integrated to provide a 'moving' totality – to resolve contradictions and synthesise new conclusions. This endeavour is ongoing and is a scientific method. A provenance of knowledge can be developed showing previous avenues of research and associated programmes of research with different branches of scholarship, but which form a single knowledge base. Instead of a tension between qualitative and quantitative research, they are part of the same thing.

With good reason, historians have been cautious about and resistant to digital methods, conscious of the limitations of computers and their impact on research processes. Databases cannot provide narratives and they cannot represent 'why' information. Database systems were originally based on financial transactions and supply-chain tracking, and were not designed to help answer historical questions. In the humanities we use databases on their terms, accepting their design parameters and functional perspective. Scholars have formed an opinion about what computers can usefully do. This means that the investment they are prepared to make in learning how computers work, and therefore making more informed choices or becoming involved in changing the structure and content of data, is limited and related to an established perceived paucity of benefits. Web-based data systems are increasingly the backbone of communication networks, but scholars are unable to challenge these services because of inadequate training in how to transfer humanities knowledge systems to technology, intellectually intact. The ResearchSpace knowledge base provides a means for researchers to generate

their own models based on their own questions and to create sophisticated data narratives that deal with interpretation and answer historical questions. The increasing reliance on the Web and the Web of Data means that humanities scholars must urgently address these problems if they want to provide better digital representations and develop more progressive digital methods. In creating digital systems for knowledge generation, their design should draw from people like Hokusai, one in a long line of dialectic thinkers, and this thinking is core to the ResearchSpace system.

Notes

- 1 Laurence Sterne Trust 2015.
- 2 See <http://www.researchspace.org> (accessed 14 February 2023).
- 3 Pias 2016.
- 4 Salter 2015.
- 5 Keyes 2008, 73.
- 6 Ibid., 70.
- 7 Wiener 1988, 86.
- 8 Bateson 2011.
- 9 Macy 1991.
- 10 Clark 2017a, 145.
- 11 Farris 2019, 114.
- 12 Translation adapted from Yasuhara 2023 (forthcoming), part 2, section 18 ('Letter IV').
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 This is disputed by some historians.
- 15 MacGregor 2010, 610 (citing C. Guth).
- 16 Ibid., 607.
- 17 Ibid., 611.
- 18 CIDOC CRM, 'The CIDOC CRM Home Page'. ICOM Standard. The CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model, at <http://www.cidoc-crm.org/> (accessed 14 February 2023).

Appendix 1

A Chronological List of Late Hokusai Books with Short Bibliographic Notes

Compiled by Ellis Tinios

Establishing the publishing history of commercially issued Japanese woodblock-printed books is rarely straightforward. The task is particularly complicated when dealing with books designed by Hokusai. His popularity made the printing blocks for his art books high-value assets that changed hands frequently, particularly during the last four decades of his life. Study of his books is further complicated by the significant number of copies of certain titles that were published without colophons. The situation was exacerbated by the most aggressive promoter of the Hokusai brand, Nagoya-based Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō). Tōhekidō deliberately removed basic bibliographic information from its editions, including the date of production of the printing blocks (*hannen* 板年 or *kannen* 刊年, see below) and the names of the ‘collating pupils’ (*kyōgō monjin* 校合門人) who assisted in the preparation of a number of Hokusai titles in the 1810s and early 1820s. Tōhekidō also made a practice of assigning books by Hokusai’s pupils to the master (see Tinios essay, p. 75).

Explanatory notes:

- This list is work in progress. Each entry is based on the examination – from cover to cover – of as many copies of a given title as possible. Most copies were accessed via the internet primarily through the Ritsumeikan University Art Research Center’s Classics Portal Database (dh-jac.net/db1/books/search_portal.php?lang=en), and the Union Catalogue Database of Japanese Texts ([kokusho.nijl.ac.jp/?ln=en](http://nijl.ac.jp/?ln=en)). However, a significant number were examined in actuality.
- Unless otherwise indicated, all the books in this list are in *fukurotoji* (袋綴) format, *hanshbon* size (半紙本, covers approximately 23 × 14cm) and vertical in orientation. The sheets making up these books, which are printed on one side only, and then folded in half to form two pages, are referred to as folios (*chō* 収).
- Unless otherwise indicated, the first title given in each entry is that printed on the title slip (*daisen* 題簽) pasted on the front cover of the earliest printing of a book. Alternative and later titles follow immediately, each set off by a line (—).
- The translations of the titles in this list should not be used in place of transcriptions of the original Japanese titles when writing or speaking about these books. There are no established, uniform translations for Edo-period book titles. Many of the translations are approximations or just one of several possible renderings of the Japanese. They are provided for reference only.
- All lists of the names of contributors, publishers and booksellers have been transcribed reading from right to left.
- Copyright, so far as it existed in early modern Japan, resided in the possession of printing blocks. In most cases, the artist was paid for block-ready drawings (*hanshita-e* 版下繪) and usually, after the first printing, had no further say over the use of the blocks. Ownership of the blocks often changed hands. In this list, where possible, successive block-holders (*zōhan* 藏版) are identified by an asterisk (*) to set them apart from the other publishers/booksellers/co-distributors whose shop names (*yagō* 屋号

) are listed in the back matter of many books under headings such as *shorin* (書林), *shoshi* (書肆) and *hakkō shoshi* 発行書肆, or under no heading at all. The block-holder is identified on the basis of one or more of the following criteria:

- 1. The presence of his company name (*dōgō* 堂号) on the inside front cover
- 2. The presence of his shop name alone in the colophon
- 3. The presence of his company name and/or shop name at the head of a list of publications (*zōhan mokuroku* 藏版目録) bound in at the back of a copy of the book
- 4. The presence of the character *han* 版/板 (woodblock) or the character *shi* 桉 (catalpa tree, which stands for woodblock) after his shop name in a list of shop names given at the end of the book
- 5. The presence of an impression in red of a seal (*in* 印) bearing the company or shop name after his name in a list at the end of the book
- 6. If none of the above are present, then the left-most name in the list of publishers/booksellers/co-distributors at the end of the book is assumed to be that of the block-holder
- The date recorded in the colophon is the 'date of production' (*hannen* 板年 or *kannen* 刊年). It indicates the year, and perhaps the month or season, in which the cutting of the blocks was completed. The year in which a particular copy of a book was printed is never indicated.
- When there is no colophon or the colophon is without a date, an approximate date may be deduced from prefaces or postscripts. However, the dates recorded at the end of those texts only indicate when that text was written. The blocks for the book may actually have been cut years later.
- 'Publishers' lists' (*zōhan mokuroku*) are printed lists of books available from a publisher. They are never an integral part of any particular book; a single list may be included in the back matter of various of the firm's titles. They ranged in length from a half-folio (半丁 *hanchō*, single page) pasted on the inside back cover, to several folios (丁 *chō*) bound in at the back of the book-block. The printing blocks for these lists were often updated; publishers regularly issued fresh lists. A list might be devoted to a particular genre or artist. Many of these lists carry short blurbs describing the content of each title. In addition, Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō) regularly added half-folio lists to the inside front covers of its publications. The latter do not include blurbs.
- A numeral – or enumerator – followed by *hen* (編) after a title is rendered in this list as 'Part' followed by the appropriate Roman numeral. This usage is encountered in works issued in successive volumes, often over an extended period, each of which carried a distinct colophon (e.g. *Hokusai manga* and *Fugaku hyakkei*). In these cases, each volume should be treated as a distinct bibliographic entity. Should the parts of such a work subsequently be published in a unified edition, they then are treated as a single bibliographic entity.
- For the 'Complete collection of Hokusai's renowned pictures' (*Hokusai meiga zenshū* 北斎名畫全集) that formed part of a catalogue published by Unsōdō (Kyoto) in 1912,

see Tinios essay, **Table 4**, pp. 87–8. Here that list is cited as: Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

- In the following list, publishers' 'shop names' (屋号 *yagō*) are used rather than their 'firm names' (堂号 *dōgō*) in order to record the names as they most often appear in the paratexts of the books themselves; the firm names are employed in the text of the related essay (Tinios, pp. 71–88).

Bunka 7 (1810)

Ono ga bakamura mudaji e-zukushi 己痴群夢多字画尽 (*Drawings by the Fool Ono Composed of Elements of Characters*)

Chūhon. Copies with this title are extremely rare.

—First published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō* 蔦屋重三郎 (Kōshodō 耕書堂).

—The blocks then passed to Tsuruya Kinsuke 鶴屋金助 (Sōkakudō 双鶴堂).

—Subsequently, Tsuruya Kinsuke* and Kadomaruya Jinsuke* 角丸屋甚助 (Shūseikaku 衆星閣) jointly owned the blocks.

—From around 1814, the book was offered for sale as *Ryakuga hayagaku*, *zenpen* (see below). This title should be distinguished from *Ryakuga haya oshie zenpen* (see next entry).

c. Bunka 9 (1812)

Ryakuga haya-oshie, shohen 略画早指南 初編 (*Quick Guide to Rough Sketching, Part I*)

Ryakuga haya-oshie, kōhen 略画早指南 後編 (*Quick Guide to Rough Sketching, Part II*)

Chūhon. Date of production is approximate.

—The blocks were jointly owned by Tsuruya Kinsuke* and Kadomaruya Jinsuke*.

—*Part III* followed in 1815 (see below).

Bunka 11 (1814)

Denshin kaishū: Hokusai manga 伝神開手/北斎漫画 (*A Primer for Conveying the True Spirit: Hokusai's Sketches*) [Hereafter this title will be abbreviated to *Hokusai manga* 北斎漫画 (*Hokusai's Sketches*.)]

Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekidō)* of Nagoya launched *Hokusai manga* in 1814 with the publication of the book as a stand-alone volume. Following its unexpected popularity, Eirakuya joined with the Edo-based publisher Kadomaruya Jinsuke (Shūseikaku) to extend the title from one to ten volumes.

—A second set of blocks was cut for the first volume.

Those blocks included the title *Hokusai manga shohen* (*Hokusai's sketches, Part I*) in the *hashira* (there was no title in the *hashira* in the first set of blocks), and captions were added to some of the figures in the opening pages.

—*Hokusai manga, Parts II–X* appeared between 1815 and 1819.

—Kadomaruya* and Eirakuya* launched a further 10 parts with the publication of *Part XI* sometime between the mid-1820s and 1833, followed by *Part XII* on the second day of the first month of 1834. *Parts XI* and *XII* were the last to be

published jointly by the two firms, and the last to be published with Hokusai's participation. *Part XII* is an outlier (see below).

—Five collating pupils were named in the early printings of *Parts I* through *XI*. Three were from Nagoya: Hokutei Bokusen (北亭墨僊, 1736–1824); Tōnansai Hoku'un (東南西北雲, n.d.); and Gessai Utamasa (月斎哥政, n.d.). Two were based in Edo: Totoya Hokkei (魚屋北渓, 1780–1850) and Tōenrō Hokusen (斗圓樓北泉, n.d.). Each of the co-publishers employed his own colophon in the copies he handled. Eirakuya only names the first two, Bokusen and Hoku'un, in his colophons; Kadomaruya names those two as well as Hokkei and Hokusen. Then, in 1819, Kadomaruya replaced Hoku'un with Utamasa. There is no ready explanation for the discrepancies in the names appearing in these colophons.

—Eirakuya gained sole control of the printing blocks for *Hokusai manga*, *Parts I–XII* in the course of the 1830s.

Eirakuya then intentionally omitted the names of the collating pupils and the dates of production from all its subsequent printings of the *Hokusai manga*.

—The blocks for *Parts XIII* and *XIV* were cut after Hokusai's death, at some point in the 1850s, using block-ready drawings most likely based on preliminary drawings by Hokusai. Collating pupils were never named in these volumes.

—*Part XV* (1878), which is based largely on figures excerpted from Hokusai's *Denshin gakyō* (1818), concluded the series. Thereafter, *Hokusai manga* was kept in print in a unified edition of 15 volumes.

—In the 1890s the blocks were acquired by Yamada Naosaburō (山田直三郎, 1866–1932), founder of the Kyoto-based publishing house Unsōdō 芸艸堂. He recut the blocks before 1912. The series was the lead title in the catalogue published by the firm in 1912. Unsōdō's most recent printing of *Hokusai manga* was an edition of 150 complete sets published in 2015.

***Ryakuga hayagaku, zenpen* 略画早学 前編 (*First Steps in Sketching, Part I*)**

Chūhon. The date is approximate.

This is a retitled printing of *Ono ga bakamura mudaji e-zukushi* (1810) (see above). Issued jointly by Tsuruya Kinsuke* and Kadomaruya Jinsuke*.

***Ryakuga hayagaku, kōhen* 略画早学 後編 (*First Steps in Sketching Part II*)**

Chūhon. The date is approximate.

Issued jointly by Tsuruya Kinsuke* and Kadomaruya Jinsuke*.

***Hokusai shashin gafu* 北斎写真画譜 (*Hokusai's Album Drawn True to Life*)**

Ōhon. *Gajōsō* format. Preface dated 1814. Numerous finely printed copies are without a colophon. The colophon that appears in some copies of the book is dated 1819, and lists the publisher as Tsuruya Kiemon* 鶴屋喜右衛門 (Edo).

—There is an 1891 reprint by Aoki Heikichi 青木平吉 (not seen).

Bunka 12 (1815)

***Ehon jōruri zekku* 絵本淨瑠璃絶句 (*Illustrated Jōruri with Chinese Quatrains*)**

***Ehon chōsei den* 絵本長生殿 (*Illustrated Grand Hall of Longevity*)**

Collating pupil: Hokutei Bokusen (Nagoya).

Colophon and preface both dated 1815. The preface is missing from most copies. A significant number of copies were published without a colophon.

This book is known in three states: line only; with grey tints; and colour printed. The colour-printed edition is titled *Ehon chōsei den*.

—First published by Kadomaruya Jinsuke (Edo) with Matsuya Kihei* 松屋喜兵衛 (Nagoya).

—Then by Kadomaruya and Yorozuya Tōbei 萬屋東平 (Nagoya).

—In some copies, only 'Kadomaruya Jinsuke' appears in the colophon with the remains of a second name crudely cut out of the block to its left. It is not clear if such copies represent an intermediate state between Kadomaruya-Matsuya and Kadomaruya-Yorozuya or if they followed the latter.

—There is what appears to be a precursor volume at the Met (2013.737). It is fragmentary and lacks the original covers and title slip.

***Kinoe-no-komatsu* 喜能会之故真通 (*Pine Seedlings on the First Rat Day, or Old True Sophisticates of the Club of Delightful Skills*)**

Three-volume multicolour printed erotic book (*shunpon*). No publisher is named as was customary in *shunpon* in this period.

***Hokusai manga, nihen* 北斎漫画二編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part II*)**

***Hokusai manga, sanpen* 北斎漫画三編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part III*)**

***Odori hitori-geiko* 踊独稽古 (*Teach Yourself Dancing*)**

Chūhon. Preface and colophon dated 1815.

—First published in Edo by Tsuruya Kinsuke*. *Part II*, advertised as forthcoming in the back matter, was never published.

—Blocks acquired (*kyūhan* 求版) by Ōshimaya Den'emon* 大嶋屋伝右衛門 (Edo) in 1836.

***Ryakuga haya-oshie, sanpen, Gadō hitori-geiko* 略画早指南 三編 画道独稽古 (*Quick Guide to Rough Sketching, Part III: Teach Yourself the Way of Painting*)**

Chūhon. The date is approximate. Title slip as above. The preface title reads *Gadō hitori-geiko*. Kadomaruya Jinsuke (Edo)*.

Bunka 13 (1816)

Santai gafu 三体画譜 (*Album of Drawings in Three Styles*)

The colophon is dated 1816.

Collating pupils: Totoya Hokkei and Tōenrō Hokusen (Edo); and Gekkōtei Bokusen; and Tōnansai Hoku'un (Nagoya).

—Initially published by Kadomaruya Jinsuke* (Edo) in collaboration with Minoya Ichibei and Eirakuya Tōshirō (both Nagoya).

—Later printings (c. 1820) were published by Kadomaruya in collaboration with Hanabusaya Heikichi 英屋平吉 and Takekawa Tōbei 竹川藤兵衛 (both Edo).

—Even later printings were the work of six publishers-distributors: Yamashiroya Sahei 山城屋佐兵衛 (Kyoto); Kawachiya Gihei 河内屋儀兵衛 (Osaka); Kadomaruya Jinsuke (Edo); Eirakuya Tōshirō; Minoya Ichibei 美濃屋市兵衛; Minoya Seishichi* 美濃屋清七 (all three Nagoya).

—Then, Minoya Iroku* 美濃屋伊六 (Nagoya) appears as the sole publisher.

—Eirakuya Tōshirō* was in sole possession of the blocks by the early 1830s.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

Hokusai manga, yonpen 北斎漫画四編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part IV*)

Hokusai manga, gohen 北斎漫画五編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part V*)

Bunka 14 (1817)

Ehon hayabiki, zenpen 絵本早引前編 (*Quick-Reference Picture Dictionary, Part I*)

Chūhon. Two further parts followed in 1819 and 1841.

Kadomaruya Jinsuke* and Tsuruya Kinsuke* (both Edo) were joint block-holders.

Hokusai manga, rokuhen 北斎漫画六編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part VI*)

Title page names Tōhekidō (Eirakuya Tōshirō) and Shūseikaku (Kadomaruya Jinsuke) as the joint block-holders (*gōshi* 合梓).

Shortly after the initial publication of *Part VI*, the names of the two Portuguese men depicted on folio 25 recto were cut from the printing blocks.

Hokusai manga, shichihen 北斎漫画七編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part VII*)

Bunka 15/Bunsei 1 (1818)

Hokusai manga, hachihen 北斎漫画八編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part VIII*)

Hyōsui kiga 萍水奇画 (*Eccentric Pictures Freely Flowing*)

—Ehon ryōhitsu 画本両筆 (*Picture Book from Two Brushes*)

—Ryōhitsu gafu 両筆画譜 (*Album of Pictures from Two Brushes*)

Ōhon. This book consists of landscapes created by the Osaka artist Naniwa Ryūkōsai 浪花立好斎 for *Gekijō gashi* 劇場画史 (*Picture History of the Stage*, 1802) into which figures by Hokusai were inserted. The original poems in the image fields were replaced by fresh *haiku*, and three folios of *haiku* were bound in at the end of each of the two volumes in which the hybrid book was published by Eirakuya Tōshirō* and Ryōguchiya Yashirō 両口屋弥四郎 (both Nagoya). The colophon is dated 1818.

—This hybrid book is most often encountered in two distinct, expanded single-volume editions from Eirakuya* alone: *Ehon ryōhitsu* and *Ryōhitsu gafu*. Both editions include illustrations printed from modified *Gekijō gashi* blocks that were not included in *Hyōsui kiga*, and an entirely new illustration by Hokusai (a landscape seen through heavy rain, folios not numbered). Both also carry the same, undated colophon, which identifies Hokusai as responsible for the figures and Ryūkōsai for the landscapes, and Eirakuya Tōshirō as the sole publisher.

—*Ehon ryōhitsu* appeared both in multicolour and line-only editions. The single *haiku* added to each *Hyōshi kiga* image was replaced with multiple *kyōka* poems. In some cases that necessitated the cutting away of part of the key-block to accommodate the poems.

—*Ryōhitsu gafu* was issued in line only, with all the poems removed. The damage to key-blocks caused when those poems had been inserted is evident in some of the illustrations. The covers associated with this edition, plain except for broad brushstrokes of yellow pigment, appear to have been used by Eirakuya around 1830.

—There is an edition titled *Kyōka gafu: Hakoya no yama* 狂歌画譜／貌姑射山 (*Album of Comic Verse: Mt Hakoya*), with a preface dated 1821. The *kyōka* accompanying the images are reported not to be the same as those in *Ehon ryōhitsu*. It has not been possible to examine a copy of this edition.

Denshin gakyō 伝心画鏡 (*Transmitting the Heart, Minded to Paint*)

—Hokusai gakyō 北斎画鏡 (*Hokusai's Models for Painting*) on the title slip

—Shūga ichiran 秀画一覽 (*Excellent Pictures at a Glance*)

—Hokusai gakan 北斎畫鑑 (*Hokusai's Models for Painting*) on the title slip

Ōhon. The preface is dated 1818.

Four collating pupils: Hokutei Bokusen (as Gekkōtei Bokusen 月光亭墨仙); Taisō 戴璪; Hokutaka 北鷹; Gessai Utamasa 月斎哥政 (all Nagoya). The same group is named in *Hokusai soga* (1820).

A title sheet, which is only present on the inside front cover of copies that list Hishiya Kyūbei* 菱屋久兵衛 (Nagoya) as the sole publisher, provides the following extended title: *Eihitsu hyakuga, kōhen: Denshin gakyō* 英筆百画後編/伝心画鏡 (*One Hundred Drawings from the Brush of Handusa, Part II: Transmitting the Heart, Minded to Paint*). This unexpectedly links this book to *Eihitsu hyakuga* 英筆百画 (*One Hundred*

Drawings from the Brush of Hanabusa, 1758), which reproduces designs by Hanabusa Itchō (1652–1724).

—Hishiya Kyūbei was subsequently joined by five publishers: Hishiya Jihei 菱屋治兵衛 (Kyoto); Kawachiya Tasuke 河内屋太助 (Osaka); Maekawa Rokuzaemon 前川六左衛門 and Kadomaruya Jinsuke (both Edo); and Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya).

—See the following entry for a modified edition with added colour published as *Shūga ichiran*.

—In 1834 the book was published from recut blocks with the title *Hokusai gakyō* on the title slip and *Denshin gakyō* on the title page. Four Edo publishers/distributors were involved in this edition: Kadomaruya Jinsuke, Suharaya Mohei, Suharaya Ihachi 須原屋伊八 and Izumoji Manjirō* 出雲寺萬次郎. (Kadomaruya was the only one of them to have had an interest in the original printing.)

The newly cut colophon claims that Izumoji Manjirō acquired the original blocks (*kyūhan* 求版) in 1834, and misdates the first edition to 1811. It also omits the names of the four collating pupils. However, the name of the blockcutter of the fresh set of blocks is given: Ozaki Shōkurō 尾崎庄九郎. (No blockcutter was named in the original edition.)

—Eirakuya Tōshirō* reprinted the book as *Hokusai gakan* with a freshly cut colophon dated Ansei 5 (1858) and changes to the outermost folios. Twelve Edo publishers are listed below the colophon as co-distributors; no blockcutter is named.

—Eirakuya Tōshirō extracted images from this book for the pastiche *Hokusai manga*, Part XV (1878).

—There is an 1877 printing of the book (not seen), and a high-quality 1899 facsimile.

—This title was included, as *Denshin gakyō*, in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Shūga ichiran* 秀画一覧 (Excellent Pictures at a Glance)**

Ōhon. This book is a modified reissue of *Denshin gakyō*, using the original key-blocks. Four folios illustrating plants and flowers were omitted. Colour blocks were cut to add multiple, strong colours to the remaining images. The quality of the impression from the key-blocks in this colour edition is almost as fine as in the slightly earlier, original, line-only edition. The names of the collating pupils remain but the line-up of publishers/distributors now reads: Hishiya Jihei (Kyoto); Kawachiya Taisuke; Kawachiya Chōbei; and Kawachiya Genshichi (all Osaka); and Eirakuya Tōshirō and Hishiya Kyūbei* (both Nagoya). The significance of the absence of Edo publishers from this list is not clear.

***Tsuma gasane* 津満嘉佐根 (A Husband and a Spare)**

Three-volume multicolour printed erotic book (*shunpon*). No publisher is named as was customary in *shunpon* in this period.

Bunsei 2 (1819)

***Hokusai shashin gafu* 北斎写真画譜 (Hokusai's Album Drawn True to Life)**

See under Bunka 11 (1814)

***Hokusai manga, kyūhen* 北斎漫画 九編 (Hokusai's Sketches, Part IX)**

***Hokusai manga, juppen* 北斎漫画 十編 (Hokusai's Sketches, Part X)**

***Hokusai gashiki* 北斎画式 (Hokusai's Drawing Method)**

Ōhon. Preface date 1818; colophon and wrapper date 1819. Collating pupils: Senkakutei Hokuyō 千鶴亭北洋; Sekkatei Hokushū 雪花亭北州; Shunyōsai Hokkei 春陽斎北敬 (all Nagoya).

—Publisher/distributors: Suharaya Mohei; Izumiya Shōjirō 利和泉屋庄治郎 (Edo); Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya); Akitaya Taemon (Osaka); Fushimiya Tōemon and Izumiya Rihei (both Kyoto).

Published with and without light tints.

Many surviving copies are without a colophon.

—By 1830, Eirakuya Tōshirō had acquired full ownership of the blocks. He reduced the printing blocks for this book and for *Hokusai soga* from *ōhon* to *hanshōbon* size, modified the designs where necessary, and used them – along with a further 20 blocks freshly cut using block-ready drawings possibly by Ōi – to produce the three-volume *Hokusai gafu*. The publication of the latter appears to have stretched out over two decades (see below).

***Ehon hayabiki, kōhen* 絵本早引 後編 (Quick-Reference Picture Dictionary, Part II)**

Chūhon. Kadomaruya Jinsuke and Tsuruya Kinsuke (both Edo) joint block-holders.

Bunsei 3 (1820)

***Ryōbi shohitsu* 良美灑筆 (Refined Beauty of the Fluid Brush)**

***Hokusai soga* 北斎麿画 (Hokusai's Rough Sketches)**

Ōhon. Originally published as *Ryōbi shohitsu*. Very rarely encountered with that title. Reissued within a year (in 1821) as *Hokusai soga*.

Four collating pupils: Hokutei Bokusen (as Gekkōtei Bokusen 月光亭墨仙); Taisō 戴璪; Hokutaka 北鷹; Gessai Utamasa 月斎哥政 (all Nagoya). The same group is named in *Denshin gakyō* (1818).

—The colophon in the one copy identified with the title slip *Ryōbi saihitsu zen* lists Kadomaruya Jinsuke (Edo), and Eirakuya Tōshirō, Minoya Seishichi 美濃屋清七, Minoya Ichibei 美濃屋市兵衛, Minoya Iroku (all Nagoya) as publishers/distributors, and records the names of the collating pupils.

—The same colophon appears in copies bearing the title slip *Hokusai soga zen*.

—Later colophon lists Suharaya Mohei, Suharaya Iroku, Okada Kashichi 岡田嘉七, Nishimura Yohachi, Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門, Kadomaruya Jinsuke, Maekawa Rokuzaemon, Ōsakaya Mokichi 大坂屋茂吉 (all Edo), and Eirakuya Tōshirō* (Nagoya) as publishers/distributors. The

names of the collating pupils are no longer given. Copies encountered with and without light tints.

—By 1830, Eirakuya Tōshirō had acquired full ownership of the blocks. He reduced the printing blocks for this book and for *Hokusai gashiki* from *ōhon* to *hanshōbon* size, modified the designs where necessary, and used them – along with a further 20 blocks freshly cut using block-ready drawings possibly by Ōi – to produce the three-volume *Hokusai gafu*. The publication of the latter appears to have stretched out over two decades (see below).

Bunsei 4 (1821)

***Manpuku wagōjin* 万福和合神 (*Gods of Myriad Conjugal Delights*)**

Three-volume multicolour printed erotic book (*shunpon*). No publisher named as was customary in *shunpon* in this period. Text and images attributed to Hokusai.

***Kyōka gafu, Hakoya no yama* 狂歌画譜／貌姑射山 (*Album of Comic Verse: Mt Hakoya*)**

Another edition of *Hyōsui Kiga* of 1818. Not seen.

Bunsei 6 (1823)

***Ippitsu gafu* 一筆画譜 (*Album of Single-Stroke Drawings*)**

Collating pupils: Hokutei Bokusen and Tōnansai Hoku'un (both Nagoya).

In a letter to Eirakuya, Hokusai mentions the possibility of a second part (*kōhen* 後編) (see Feltens essay, pp. 32–42).

—Earliest colophon lists four publishers/distributors: Hanabusaya Heikichi 英屋平吉; Takekawa Tōbei; Kadomaruya Jinsuke; and Eirakuya Tōshirō*. (These four were also involved in the initial publication of *Santai gafu* in 1816.) The early copies were printed on fine, thick paper, with extensive use of day-flower blue that has, invariably, faded in all surviving copies of this edition.

—A subsequent printing lists nine publisher/distributors: Eirakuya Tōshirō* & Maekawa Rokuzemon (Nagoya); Ōsakaya Mokichi, Kadomaruya Jinsuke and Tsurugaya Kyūhei 敦賀屋九兵衛 (Edo); Kawachiya Kihei, Kashiwaraya Sei'emon 柏原屋清右衛門 and Kashiwaraya Yozaemon 柏原屋与左衛門 (Osaka); and Fushimiya Tōemon 伏見屋藤右衛門 (Kyoto).

—Printings listing just Eirakuya Tōshirō* and Izumiya Ichibei 和泉屋市兵衛 (Edo).

—A very late Edo-period printing lists Eirakuya Tōshirō* with 12 booksellers/distributors: six in Edo; four in Osaka; and two in Kyoto.

—Yamada Naosuke* (Unsōdō, in Kyoto) took over the blocks (*kyūhan* 求版) in 1911. This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Imayō sekkin/kushikiseru hiinagata* 今様櫛☆離形 (*Modern Designs for Combs and Tobacco Pipes*)**

Chūhon. In three horizontal volumes (*yokohon* 横本). Preface dated 1822; postscript and colophon both dated 1823.

Kadomaruya Jinsuke and Nishimura Yohachi* (both Edo). Blockcutter: Egawa Tomekichi 江川留吉.

Bunsei 7 (1824)

***Shingata komonchō* 新形小紋牒 (*Book of New-Style Small Patterns*)**

Chūhon. Preface dated 1824.

—Earlier colophon lists seven Edo publishers ending with Ōsakaya Shūhachi* (Bun'enkaku) 大阪屋秀八 (文苑閣).

—Later colophon lists one publisher in Kyoto, one in Osaka and seven in Edo. Among the latter, Harimarooya Shōgorō* 播磨屋勝五郎 is identified as the block-holder.

Hiatus in book production...

Bunsei 11 (1828)

***Ehon teikin ōrai* 絵本庭訓往来 (*Illustrated Home Precepts for Children*)**

Part I was published by Nishimuraya Yohachi* (Edo) in 1828. Blockcutter: Egawa Tomekichi 江川留吉.

The colophon carries a notice announcing *Parts II and III* as 'forthcoming' (*kinkoku* 近刻). *Parts II and III* were published without colophons by Eirakuya Tōshirō*. The blocks for these volumes were most likely cut in the 1840s. Blockcutter: not named. The quality of the block-cutting in them is in no way inferior to the work of Egawa Tomekichi in *Part I*.

—Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya) with Izumiya Ichibei (Edo) issued a one-volume edition before 1858.

—The one-volume edition was reissued in early Meiji era by Katano Tōshirō* (= Eirakuya Tōshirō) with six Tokyo, three Kyoto and five Osaka publishers/distributors.

—The one-volume edition was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Kōetsu seiryū: bonga hitori-geiko* 光悦正流 / 盆画独稽古 (*True Kōetsu School Teach Yourself Tray Pictures*)**

Horizontal format (*yokohon* 横本).

The signature 'Iitsu hitsu' (一為筆) appears on a screen in the frontispiece illustration. That image was Hokusai's sole contribution to the book.

—First printing. Nishimura Yohachi* (Edo).

Blockcutter: Goshōtei Michimori 五章亭道守.

—Later printing. Seven publishers/distributors, two in Osaka and five in Edo. Nishimuraya Yohachi is the penultimate name in the revised colophon. Kikuya Kōzaburō (Kinkōdō) is clearly identified as the block-holder. The name of the blockcutter is omitted. A second part (*hen*) is advertised as forthcoming; it was never published.

***Ganzen oshie no chikamichi* 眼前教近道 (*Shortcut to Knowledge in Front of Your Very Eyes*)**

Colophon gives two dates: 1827 and 1847. Publishers/distributors: three in Edo; three in Osaka; one in Yōkaichi 八日市; and two in Kyoto. Only the first three illustrations

look like they may be by Hokusai. Unable to access the 1827 printing.

Bunsei 12 (1829)

Chūgi Suikoden ehon 忠義水滸伝書本 (Picture Book of the Loyal [Heroes] from the Tales of the Water Margin)

—**Suikoden yūshi no ezukushi** 百八星誕肖像 (Portraits of the One hundred and Eight Star-Born Heroes)

—**Ehon Suikoden** 絵本水滸伝 (Picture Book of the Tales of the Water Margin)

Preface dated 1829 (Bunsei 12). No other date in the book. The inside front covers of earlier printings carry the alternative title: *Suikoden yūshi no ezukushi*. In later printings it is changed to *Ehon Suikoden*. Both published by Manhandō 萬板堂. All copies line only. No other publisher/distributor associated with its publication or distribution.

Another hiatus in book production...

c. Tenpō 3 (1832)

Hokusai gafu 北斎画譜 (Hokusai's Picture Album)

Three parts issued c. 1832; mid-1830s (?); and 1849 (preface date).

Printed from the blocks cut for *Hokusai gashiki* (1819) and *Hokusai soga* (first published as *Ryōbi saihitsu*, 1820). Once Eirakuya Tōshirō* had acquired full ownership of those blocks, he had them cut down from *ōhon* to *hanshōbon* size, and modified the designs where required. Blocks for three single-page 'frontispieces', two single-page closing images and 20 double-page illustrations were cut to make up three *hanshōbon* volumes. Hokusai's daughter Ōi may have been responsible for the block-ready drawings used for the latter. No Edo-period impressions have been identified with a dated colophon.

—The earliest printing, which appears to have been in line only, is only known for *Part I* and *Part II*. Those copies carry adverts on the inside back cover for Eirakuya titles of the 1820s and early 1830s, e.g. *Kyōga shinji andon* (Crazy Pictures for Festival Lanterns, 1829) in one volume; *Hoku'un manga shōhen* (*Hoku'un's Sketches*, *Part I*, c. 1824).

—A very fine uniform edition of all three volumes printed with pink and grey blocks may be dated to c. 1849/50 on the basis of the dated preface in the final volume. The very earliest printings of this edition have additional tints and *bokashi* on the frontispiece of each volume. The colophon names Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya) with Izumiya Ichibei (Edo) as publishers/distributors. This may be regarded as the definitive edition.

—It was one of the titles chosen by the shogunate for display at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1867.

—A late Edo-period colour-printed edition records Eirakuya Tōshirō as block-holder with 12 distributors: six in Edo; four in Osaka; and two in Kyoto. Weak impressions are encountered with this list.

—Included in an Eirakuya list of the mid-1870s.

—Included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

By Tenpō 4 (1833)

Tōshisen ehon, gogon ritsu hairitsu 画本唐詩選[六編]五言律排律 (*Selected Tang Poetry Illustrated, [Part VI]: Poems in Eight Lines and More than Eight Lines of Five Characters Each*)

—**Ehon: Tōshisen, gogon ritsu hairitsu** 画本唐詩選五言律排律 (*Illustrated Selected Tang Poetry: Poems in Eight Lines and More than Eight Lines of Five Characters Each*) [inside front cover]

In five volumes. Colophon is dated 1833. Edited by Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762–1839).

Blockcutter: Sugita Kinsuke 杉田金助.

Published by Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛 (Sūzanbō 嵩山房).

This book exists in two states. Shortly after it appeared, the publisher modified some of the printing blocks to correct the depiction of the eyes and noses of some of the figures in response to Hokusai's complaints about liberties taken by the blockcutter in realising his intentions (see Tinios 2015).

Hokusai manga jūichihen

(*Hokusai's Sketches, Part XI*)

This volume is without any internal dates. All that can be said with certainty is that it was published before 1834, and that Kadomaruya Jinsuke was involved in its initial publication.

—According to the sheet appearing on the inside back cover of the earliest printings, the publishers involved in its production were: Hanabusaya Heikichi; Takekawa Tōbei; and Kadomaruya Jinsuke (all Edo); with Eirakuya Tōshirō* (Nagoya). Bokusen, named on that sheet as one of the two collating pupils, died in 1824. This sheet is identical to one of the two sheets found on the inside back covers of early printings of *Hokusai manga*, *Part X*, which is firmly dated 1819.

—Some early copies carry single-sheet Eirakuya advertisements on the inside back cover for titles such as: *Daigaku sankai* 大学参解 (1803) and *Rongo sankai* 論語参解 (1820); *Ippitsu gafu* (1823); *Hoku'un manga* (1824); *Hokusai gafu* in three parts (see above) and *Kyōga shinji andon* in one volume (1829).

Tenpō 5 (1834)

Hokusai manga, jūnihen 北斎漫画十二編 (*Hokusai's Sketches, Part XII*)

No collating pupils ever listed in this volume.

Earliest printings list three publishers on the inside front cover: Kawachiya Kihei (Osaka); Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya) with the latter's Edo branch (*demise* 出店); and Kadomaruya Jinsuke* (Edo).

The block used to print folio 6 verso was modified early in the history of this volume to cover the exposed bottom of the sleeping woman that is causing such merriment to the two boys.

Part XII was first issued without the pink and grey tints that were the norm in all the other *Hokusai manga* volumes. It is also an outlier in terms of its content and format. It is likely that it was intended as a stand-alone volume – on the lines of

Chūgi Suikoden ehon (1829) – but was subsequently incorporated into the *manga* series. This is the last of the *Hokusai manga* the publication of which involved the publisher Kadomaruya; the last *Hokusai manga* in which the artist played a direct role; and the last to be issued in the latter's lifetime.

—Blocks were cut to add pink and grey tints to late Edo printings, bringing it into line with the rest of the *Hokusai manga*.

—Twentieth-century printings also employ additional blocks to add pink and grey tints to this volume.

***Ehon Kōkyō* 絵本孝經 (Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety)**

—*Ehon kobun Kōkyō* 画本古文孝經 (Illustrated Old Text Classic of Filial Piety)

(See Yamamoto essay, pp. 113–21.)

The preface is dated 1834.

Publisher: Sūzanbō (Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei)* is identified as the block-holder on the inside front cover and in the colophon.

Blockcutter: Egawa Sentarō 江川仙太郎.

—First edition:

Colophon A: Sheet on the inside back cover, dated 1850.

Lists five publishers/distributors located in the main centres of population and publishing: Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya); Izumoji Bunjirō (Kyoto); Kawachiya Kihei and Kawachiya Mohei (both Osaka); and Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei (Edo) as the block-holder.

Colophon B: Sheet on the inside back cover, dated 1850.

Lists eight publishers/distributors identified as widely spread across the country (*shokoku hakkō* 諸国発行) with three in Echigo, and one each in Ōshū 奥州, Jōshū 常州, Bushū 武州 and Yashū 野州, and Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei (Edo) as the block-holder.

—Second edition printed from blocks freshly cut in 1864:

Publisher: Sūzanbō (Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei)* is identified as the block-holder on the inside front cover and in the colophon.

Blockcutter: Miyata Rokuzaemon 宮田六左衛門.

Twenty booksellers/distributors across Japan listed in the back matter: three in Kyoto; seven in Edo; four in Osaka; one in Nagoya; three in Echigo; and one each in Shinshū and Yashū.

***Ehon Chūkyō* 絵本忠経 (Illustrated Classic of Loyalty)**

The colophon is dated 1834.

Blockcutter: Sugata Kinsuke 杉田金助

—First printing names Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei* (Sūzanbō) (Edo) in the colophon as the sole publisher and block-holder.

—Subsequent printings list Suharaya Mohei* (Senshōbō 千鐘房) with six further distributors, two each in Osaka, Kyoto and Edo.

***Fugaku hyakkei, shohen* 富嶽百景 初編 (One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji, Part I)**

Complete in three parts published in 1834, 1835 and c. 1849

respectively. The blockcutter for the first and second was Egawa Tomekichi (and studio). The blockcutter for the third was Egawa Sentarō.

—*Parts I and II* list four publishers/booksellers engaged in the production of the book: Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya), and Kadomaruya Jinsuke, Nishimura Yohachi and Nishimura Yūzō* (all three Edo). This printing is known as the 'falcon feather' edition. It is distinguished by its pink covers embossed with the 'Eight Views of Lake Biwa', and a title slip on which the title is printed in blue within a stylised falcon feather frame. Each volume carries a full colophon.

—*Part III* was published by Eirakuya Tōshirō without any co-publishers after the death of Hokusai in 1849, as part of the first unified edition of all three volumes. The covers are in the house style of the firm: solid colour with a burnished interlocking pattern. There is no colophon in any of the volumes.

—Before the summer of 1858 Eirakuya published an edition with recut grey blocks and an additional block to print pink.

—When, in 1875, Eirakuya registered copyright in the book, the firm reverted to the original 'monochrome' format.

—The blocks were subsequently acquired by Yoshikawa Hanshichi and then by Unsōdō.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Dōchū gafu* 道中画譜 (Album of Scenes along the Highway)**

Printed by the Nagoya publisher Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekidō) from the blocks originally cut for a privately published poetry anthology illustrated by Totoya Hokkei, *Kyōka tōkan ekiro no suzu* 狂歌東関駅路鈴 (1830). Eirakuya acquired the blocks in the early 1830s, excised all the poems and the *hashira* title from them, added two introductory illustrations in the style of Hokusai and a preface purportedly written by Takai Ranzan, and retitled the book *Dōchū gafu*, which was then sold as a book by Hokusai in 1834/5.

—In this book as first offered for sale by Eirakuya, the characters 'Tōhekidō shosai' 東壁堂書斎 (Tōhekidō bookshop) are prominent on a half-curtain (*noren*) hung across the shopfront in the first of the two added illustrations. Tōhekidō is Eirakuya's firm name (*dōgō*). This edition carries a list of *gafu* and *ehon* from the publisher (*zōhan mokuroku*) pasted on the inside back cover. That list notes the publication of *Hokusai manga, Part XII* (2nd day of the first month, 1834), and announces *Hokusai manga, Part XIII* as forthcoming. (The latter was not published until c. 1849.) The titles in the list firmly date it to 1834/5.

—Matsuya Zenbei 松屋善兵衛 (Nagoya) (*dōgō* Shōkadō 昭華堂) took over the printing blocks almost at once. The Matsuya firm name appears on the inside front cover, and the shop name Matsuya Zenbei is prominent in an 'illustrated colophon' on the inside back cover. The text on the *noren* in the first illustration remains unchanged:

'Tōhekidō shosai'. Matsuya collaborated with Eirakuya on a small number of books. It appears that *Dōchū gafu* did not remain with this publisher for very long.

—Kōgetsudō Bunsuke 皓月堂文助 (Nagoya) (= Izutsuya

Bunsuke 井筒屋文助) was then in possession of the printing blocks. 'Tōhekidō' on the shop curtain in the first illustration was removed, leaving just *shosai* 'bookshop'. The Kōgetsudō copies are identified by a sheet on the inside back cover that advertises the book itself as *Gojūsan-tsugi, Dōchū gafu* 五十三次道中画譜 (Fifty-Three Stations, Album of Scenes along the Highway) and a second title, *Denshin kaishū, Sansui gajō* 伝神開手・山水画帖 (Primer for Conveying the True Spirit, Album of Landscapes), which was illustrated by Gakutei Teikō and is dated 1835. Both of these titles were originally *kyōka* anthologies from which the poems had been excised. No other titles have been linked to this publisher.

Because so few surviving copies carry this sheet, Kōgetsudō does not appear to have been in possession of the blocks for very long either.

—No copies identifying Eirakuya Tōshirō as publisher of *Dōchū gafu* can be dated between 1835 and the 1870s. The title does not appear in any of the Tōhekidō lists issued between c. 1835 and the early 1870s.

—The earlier Meiji-era printings carry a sheet on the inside back cover that names 15 distributing bookshops (*hakkō shishi* 発行書肆): six in Tokyo; three in Kyoto; five in Osaka five; and one in Nagoya. The latter is Eirakuya, here named Katano Tōshirō* 片野東四郎 in compliance with Meiji publishing regulations that required the use of publishers' legal names rather than their shop names in their publications.

—In subsequent printings, the sheet on the inside back cover names Yoshikawa Hanshichi* 吉川半七 (Tokyo) as the publisher (*hakkō sha* 発行者), and Hayashi Heijirō 林平次郎 (Tokyo) and Katano Tōshirō (Nagoya) as distributors (*hatsubai sha* 発売者).

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

Tenpō 6 (1835)

***Fugaku hyakkei, nihen* 富嶽百景二編 (One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji, Part II)**

See entry for *Part I*, under 1834.

***Odori hitori-geiko* 踊独稽古 (Teach Yourself Dancing)**

See entry under 1815.

***Ehon Senjimon* 画本千字文 (Illustrated Thousand-Character Text)**

Four publishers named: Okada Kashichi (Edo); Kawachiya Kihei (Osaka); Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya); and Tennōjiya Ichirōbei* 天王寺屋市郎兵衛 桦.

Blockcutter: Okada Mohei 岡田茂兵衛 (Kyoto). No other colophon/edition is known.

Tenpō 7 (1836)

***Wakan, Ehon sakigake, Shohen* 和漢/絵本魁初編 (Illustrated Warrior Vanguard of Japan and China, Part I)**

The first part of an intended suite of warrior books published jointly by Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei* (Sūzanbō) and

Nishimiya Yahei* (Hokurindō). Blockcutters: Sugita Kinsuke 杉田金助; and Egawa Tomekichi 江川留吉. They only succeeded in publishing the first two parts, this and *Ehon Musashi abumi* (see below) even though Hokusai had completed the block-ready drawings for perhaps as many as three more volumes (for one of the further volumes that finally made it into print, see *Ehon Wakan no homare* below).

—The colophon in the earliest printings lists six publishers/distributors: Akitaya Taemon 秋田屋太右衛門 (Osaka); Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya); and Izumiya Ichibei 和泉屋市兵衛 (Kansendō); Nishimiya Yahei* 西宮弥兵衛; Kobayashi Shinbei* and Okada Kashichi 岡田嘉七 (all four Edo).

—Shortly thereafter, Okada Kashichi was replaced by Kitajima Junshirō 北島順四郎.

—Meiji-era printing: Yoshikawa Hanshichi listed as copyright holder and publisher; Hayashi Heijirō as the distributor. The colophon block cut for *Ehon Musashi abumi* was modified to print the colophon of this edition. It names just one blockcutter: Egawa Tomekichi.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Ehon Musashi abumi* 絵本武藏鎧 (Illustrated Stirrups of Musashi)**

The original colophon is dated 1836.

Originally intended as the second part of a suite of books on warriors titled *Ehon sakigake* (see above). *Hashira* title in the earliest printings reads: *Ehon sakigake, nihen*.

Blockcutter: Egawa Tomekichi.

—Earliest printings encountered with and without additional grey blocks; the rare version with grey blocks was issued in two volumes. The colophon records six publishers/distributors: Akitaya Taemon 秋田屋太右衛門 (Osaka); Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya); and Kitajima Junshirō 北島順四郎; Kobayashi Shinbei; Nishimiya Yahei 西宮弥兵衛 (all four Edo).

—The 1840 printing without grey blocks carries a new colophon dated 1840, and names 10 booksellers: one in Osaka (Kawachiya Kihei) and nine in Edo, the last of which is Nishimiya Yahei.

—Meiji-era printing, also without grey blocks but in two volumes. It carried a recycled colophon, which is dated 1836. It lists four publishers/distributors: Akitaya Taemon; Eirakuya Tōshirō; Izumiya Ichibei (Kansendō); Matsuzaki Hanzō 松崎半造.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Ehon Wakan no homare* 絵本和漢の誉 (Illustrated [Heroes] of High Renown of Japan and China)**

Originally intended as the third part of a suite of books on warriors titled *Ehon sakigake* (see above). Its publication was delayed by 15 years. When finally issued it was presented as an independent work complete in one volume. It proved popular, as the multiplicity of editions demonstrates.

Blockcutter: Egawa Sentarō.

—First printing. Inside front cover date 1850. Publisher: Tōshōken* 東昌軒. Last image includes the artist's name

and age: ‘Gakyō rōjin Manji hitsu, toki nanajūroku sai’ 画狂老人卍筆時七十六歳 (‘from the brush of Manji, the old man mad to paint, aged 76’). Hokusai was 76 in 1835. Very finely printed with additional grey blocks. Inside back cover: names 12 Edo booksellers. The last name is Wanya Isaburō 梶屋伊三郎 (Ejimaya Isaburō 江島伊三郎).

—Very early printing. The same information on the inside front cover and last image as in the preceding. Inside back cover carries the names of two booksellers: Kawachiya Gisuke 河内屋儀助 and Kawachiya Bunsuke 河内屋文助 (both Osaka?). Finely printed with additional grey blocks. However, in some of the images the shades of the greys employed are a little less effective than in the preceding. It is possible that in some instances a block had been omitted. Nonetheless, the two printings are very close.

—Early printing. The same information on the inside front cover and last image as in the preceding. Printed without any additional grey blocks. The inside back cover names four publishers/distributors: one in Kyoto; two in Osaka; one in Edo.

—Late Edo printing. The same information on the inside front cover and last image as in the preceding. Printed without any additional grey blocks. The inside back cover gives Hokusai’s name and the date as on the inside front cover, and names 10 booksellers: one in Kyoto; two in Osaka; seven in Edo. The last name is Kamiya Tokuhachi 紙屋徳八.

—Early Meiji-era printing. The same information on the inside front cover and last image as in the preceding. Printed without any additional grey blocks. The inside back cover names 11 ‘publishing booksellers in the three cities’ (三府発行書肆): two in Kyoto; two in Osaka; and seven in Tokyo. The last named, Suzuki Chūzō 鈴木忠蔵, is the block-holder.

—Later Meiji-era printing. The same information on the inside front cover and last image as in the preceding. Printed without any additional grey blocks. The inside back cover names 14 publishers/distributors: one in Kyoto; three in Osaka; four in Nagoya; six in Tokyo.

—This title was included in Unsōdō’s *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

Shoshoku ehon: Katsushika shin hinagata 諸職絵本 葛飾新鄙形 (*Illustrated Book of All Occupations: Katsushika’s New Models*)

Katsushika Iitsu iboku: Hokusai shin hinagata 葛飾為一遺墨 北齋新雛形 (*A Posthumous Work by Katsushika Isai: Hokusai’s New Models*)

Colophon dated Tenpō 7 (1836). Blockcutter: Egawa Tomekichi.

—Earliest printing: the last folio carries the colophon, advertisements for further titles and, on the reverse, the names of five ‘booksellers of the three cities’: Katsumura Jiemon 治右工門 (Kyoto); Akitaya Taemon 秋田屋太右衛門 (Osaka); and Kobayashi Shinbei; Suharaya Sasuke 須原屋佐助; Suharaya Mohei* (all three Edo).

—Later Edo-period printing from Eirakuya lacks the last folio (see above). Instead, a list on the inside back cover names Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya) with 12 other publishers/

distributors: six in Edo; four in Osaka; two in Kyoto. The ‘surtitle’ (*tsunogaki*) on the title slip modified to read ‘A posthumous work by Katsushika Hokusai’.

—This title was included in Unsōdō’s *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

Tōshisen ehon, shichigon ritsu 唐詩選画本 七言律 (*Selected Tang Poetry Illustrated, [Part VII]: Poems in Eight Lines of Seven Characters Each*)

Ehon Tōshisen, shichigon ritsu itchitsu 画本唐詩選 七言律一帙 (*Illustrated Selected Tang Poetry: Poems in Eight Lines of Seven Characters Each [inside front cover]*)

In five volumes. Colophon dated 1836. Edited by Takai Ranzan.

Blockcutters: Sugita Kinsuke (vols 1 and 3); Egawa Tomekichi (vols 2, 4 and 5).

Published by Kobayashi Shinbei (Suzanbō) (Edo).

Another hiatus in book production...

Tenpō 11 (1840)

Wakan inshitsu den 和漢陰隠伝 (*History of the Hidden Protectors of Japan and China*)

—Preface and inside back cover both dated 1840. The latter lists 10 publishers/distributors. Two of the publishers/distributors were located in Osaka; the remaining eight were located in Edo. The last name in this list is Nishimiya Yahei* (Edo).

—Later inside back cover, undated, lists seven publishers/distributors. Two of them are located in Osaka; two are in Kyoto; and three are in Edo. The last name in this list is Okada Kashichi* 岡田嘉七.

The two Osaka firms are in both lists as are three of the Edo firms. Among the Edo firms dropped from the second list was Nishimiya Yahei. The two Kyoto firms only appear in this list.

Tenpō 12 (1841)

Ehon hayabiki: Nagashira musha burui 絵本早引/名頭武者部類 (*Illustrated Quick-Reference Alphabetised Catalogue of Warriors*)

Chūhon. Preface dated 1841.

Edo publishers/distributors listed on inside back cover: Tsuruya Kinsuke; Kadomaruya Jinsuke; Okada Kashichi; and Izumiya Ichibei*. The publisher is identified by his firm name (*dōgō*) on the inside front cover: Kansendōshi 甘泉堂梓).

Blockcutter: Egawa Sentarō.

Tenpō 14 (1843)

Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu 朧翁艸筆画譜 (*Album of Casual Drawings by Old Man Manji*)

This book consists of a pastiche of designs by Hokusai and at least one other artist, Yanagawa Shigenobu (1787–1832). There are variations in the extent of the use of a grey block

in the various printings of this title, in the order of the images, and in the number of images. There is also a colour edition (see below).

Blockcutter: Suzuki Eijirō 鈴木栄次郎

—Colophon date 1843. The block-holder: Heirindō-jushi* 平林堂寿梓 (Hirabayashiya Shōgorō 平林屋庄五郎) of Edo.

—Colophon date 1843. Artist's signature reconfigured and Tōto prefix removed; block-holder changed to Kinkidō-jushi* 金喜堂寿梓 of Edo. Includes a list of titles issued by Kawachiya Mohei (Osaka) and Kikuya Kōzaburō* 菊屋幸三郎版 (= Kikuya Ichibei 菊屋市兵衛, Kinkidō).

—Colophon as in the preceding. Inside back cover carries a list of 11 publishers/booksellers/distributors: one in Kyoto; two in Osaka; eight in Edo. Final name: Kikuya Kōzaburō-han* 菊屋幸三郎板.

—A further Kikuya Kōzaburō printing using pink/orange, blue/green and grey colour blocks throughout.

—The Heirindō printing preceded the various Kinkidō printings. The blocks for the final Kinkidō edition (with colours) were acquired by Eirakuya Tōshirō (Tōhekidō) in about 1850. Eirakuya thereafter marketed the book as *Hokusai gaen Part I* (see below). The Kinkidō colophon was retained unchanged.

***Teisei hokoku: Ehon Kanso gundan, shokan* 訂正補刻絵本漢楚軍談初巻 (*Illustrated Military Tales of the Kingdoms of Han and Chu, first section, revised and corrected*)**

First section in 10 volumes. Colophon is dated 1843.

Block-holder: Chōjiya Heibeい 丁子屋平兵衛* (Hokkeidō 北溪堂) of Edo.

Seven publishers/distributors listed on the inside back cover: Kawachiya Mohei (Osaka); and Okadaya Kashichi, Suharaya Mohei, Yamashiroya Sahei 山城屋佐兵衛, Kobayashi Shinbei, Nishimiya Yahei, and Chōjiya Heibeい 丁子屋平兵衛 (all Edo).

Kōka 2 (1845)

***Teisei hokoku: Ehon Kanso gundan, nikan* 訂正補刻絵本漢楚軍談二巻 (*Illustrated Military Tales of the Kingdoms of Han and Chu, second section, revised and corrected*)**

In 10 volumes. Colophon is dated 1845. The preface is dated 1844.

Block-holder: Chōjiya Heibeい 丁子屋平兵衛* (Hokkeidō 北溪堂) of Edo.

Five publishers/distributors listed on the inside back cover: Kawachiya Mohei (Osaka); and Suharaya Mohei, Okadaya Kashichi, Yamashiroya Sahei, and Chōjiya Heibeい 丁子屋平兵衛 (all Edo).

***Shaka go-ichidaiki zue* 釈迦御一代記図会 (*Illustrated Life of Shakyamuni*)**

In six volumes. The preface is dated 1839; the Union Catalogue dates the book to 1841; all available copies bear a colophon dated 1845.

Inside front cover names Inada Gyokuzandō 稲田玉山堂 (Edo) and Okada Gungyokudō 岡田群玉堂 (Osaka) as the booksellers (*shorin* 書林) and presumably the block-holders.

—Three booksellers/distributors (*hatsuda shorin* 発兌書林) are named in the dated colophon: Echigoya Jihei 越後屋治兵衛 (Kyoto); Yamashiroya Sahei (Edo); Kawachiya Mohei (Osaka).

—In a later Edo printing, in addition to the above colophon, a sheet on the inside back cover lists eight booksellers/distributors in the 'three cities' (*santō shorin* 三都書林): Echigoya Jihei (Kyoto); Yamashiroya Sahei; Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei; Suharaya Ihachi; Okadaya Kashichi; and Chōjiya Heibeい (all Edo); and Kawachiya Mohei* (Osaka).

—Meiji-era reprint (再版). The new colophon is dated 1884. According to the colophon, the original block-holder (原版主) was Okada Mohei. The publisher (of this edition) is Aoki Tsunesaburō 青木恒三郎.

Ka'ei 1 (1848)

***Ehon saishiki tsū* 絵本彩色通 (*Illustrated Essence of Colouring*)**

Chūhon. Only two of the intended four parts published.

—Part I: Earlier printings:

Inside front cover: *Ehon saishiki tsū, shohen; gakyō rōjin Manji hitsu*; 1848; and the shop names of three publishers/distributors: Yamaguchiya Tōbei, Kobayashi Shinbei and Izumiya Ichibei.

Inside back cover: 1848; the names of five publishers/distributors: Izumoji Bunjirō (出雲寺文次郎) (Kyoto); Kawachiya Mohei (Osaka); and Izumiya Ichibei, Suharaya/Kobayashi Shinbei and Yamaguchiya Tōbei (all Edo).

Later printings:

Inside front cover: *Saishiki tsū, shohen*; the firm names (*dōgō*) of the three publishers/distributors: Kansendō 甘泉堂 (Izumiya Ichibei), Sūzanbō 嵩山房 (Kobayashi Shinbei) and Kinkōdō 錦耕堂 (Yamaguchiya Tōbei). Neither the artist's signature nor the date is given.

Inside back cover: printed from the block used in the earlier printings with Izumoji Bunjirō (Kyoto) removed and replaced by Kawachiya Tōbei (Osaka).

—Part II:

Inside front cover: *Ehon saishiki tsū, nihen; saki no Hokusai Manji rōjin cho* 前の北斎老人著; 1848; the firm names (*dōgō*) of the three publishers/distributors: Kinkōdō 錦耕堂 (Yamaguchiya Tōbei), Kansendō 甘泉堂 (Izumiya Ichibei) and Sūzanbō 嵩山房 (Kobayashi Shinbei). This sheet is found in all Edo-period printings of this volume.

Inside back cover of all printings of Part II is identical to that found in the later printings of Part I (see above).

—Late Meiji printing in two volumes. The sheet on the inside front cover of Part I is the later design for that volume, which in this case is printed on bright red paper. The inside back cover is blank. The inside front cover of Part II is blank. The modified sheet found on the inside back covers of the later Edo-period printings appears on the inside back cover of the second volume only of the Meiji-era printing. No information is provided as to the identity of the publisher of this edition.

***Shūga hyakunin isshu* 秀雅百人一首 (*Elegant One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets*)**

Chūhon. The preface and colophon are dated 1848. The inside front cover and the back matter identify Kinkōdo 錦耕堂 (Yamaguchiya Tōbei)* as the block-holder (*shi* 桦). A sheet on the inside back cover lists 13 booksellers/distributors (*hakkō shoshi* 発行書肆): two in Osaka; 11 in Edo. Hokusai contributed the frontispiece illustration (*kuchi-e*) and the first 20 portraits. Four further artists each contributed 20 portraits: Kuniyoshi; Shigenobu; Eisen; and Toyokuni III.

Ka'ei 2 (1849)

***Zoku eiyū hyakunin isshu* 続英雄百人一首 (*One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Heroes, a Sequel*)**

Chūhon. The preface and colophon dated 1849. The inside front cover and the back matter identify Kinkōdo 錦耕堂 (Yamaguchiya Tōbei)* as the block-holder (*shi* 桦). The sheet on the inside back cover is identical to the sheet that appears in *Shūga hyakunin isshu*. It lists 13 booksellers/distributors (*hakkō shoshi* 発行書肆): two in Osaka; 11 in Edo. Hokusai contributed the frontispiece illustration (*kuchi-e*) and the first 20 portraits. Four further artists each contributed 20 portraits: Kuniyoshi; Sadahide; Shigenobu; and Toyokuni III.

18th day, fourth month, 1849: Death of Hokusai

Posthumous publications

From Ka'ei 2 (1849) into the 1850s

***Hokusai gafu* 北斎画譜 (*Hokusai's Picture Album*)**

First printing of all three volumes. Preface of the third volume is dated 1849. See *Hokusai gafu*, under 1832, for the publishing history of this work.

***Ehon onna Imagawa* 絵本女今川 (*Illustrated Imagawa Precepts for Women*)**

***—Hokusai onna Imagawa* 北斎女今川 (*Hokusai's Imagawa Precepts for Women*)**

It is not possible to establish the year in which the key-blocks for this book were cut or the year in which it was first published. An *Onna Imagawa* is mentioned as work in progress in a letter from Hokusai to Eirakuya Tōshirō written shortly after the publication of *Ippitsu gafu* in 1823 (see Feltens essay, pp. 32–42).

NOTE: An *Ehon Imagawa* 絵本今川, edited by Koyama Shuntei 小山駿亭 and illustrated by Numata Gessai 沼田月齋, appears in a two-page Tōhekidō (Eirakuya) list in use through the 1820s and into the early 1830s (see Tinios essay, **Table 1**, pp. 83–4). This book was first published in 1821 by a group of publishers that included Eirakuya and Kadomaruya. It should not be mistaken for Hokusai's *Ehon onna Imagawa*. It replaced *Eisen gashi* 英泉画史 on that list. The Shuntei and Gessai book does not appear in any of Eirakuya's subsequent shorter lists.

On the same list, *Hokusai manga, Part XI* replaced *Akindo kagami* 商人鑑. (The latter, attributed to Hokusai, was never published.) These two emendations need not have been contemporaneous. It is not possible to establish the year in which the key-blocks for *Hokusai manga, Part XI* were cut or the year in which it was first published (see '1833' above).

—The first Tōhekidō (Eirakuya) list to include *Hokusai onna Imagawa* is the one-page list devoted entirely to 'picture albums and copybooks' *gafu edehon* 画譜・絵手本 that was current c. 1849. That list carries 16 titles, five of which were illustrated by Hokusai. (For this list, see Tinios essay, **Table 2**, p. 85.)

—*Hokusai onna Imagawa* next appears in a one-page list pasted on the inside back covers of Tōhekidō publications offered for sale in the 1850s and beyond. That list carries just six titles, all illustrated by Hokusai:

Hokusai manga in 15 vols;
Fugaku hyakkei in 3 vols;
Hokusai gafu in 3 vols;
Ippitsu gafu in 1 vol.;
Ehon teikin ōrai in 3 vols; and
Ehon onna Imagawa in 1 vol.

A short description is provided for each title. Izumiya Ichibei of Edo is listed alongside Eirakuya Tōshirō as co-distributor of the books on this sheet. These six titles (in 26 volumes) formed the core of Eirakuya's Hokusai offerings.

Edition without a preface and with *Ehon onna Imagawa* on the title page:

—The earliest printings (identified on the basis of the crispness of the printing and the lack of evident wear or damage to the printing blocks) are without a preface or a colophon. The surviving title slips on these printings read *Hokusai onna Imagawa*. The title page reads *Ehon Imagawa*. Very few copies with this version of the title page have been identified, just three out of 23 copies examined. One of those three copies carries a single-page advertisement for two Eirakuya titles pasted onto the inside back cover. The titles advertised on this sheet are: *Hokusai gafu* (*Hokusai's Picture Album*) complete in 3 vols 北斎画譜 全三冊; and *Kyōga shinji andon* (*Comic Pictures for Sacred Lanterns*) complete in 1 vol. 狂画神事あんどん 全一冊.

This advertisement offers little assistance in pinning down the year in which *Ehon onna Imagawa* was first published. The *Hokusai gafu*, *Part I* appeared in the early to mid-1830s; *Part II* is undated; *Part III* carries a preface dated 1849; *Kyōga shinji andon*, illustrated by Ōishi Matora 大石真虎, was published in 1829.

The other two of the three early copies so far identified have blank inside front and back covers. Nowhere in them is the publisher identified. It is as though the publisher sought to obscure his identity in these early printings.

Questions: Why does Hokusai's name appear on the title slip and nowhere else in this edition? Was Eirakuya at odds with Hokusai over the publication of this book? Would that explain the existence of early printings that were issued without any bibliographic information? How significant a role, if any, did Hokusai's daughter Katsushika Ōi 葛飾応為 play in the production of this book?

The block-cutting for this book is of the highest order. When were the printing blocks cut, and by whom?

Edition with a preface and *Hokusai onna Imagawa* on the title page:

—All subsequent printings feature a four-page preface written by Gen Sō (?) 源瓈, followed by the original title page amended to read: *Hokusai onna Imagawa*. The preface addresses the education of women but does not mention Hokusai.

—Initially, this edition was offered for sale in line only with covers elaborately decorated with large flowers. The title slips pasted onto these decorated covers read: *Ehon onna Imagawa zen*. These copies lack a colophon but carry single-page advertisements on their inside back covers for single titles issued by Eirakuya. The titles advertised on these sheets are: *Dai Nihon kokugun zenzu* 大日本国郡全図 (Complete Map of the Provinces and Districts of Great Japan, 1848); and *Shorei daigaku* 諸禮大学 (The Comprehensive Study of Etiquette, 1820s?). Both of these advertisements give the addresses of Eirakuya in Nagoya and the firm's Edo branch (*demise* 出店).

—Subsequently, colour blocks were cut for the book. The modification of the title page and the cutting of the colour blocks appear to have occurred around 1849. All surviving title slips on these copies read *Hokusai onna Imagawa*.

—Orange covers favoured by Eirakuya from the late 1840s are found on the majority of later Edo printings, usually with a single-page advertisement on the inside back cover. Two advertisements pasted onto the inside back covers have been noted:

—one listing six titles, all by Hokusai. (See previous column for a list of the titles.)

—one listing just two titles: *Sencha haya-oshie* 煎茶早指南 (Quick Guide to Steeped Tea); and *Haikai goshichi shū* 徘諧五七集 (Five-Seven Haikai Collection).

Both of these advertisements give the addresses of Eirakuya in Nagoya and the firm's Edo branch. In all these copies, the illustrations are with colour. *Hokusai onna Imagawa* was a fixed feature in all subsequent Eirakuya lists.

—Early Meiji printings carry a list of publishers/distributors on the inside back cover. Katano Tōshirō (Eirakuya Tōshirō) is the lead publisher with 14 further firms named. This list was used for a short period in the first half of the 1870s.

—Later Meiji printings carry a colophon dated 1877 that names Yoshikawa Hanshichi as the copyright holder with Hayashi Heijirō as the distributor.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

Questions: Publishers might add colour blocks to disguise wear to a set of key-blocks. But why go to the expense of adding a two-folio/four-page preface? Prefaces were sometimes omitted in later printings of books to reduce the cost of production. Nonetheless, a preface was present in all later printings of *Hokusai onna Imagawa*.

***Hokusai gaen* 北斎画苑 (*Hokusai's Picture Garden*)**

This work is composed of three disparate volumes.

—The colophon in the first is dated 1842. The preface is dated 1832. The contents are based on *Manji-ō sōhitsu gafu*.

—The preface to the second carries the same date as the first, 1832. This volume is composed of folios from *Hoku'un manga* and an as yet unidentified book.

—The third is composed of folios from *Hoku'un manga* and the same unidentified book that provided images for the second volume.

—This pastiche was assembled by Eirakuya in the 1850s. None of the dates appearing in it have anything to do with its actual date of publication.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

***Hokusai ringa* 北斎臨画 (*Hokusai's Copy Book*)**

In the early 1820s, Totoya Hokkei (魚屋北渓, 1780–1850) illustrated a poetry anthology, *Kyōka bankashū* 狂歌万花集. Subsequently, the poems were excised from the printing blocks and the illustrations reordered. The resultant book was marketed by Eirakuya as *Hokkei manga*. Advertisements in early printings of *Hokkei manga* suggest that it was published no later than the early 1830s. Then, in the early 1850s, Eirakuya reassigned the book to Hokusai, offering it for sale as *Hokusai ringa*.

—An advertisement for *Dai Nihon Kokugun zenzu* 大日本国郡全図 (Complete Map of the Provinces and Districts of Great Japan, 1848) is on the inside front cover of some copies, followed by Eirakuya Tōshirō* and the firm's Edo branch (*demise* 出店).

—Other copies carry an advertisement that lists six Hokusai titles: *Hokusai manga*; *Fugaku hyakkei*; *Hokusai gafu*; *Ippitsu gafu*; *Ehon teikin ōrai*; *Ehon onna Imagawa*. Only two publishers/distributors are named on this sheet: Eirakuya Tōshirō* (Nagoya) and Izumiya Ichibei (Edo).

NOTE: Eirakuya also acquired the blocks for another *kyōka* anthology illustrated by Hokkei, which the firm reassigned to Hokusai in 1834 under the title *Dōchū gafu* (see '1834' above).

The title slip on Edo-period printings of *Hokusai ringa* includes the suffix 'Part I shōhen 初編'. That was omitted from the title slips on Meiji-era printings.

—This title was included in Unsōdō's *Hokusai meiga zenshū* (1912).

Ka'e 3 (1850)

***Giretsu hyakunin isshu* 義烈百人一首 (*One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Intensely Righteous Poets*)**

Chūhon. The preface and colophon are dated 1850. The inside front cover and the back matter identify Kinkōdō 錦耕堂 (Yamaguchiya Tōbei)* as the block-holder (*shi* 桦). The sheet on the inside back cover lists 12 booksellers, all based in Edo.

Hokusai contributed the *kuchi-e* and the 20 portraits on folios 21–30. The following four artists each contributed 20 portraits: Kuniyoshi; Yoshitora; Sadahide; and Toyokuni III.

***Fugaku hyakkei, sanpen* 富嶽百景 三編 (*One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji, Part III*)**

The block-ready drawings had been prepared in the mid-1830s. See *Fugaku hyakkei*, under 1834.

***Ehon Kōkyō* 絵本孝經 (Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety)**

—***Ehon kobun Kōkyō* 画本古文孝經 (Illustrated Old Text Classic of Filial Piety)**

(See Yamamoto essay, pp. 113–21.)

Preface dated 1834. Colophon dated 1850, the date of the cutting of the blocks.

Blockcutter: Miyata Rokuzaemon 宮田六左衛門. See *Ehon Kōkyō*, under 1834.

***Ehon Wakan no homare* 絵本和漢の誉 (Illustrated [Heroes] of High Renown of Japan and China)**

The block-ready drawings had been completed by 1836.

Date of publication 1850. Blockcutter: Egawa Sentarō. See *Ehon Wakan no homare*, under 1836.

Before summer of Ansei 5 (1858)

Fugaku hyakkei (One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji)

Eirakuya published an edition with recut grey blocks and an additional block cut to print pink.

Genji 1 (1864)

***Ehon Kōkyō* 絵本孝經 (Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety)**

—***Ehon kobun Kōkyō* 画本古文孝經 (Illustrated Old Text Classic of Filial Piety)**

Second set of blocks cut for this book. See *Ehon Kōkyō*, under 1834.

Blockcutter: Egawa Sentarō.

Meiji 11 (1878)

***Hokusai manga, jūgohen* 北斎漫画十五編 (Hokusai's Sketches, Part XV)**

Eirakuya added this pastiche volume to round out the series. Thereafter, it was published in a unified edition in 15 volumes. See *Hokusai manga*, under 1814 (see also Tinios 2022c).

Meiji 13 (1880)

***Ehon/Tōshisen gogon zekku* 絵本/唐詩選五言絶句 (Illustrated Book: Selected Tang Poetry in Five-Character Quatrains)**

In two volumes. Copyright registered in 1879; published in 1880.

The publisher is named on the inside front cover: Sūzanbō (Kobayashi Shinbei). The shop- name alone appears in the colophon.

Available in a deluxe edition, which was printed on thicker paper, with embossed covers, silk brocade title slips, and gold-leaf flakes on the inside front cover, as well as a standard edition without any of those embellishments (See Tinios 2022c).

Blockcutter: Ōtsuka Tetsugorō (大塚鐵五郎, active c. 1880). One copy examined has a sheet on the inside back cover that lists 13 publishers/booksellers: five in Osaka; one in Nagoya; and seven in Tokyo. The last name in the list is Kobayashi Shinbei, followed by *han* 版.

Appendix 2

List of Locations of Hokusai Prints, 1813–1848

Compiled by Peter Morse and Roger Keyes

List of locations of Hokusai prints, 1813–48, and their abbreviations; see also the notes in Keyes essay, pp. 220–7.

Location abbreviations for Hokusai prints 1813–48

AFGA	Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA
AIC	Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, IL
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
CBL	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
ETM	Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo
F	Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA; see also HUAM
FLW	Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture, Taliesin West, Scottsdale, AZ
HAA	Honolulu Academy of Arts (Honolulu Museum of Art), Honolulu, HI
HUAM	Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA
JUM	Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto
KC	Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO
LACMA	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, CA
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
LRM	Lauren Rogers Museum of Art, Laurel, MS
MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA
MIA	Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, MN
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY
MNK	Muzeum Narodowe, Krakow
MOA	MOA Museum of Art, Atami
NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo
NKS	?
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York, NY
PAM	[mistake for PMA]
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, PA
REL	R.E. Lewis Inc., San Francisco, Nicasio, Larkspur, CA
RISD	Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, RI
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
RPK	Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
TNM	Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo
UBC	University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC [or mistake for UCB?]
UCB	University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley, CA
UCLA	Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Dickson Art Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA
VAM	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Collection locations of Hokusai prints 1813–48

AFGA	Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of Legion of Honor, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA
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AIC	Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, IL	Chaikin	ex-Nathan Chaikin Collection, Venthone, Switzerland
Albertina	Graphische Sammlung, Albertina Museum, Vienna	Chiba	Chiba City Museum of Art, Japan
Aldercron	ex-Aldercron Collection	Chiba Municipal Museum	See Chiba
Allen	Allen Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH	Chicago	Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, IL
Alther	ex-Alther Collection	Chirossone	Edoardo Chirossone Museum of Oriental Art, Genoa
Amsterdam	Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam	Christie	ex-Christie's, London
Amstutz	ex-Walter Amstutz, Zurich	Christie NY	ex-Christie's, New York, NY
Aoki	Aoki Collection	Church	ex-Church Collection
Appleton	ex-Appleton Collection (Sotheby's 1910)	C.J.Morse	ex-C.J. Morse Collection
Ashmolean	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	Claremont	?Clark Humanities Museum, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, CA
Baker	ex-Baker Collection	Clarke	ex-Clarke Collection (Sotheby's 1921)
Baltimore	Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, MD	Cleveland	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, OH
Barbouteau	ex-Barbouteau Collection (Drouot 1910)	Cologne	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne
Barclay	ex-Barclay Collection	Columbus	Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, OH
Basel	Kunstmuseum, Basel	Colthup	ex-Colthup Collection
Bateson	ex-Bateson Collection	Cooper Hewitt	Cooper Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York, NY
Beres	ex-Huguette Berès, Paris	Coucet	[mistake for Doucet?]
Beatty	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin	Crocker	Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, CA
Berkeley	Museum of Art, University of California, Berkeley, CA	Curzon	ex-Curzon Collection
Berlin	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin (now renamed Museum für Asiatische Kunst but at same location)	Czrellitzer	ex-Czrellitzer Collection (Sotheby's 1925)
Biedermann	ex-Biedermann Collection	De Bruijn	ex-De Bruijn Collection
Bing	ex-Siegfried Bing, Paris	De Espinosa	ex-De Espinosa Collection
Birmingham	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, UK; also Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, AL	Denver	Denver Art Museum, Denver, CO
Blackburn	Blackburn Museum, Blackburn, UK	Dooman	ex-Dooman Collection
Blanchard	ex-Blanchard Collection (American Art auction 1916)	Doucet	ex-Doucet Collection
Blondeau	ex-Blondeau Collection, ?Paris	Dresden	Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden
Blow	ex-Blow Collection	Drosten	Drosten Collection
BM	British Museum, London	Drouot	Hôtel Drouot, Paris
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris	Druout	[mistake for Drouot, above)
Boisgirard	ex-Boisgirard Collection	E.Berlin	Ostasiatische Sammlung, Pergamonmuseum, East Berlin [probably now in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (Dahlem)?]
Boller	ex-Boller Collection	Edo-Tokyo	Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo
Bowman	ex-Bowman Collection	Egenolf	ex-Herbert Egenolf, Ukiyo-e Gallery, San Francisco, CA
Burrell	Burrell Collection, Glasgow	Ermitage	State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia
Burty	ex-P. Burty Collection (Drouot 1891)	ETM	Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo
Boston	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA	Everson	Everson Museum of Art, Syracuse, NY
Brandt	Paul Brandt, Amsterdam	F	Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA; see also HUAM
Bremen	ex-Kunsthalle Bremen, Bremen	Ficke	ex-Arthur Davison Ficke Collection
Brigham Young	Brigham Young University Museum of Art, Provo, UT	Field	ex-Hamilton Easter Field
British Columbia	University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC	Field Museum	Field Museum, Chicago, IL
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY	Fitzwilliam	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Brussels	Musées d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels	FLW	Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture, Taliesin West, Scottsdale, AZ
Bucharest	National Library of Romania, Bucharest	Fogg	Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA; see also HUAM
Budapest	Hopp Ferenc Kelet Azsiai Muveszeti Muzeum, Budapest	Freer	Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC [now part of the National Museum of Asian Art]
Bullier	ex-Bullier Collection	Fuller	ex-Fuller Collection
Caplan	David Caplan, Mita Arts, Tokyo	Funabashi	Funabashi City, Japan
Carnegie	Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, PA		
Castle	Castle Collection		
CBL	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin		

Garland	ex-Garland Collection (Parke-Bernet 1945)	Kabutoya	ex-Kabutoya Gallery, Tokyo
Gehrli	ex-Paolino Gehrli Collection, USA	Kaempfer	ex-Heinz Kaempfer Collection, Den Haag
Geneve	Baur Collection, Geneva	Kahn	ex-Kahn Collection (Sotheby's 1965)
Genova	Edoardo Chiossone Museum of Oriental Art, Genoa	Kanagawa	?Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History, Yokohama
Georgia	University of Georgia Museum of Art, Athens, GA	Kanazawa	Bunko Kanazawa Bunko Museum, Yokohama
Gidwitz	ex-Gidwitz Collection, USA	Kawaura	ex-Kawaura Collection
Gilder	ex-Peter and Lois Gilder, Arts and Designs of Japan, San Francisco, CA	KC	Kansas City; see Nelson-Atkins
Gillot	ex-Gillot Collection (Drouot 1904)	Keiō	Keiō University Library, Tokyo
Glasgow	Burrell Collection, Glasgow	Kellogg	ex-Kellogg Collection, USA
Goldman	ex-Israel Goldman, London	Kikuchi	ex-Kikuchi Collection, Japan
Gonse	ex-Gonse Collection, Paris	Kinsey	Institute Kinsey Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
Goteborg	Röhsska Museum, Gothenburg, Sweden	Kobe	Kobe City Museum, Kobe
Grabhorn	ex-Edwin Grabhorn Collection, San Francisco, CA	Koechlin	ex-Koechlin Collection
Grilli	Private collection, Tokyo	Koln	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne
Guimet	Musée Guimet (Musée national des arts asiatiques-Guimet, Paris)	Krakow	National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe), Krakow
Gunsaulus	ex-Helen Gunsaulus Collection, Chicago, IL	Krolik	ex-Krolik Collection
HAA	Honolulu Academy of Arts (Honolulu Museum of Art), Honolulu, HI	Kruml	Richard Kruml, London
Haas	Haas Collection	Kyōsai	ex-Kawanabe Kyōsai, Tokyo
Haifa	Tikotin Museum of Japanese Art, Haifa	LACMA	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, CA
Hall	ex-Hall Collection	Lathrop	ex-Lathrop Collection
Hamburg	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg	Laurel	Lauren Rogers Museum of Art, Laurel, MS
Happer	ex-Happer Collection (Sotheby's 1909)	LC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
Hara	ex-Hara Shobō, Tokyo	Lebel	ex-Lebel Collection
Harari	ex-Ralph Harari Collection, London	Ledoux	ex-Louis Ledoux Collection, New York, NY
Harmsworth	ex-Harmsworth Collection	Leiden	National Museum of Ethnology (Museum Volkenkunde), Leiden
Hartford	Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT	Leiden University	Leiden University, Leiden
Hashimoto	ex-Hashimoto Collection	Le Véel	ex-Le Véel Collection
Haviland	ex-Haviland Collection, Paris	Library of Congress	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
Hayashi	ex-Hayashi Tadamasa, ?Paris/Tokyo	Lieftinck	ex-Lieftinck Collection, Netherlands
Hermitage	State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia	London	ex-London Gallery, London
High	High Museum of Art, Atlanta, GA	LRMA	Lauren Rogers Museum of Art, Laurel, MS
Hillier	ex-Jack and Mary Hillier Collection, Redhill, UK	Maassen	ex-Maassen Collection
Hirakawa	ex-Hirakawa Collection	Macao	Private collection, Macao
Hosa Library	Hosa Bunko, Nagoya	Machida	Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts, Tokyo
Howe	ex-Howe Collection	Madwig	ex-Madwig Collection
HUAM	Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA	Maidstone	Maidstone Museum, Maidstone, UK
Hume Gore	ex-Hume Gore Collection	Manchester	Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester (or Manchester Art Gallery?), Manchester, UK
Hunter	ex-Hunter Collection	Mann	H. George Mann Collection, Chicago, IL
Hutton	ex-Hutton Collection (Sotheby's 1920)	Maroni	ex-Maroni Collection
Ikeda	ex-Ikeda Collection (Drouot 1910)	Massart	ex-Massart Collection
Illinois	Illinois State Museum, Springfield, IL	Matsukata	ex-Matsukata Kōjirō, Tokyo
Indiana	Indiana University Museum of Art, Bloomington, IN	Matsuki	ex-Matsuki Collection
Indianapolis	Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, IN	May	ex-May Collection (American Art auction 1918)
Jacquin	ex-Jacquin Collection	McLaren	Walter McLaren Collection, Los Angeles, CA
Jaeckel	ex-Jaeckel Collection	Mellor	ex-Mellor Collection, UK
Javal	ex-Javal Collection	Meregalli	ex-Meregalli USA, New York, NY
JUM	Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto	Mergalli	[misspelling of Meregalli, above?]
		Merlin	?Merlin Dailey, East West Gallery, Victor, NY
		Metzgar	ex-Alice Metzgar, Los Angeles, CA
		Meyn	ex-Meyn Collection

MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA	Pasadena	Pacific Asia Museum, Pacific Culture Foundation, Pasadena, CA
MIA	Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, MN	Philadelphia	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, PA
Michigan	University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, MI	PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, PA
Miller	ex-Miller collection	Polster	ex-Edith Polster Collection, New York, NY
Minneapolis	Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, MN	Popper	ex-Hans Popper, San Francisco, CA
Mirviss	Joan Mirviss, New York, NY	Portland	Portland Art Museum, Portland, OR
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY	Prague	Naprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague
MNK	National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe), Krakow	Prague Asiatic	?Asiatic Museum, Prague [Collection of Asian Art, National Gallery, Prague?]
MOA	MOA Museum of Art, Atami	Pratt Institute	ex-Pratt Institute
Morgenthau	ex-Morgenthau Collection	Private	Private collection
Morse	ex-Peter Morse, Santa Barbara, CA/ Honolulu, HI	Pulverer	ex-Gerhard Pulverer, Cologne
Murata	ex-Murata Kinbei	Pushkin	?Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
Musée des...	Musée des Arts Décoratifs/Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris	Randall	ex-Randall Collection
Mutiaux	ex-Mutiaux Collection	Regensberg	?Museum, Regensburg
Nagase	?ex-Nagase Collection	REL	R.E. Lewis Inc., San Francisco, Nicasio, Larkspur, CA
Nagoya	Nagoya City Art Museum, Nagoya	RGSawers	ex-R.G. Sawers, London
Nagoya TV	Nagoya TV Ukiyo-e Museum, Nagoya	Riccar	Riccar Museum, Tokyo (Hiraki Ukiyo-e Foundation, Yokohama)
Nakamura	Nakamura Collection	Richards	ex-Rev. W.A. Richards Collection
Nakau	Nakau Ei Collection, Kobe	Riese	ex-Otto Riese Collection, Lausanne
Naprstek	Naprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague	Rietberg	Rietberg Museum, Zurich
NDL	National Diet Library (Kokkai Toshokan), Tokyo	RISD	Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, RI
Nelson Atkins	Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO	Ritchie	ex-Ritchie Collection
Nemoto	ex-Nemoto Collection	Röhsska	Röhsska Museum, Gothenburg
Newark	Newark Museum, Newark, NJ	ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
Newark Library	Newark Public Library, Newark, NJ	Rose	ex-Rose Collection
New South Wales	Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney	Rouart	ex-Rouart Collection, Paris
Nikaidō	?Nikaidō Collection, Japan	Rowe	ex-Rowe Collection
Nishimura	ex-Nishimura, Daishōdō, Teramachi, Kyoto	RPK	Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
NKS	?	Russell	ex-Russell Collection
Norton Simon	Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, CA	Saenger	ex-Saenger Collection
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York, NY	Saitō Hōonkai	Saitō Hō-on Kai Museum, Sendai
Oberlin	Allen Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH	Samuel	ex-Samuel Collection
O'Brien	ex-O'Brien Collection	San Diego	San Diego Museum of Art, San Diego, CA
Odaka	Odaka Collection	Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, CA
Odin	ex-Odin Collection; see BN, Paris	Sawers	ex-R.G. Sawers, London
Omori	?Omori Collection	Schaap	Robert and Josephine Schaap Collection, Bergeijk
Orange	ex-Orange Collection	Schack	ex-Gerhard Schack Collection, Hamburg
Oregon	?Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR	Scheiwe	ex-Theodor Scheiwe Collection, Germany
Osaka ?1983	Exhibition at Navio Shopping Complex, Osaka [check PM note for no. 625, state 20]	Schindler	ex-Werner Schindler Collection, Switzerland
Oshima	ex-Oshima Collection	Schnoeckel	ex-Schnoeckel Collection
Ostier	ex-Janette Ostier, Paris	Schoff	Schoff Collection
Ota	Ukiyo-e Ota Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo	Schraubstadter	ex-Schraubstadter Collection
Ozaki	?Ozaki Museum, Yokohama	Schweitzer	ex-Schweitzer Collection
Palmer	Palmer Collection	Scott	ex-Scott Collection
PAM	[mistake for PMA]	Scripps	Scripps College Art Gallery, Claremont, CA
Parke-Bernet	Parke-Bernet, New York, NY	Sedgwick	ex-Sedgwick Collection
		Seikyōji	Seikyōji temple, Tokyo

Sendai	Miyagi Museum of Art, Sendai	UCB	University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley, CA
Shibui	ex-Shibui Kiyoshi Collection, Tokyo		
Shimane	Shimane Prefectural Library, Matsue	UCLA	Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Dickson Art Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA
Smart	Smart Collection, Chicago, IL		
Smith	Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA	Ueda Bunko	Ueda Library
Snellenberg	ex-Snellenberg Collection	Unidentified	Location of collection unknown
Sotheby	ex-Sotheby's, London	Unknown	Hagi Uragami Museum, Hagi
Sotheby PB	ex-Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, NY	Uragami	ex-Uchiyama Collection
Soutton	ex-Soutton Collecton (Sotheby's 1954)	Uchiyama	Utah Museum of Fine Arts, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT
Spaulding	ex-Spaulding Collection	Utah	Munson-Williams-Proctor Art Institute, Utica, NY
Spencer	Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS	Utica	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Springfield	Springfield Museum of Art, Springfield, MA	VAM	ex-Arthur and Charlotte Vershbow Collection, Newton, MA
St Louis	St Louis Art Museum, St Louis, MO	Vershbow	ex-Henri Vever, Paris
Staley	Carolyn Staley, Seattle, WA	Vever	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Stewart?	ex-Stewart Collection?	Victoria	See Wien
Stockholm	Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm	Vienna	ex-Charles Vignier Collection, Paris
Stoclet	ex-Stoclet Collection	Vignier	ex-Voight Collection
Straus-Negbaur	ex-Toni Straus-Negbaur	Voight	ex-Wagner Collection
Sumida	Sumida Hokusai Museum/Sumida Arts Foundation, Tokyo	Wagner	ex-Wakai
Swettenham	ex-Swettenham Collection, UK	Wakai	ex-Paul Walter Collection, New York, NY
Takahashi	ex-Takahashi Seiichirō Collection, Tokyo; see Keiō	Walter	ex-Sidney Ward Collection, Orlando, FL
Taki	ex-Taki Collection	Ward	Weatherspoon? ex-Weatherspoon Collection?
Tamba	ex-Tamba Collection; see Kanagawa	Wehrli	ex-Walter Wehrli Collection, Basel
Tikotin	Tikotin Museum of Japanese Art, Haifa; or ex-Felix Tikotin, Mont-Pelerin, Switzerland	Weisman	Private collection, Detroit, MI
TNM	Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo	Wells	ex-H. Bartlett Wells Collection, Bethesda, MD
Tobacco&Salt	Tobacco and Salt Museum, Tokyo	Wickes	ex-Wickes Collection
Tokyo Central Library	Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library (Tokyo Toritsu Chūō Toshokan), Tokyo	Wien	Museum of Applied Arts (MAK – Museum für angewandte Kunst), Vienna
Toledo	Toledo Art Museum, Toledo, OH	Worcester	Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA
Toyo Bunko	Tōyō Bunko Library, Tokyo	Wright	Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture, Taliesin West, Scottsdale, AZ
Trieste	Civico Museo di Storia e Arte, Trieste	Yale	Yale University Art Gallery, New Hartford, CT
Tsuihiji	ex-Tsuihiji Nakasuke Collection, Tokyo	Yamamoto	ex-Yamamoto Collection
Tsuwano	Katsushika Hokusai Museum, Tsuwano; now in Shimane Art Museum, Shimane	Zurich	Rietberg Museum, Zurich
Tuke	ex-Tuke Collection, UK		
UBC	University of British Columbia Library or Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver [or mistake for UCB?]		

Contributors

Timothy Clark FBA is Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Asia at the British Museum. Until 2019 he was Head of the Japanese Section at the Museum, where he led a major reinstallation of the Museum's permanent collections in the Mitsubishi Corporation Japanese Galleries (2018). Tim curated and co-curated a succession of special exhibitions at the Museum, most recently *Shunga* (2013), *Hokusai* (2017), *Manga* (2018) and *Nara* (2019). From 2016 to 2019 he was principal investigator in the UK AHRC-funded international research project 'Late Hokusai: Thought, Technique, Society'. His most recent publication is *Hokusai: The Great Picture Book of Everything* (2021).

Asano Shūgō graduated from the Department of Science and Engineering, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto. After a period as a curator, then chief curator, at the Chiba City Museum of Art, since 2008 he has been Director of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. In 2013 he was appointed Director of the Abeno Harukas Art Museum, Osaka, and since 2020 he has been President of the International Ukiyo-e Society. His principal publications include *Hishikawa Moronobu to ukiyo-e no reimei* (2008), *Ukiyo-e wa kataru* (2010), *Bessatsu taiyō, Hokusai ketteiban* (2010), *Bessatsu taiyō, Utamaro ketteiban* (2016) and *Ukiyo-e saiken* (2017). He is a specialist in the history of painting in early modern Japan, with a particular focus on ukiyo-e and illustrated books.

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Andrew Hare graduated from Oberlin College in 1985 with a BA in East Asian Studies. After initial training in Western conservation in the USA, he returned to Japan in 1990 to pursue a 10-year apprenticeship in Japanese painting conservation and mounting at the Usami Shōkakudō Conservation Studio within the Kyoto National Museum Conservation Centre for Cultural Properties. In 1995 he received a certificate for Cultural Heritage Studies from the Agency for Cultural Affairs. Since 2000 he has supervised the East Asian Painting Conservation Studio at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art. He facilitates two training programmes for Japanese and Chinese painting conservation, workshops and produces educational materials focused on innovative preservation methods.

Roger Keyes (1942–2020) was a leading scholar of early modern print culture in Japan, particularly of Hokusai, *surimono* and illustrated books. From 1984, Keyes was Director of the Center for the Study of Japanese Woodblock Prints in Woodacre, CA, and he subsequently taught at Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) and Brown University, both in Providence RI, before moving to York in the UK in 2010. Together with Peter Morse (1935–1992), from 1984–2007 he created the *Catalogue Raisonné of the Single-Sheet Color Woodblock Prints of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849)*. Keyes was special adviser to the 'Late Hokusai' international research project (2016–2019), also to the British Museum exhibition and catalogue *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave* (2017).

Capucine Korenberg trained as a physicist and conducted research on plastics until she heard about heritage science. This prompted her to combine her love for art and science and alter her career path. She has now worked in museums for a little more than 20 years. The scope of her research has been very broad and varied, from investigating the potential of anoxia to prevent the fading of paints to assessing the use of lasers for the cleaning of Hawaiian feather work. She has been conducting research on Hokusai's artworks since 2017. This has become her favourite field of research.

Angus Lockyer taught Japanese, East Asian and global history at SOAS University of London for 15 years, where he also served as Chair of the Japan Research Centre and Associate Director of Learning and Teaching. He has published on the history of expos, museums and golf in modern Japan, and collaborated with colleagues at the British Museum on various projects, including the redesign of the Japanese galleries (2006) and the special exhibition, *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave* (2017). He lives in Boulder, Colorado.

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Dominic Oldman has over 28 years of experience of managing, researching and developing cultural heritage and humanities systems with a focus on underlying historical research methods, and is a historical researcher. He was Deputy Head of, and then led, the Information Systems department at the British Museum before concentrating full time on the ResearchSpace project as principle investigator. The project has delivered a practical community platform used in universities and cultural heritage organisations for representing history and historical sources with richer data narratives, resolving the dialectic of quantitative and qualitative methods, and addressing the issue of reductive databases by addressing complexity in data using knowledge representation – a specialisation within Artificial Intelligence (AI).

Sadamura Koto specialises in Japanese art of the late 19th century. She has published extensively on the artist Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889), including *Kyōsai: The Israel Goldman Collection* (2022), *Kyōsai's Animal Circus* (2022), 'Return of the Demons: The Power of Kyōsai's Brush' in the Citi Exhibition *Manga* catalogue (2019) and *Sex and Laughter with Kyōsai: Shunga from the Israel Goldman Collection* (co-authored by

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Diana Tanase is a computer scientist and a Director in the social enterprise company, Kartography. She was co-investigator of the ResearchSpace project, working on the development of the platform and the implementation of research systems for archaeology, anthropology and art history. Her research expertise is situated in the domain of artificial intelligence, in particular knowledge representation of expert domains. Some of her other projects include development work on the AHRC-funded Late Hokusai Project, the Webby Award winner – Computational Science Education Reference Desk, and a number of web-based collaborative tools for teaching.

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Ellis Tinios trained in the USA and the UK and from 1978–2002 was Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in East Asian History in the School of History, University of Leeds. Since 2002 he has participated in research projects at SOAS, Cambridge University, the British Museum and offered courses at the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University (Kyoto) and the Rare Book School (Washington, DC, and Boston). His current research interests include the illustrated book in early modern Japan with attention to their content, materiality, design, production and distribution, primarily with regard to books by Maruyama-Shijō artists and Hokusai’s later books.

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